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SYNOPSIS

WE begin the twelfth volume of ISLAMIC CULTURE with the first half of the illuminating article *On the History of Islamic Heresiography* by Prof. Dr. R. Strothmann of the Hamburg University. Prof. Strothmann is one of the most outstanding personalities in the present generation of orientalist. His particular field of study are the various sects which have seceded from the body of orthodox Islam. In the present article he discusses a recently published old work on this subject.

NEXT comes a further instalment of *Durrānī Influence in Northern India* by Rev. H. Heras, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Owing to an unfortunate mistake, the author's name was wrongly printed in the preceding number of our journal, namely, J. Heras instead of H. Heras; we regret this mistake and tend our apologies to the author.

THE name of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, India's great poet-philosopher, needs no introduction to our readers. In view of the "Iqbal Day" which was recently so enthusiastically celebrated throughout the length and breadth of this country, we are publishing in this number the Introduction and the first chapter of a beautifully written book on *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* by Kh. Ghulam Sayyidain, Principal, Training College, Aligarh. If our space permits, we hope soon to present to our readers further excerpts from this as yet unpublished book.

SHIVAJI and Afzal Khan is the title of an article by Mr. Mujib-ar-Rahman. It discusses an incident which for centuries has been the subject of historical controversy. Mr. Mujib-ar-Rahman has collated some of the most authoritative sources, and his verdict is: "Shivaji was guilty."

Mr. SIDDIQ KHAN illustrates in his essay, *A Study in Mughal Revenue System*, the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants bestowed by Mughal Emperors for religious and semi-religious purposes.

THE life of the author of *Tārīkh-i-Ferōz-Shāhī* is described in the article *Ziauddin Barani* by Syed Hassan Barani. It gives a vivid picture of the court life in pre-Mughal days, as well as an estimate of Ziauddin Barani's position in the history of Indian history-writing.

WE are publishing in this number *Pages from Šāhīh al-Bukhārī*, translated from the Arabic and annotated by the Editor of ISLAMIC CULTURE.

THE *Devil's Delusion*, Ibn al-Jawzī's great book, translated by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, appears here in a further instalment. As a polemic against Sūfis, this work is almost without parallel in the whole of the Arabic literature and deserves, although portions of it are antiquated and irrelevant, the attention of a wider circle of readers. Further instalments will follow.

IN the department, *On the Margin*, we publish this time a short article by Mr. Hamid Ali on Muslim Law and Modern Turkey. The author is already known to our readers through his essay on the

Customary and Statutory Laws of the Muslims in India, which was reproduced in the preceding volume of ISLAMIC CULTURE.



ON THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC HERESIOGRAPHY*

By R. STROTHMANN

THE PROGRESS of Islamic research assigns to us to-day a new task, that of elucidating the more intimate aspects of our subject: that is, we have to turn from a description and investigation of Islam in general towards that of its different formations, the so-called sects. It is only in this way that we shall be able to understand all the impulses which were active during the history of Islam; and thus only we can comprehend the—to-day predominant—Sunni Islam in its competition with rival schools of thought. The only original sources for the study of sects are their own writings; their publication is, therefore, of primary importance. As regards the various Ismā'īli groups, a good start has already been made by W. Iwanow, H. al-Hamdani, A. A. A. Fyze; the edition of further Ismā'īli writings is in preparation, as e.g., a Qur'ān-commentary attributed to the old *dā'i*, Maṣūr al-Yaman, which is being edited by the present writer. In his thesis, "Anfänge des Zaiditentums" (Appendix to *Der Islam*, No. 9), M. Madi has discussed the original sources of the Zaydi sect; it will be followed by corresponding essays on the Ithnā-'Asharis and the Ibāḍiyyah.

Side by side with the original sources we have, as auxiliary literature, the writings of outsiders—mostly Sunnis—discussing the different sects or polemicising against them. A number of such works is being published in the series *Bibliotheca Islamica*, edited by H. Ritter on behalf of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society). Volume IV is the work of a non-Sunni, namely, *Firaq ash-Shi'ah* by Nawbakhti. Volumes I and II of the series—*Ash'ari*, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin*—will for ever remain a classic. This work represents the most authoritative delimitation of Sunni Islam against all that is to be regarded as sectarian; and as such it is of first-rate importance as regards the Sunni school of thought. But this very acknowledgment brings to the foreground the question of the reliability of its description—not to mention its valuation—of the sects (cf. *Der Islam* XIX, 1931, pp. 193-242).

Until now, the original writings of the sects were less accessible, or at least more rarely taken into consideration, than the writings of outsiders about them; and even now, when those original writings are being

* Translated from the German typescript.—*The Editor*

increasingly published, research is still bound to have recourse to the writings of outsiders. If we consider the history of the sects, and particularly of those which have since disappeared, we realise that hardly any hope is left ever to obtain access to the original material. Thus, the originals must be supplemented, and often enough substituted, by the auxiliary literature. In these circumstances, these secondary sources have to be investigated themselves as a separate branch of literature. Critical standards can be found by examining how far these writings depend on, or contradict, each other; and above all—but rarely enough in these days—through a scrutiny of the original sectarian works. Thus, in the following account no attempt has been made to deal with the history of the sects as such: we are here merely concerned with certain aspects of the *description* of those sects by outsiders.

In order to facilitate the understanding of the voluminous descriptive literature on sects, it is advisable to begin with one single monograph. We have chosen for this purpose the most recent publication of the series *Bibliotheca Islamica*, vol. IX: Abu'l-Husayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Malaṭī, *At-Tanbih wa'r-Radd 'ala Ahl' al-Aḥwā' wa'l-Bida'*, edited by S. Dederig. It is based on the only known MS. in the Zāhiriyyah Library at Damascus, of which only the second half is extant. Regarding the author, who died in 377 A.H., the editor is unable to tell us more than can be gathered from Subki, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 113. In the text, he has the *nisbah* of aṭ-Ṭarāi'fī. This polemic against the sects can help us to shed some light on this whole branch of literature because it is not a finished and balanced composition but a loose compilation of treatises originated in the second to fourth centuries; thus, it contains some of the oldest attempts of its kind. The following are the contents:

I. MUQĀTIL B. SULAYMĀN (d. 150), *Qur'an-Commentary*¹ (pp. 49-50).

His intention is, to harmonise—in opposition to certain not specified *Zindiqs*—those passages in the Qur'an which have apparently contradictory wording or are not quite clear, e.g., Q lxxvii, 35-36 with xxxix, 11, and then with l, 28, in such a way that the Unbelievers will receive, sixty years after the Resurrection, the permission to speak and then this permission will be again denied to them (p. 49). A separate section, *Mutashābih Ṣilāt al-Kalām*, is devoted to the smoothing over of what seem to be contradictions, which he explains as *wujūh al-ḥalāt* (p. 54, 18)—i.e., the taking into consideration of the peculiar situation of the active person or of the various degrees of an event: e.g., God speaking of Himself in the plural side by side with a singular. He maintains that Q iii, 59; lv, 14; xv, 26, etc., refer to various phases in the development of a human being. The "first death" mentioned in Q xlv, 56

1. In the following account, Q indicates the official Egyptian edition of the Qur'an.

refers to the real, only once occurring death, while the first of the "two deaths" in Q xl, 11, refers to the lifeless state before birth. Added to it are explanations of grammatical forms, e.g., *muddakir* in Q liv, 5, is to be understood as *mutadhakkir*, then interpretations of certain words which assume different meanings according to the context: so, e.g., *nikāh* generally means *tazawwuj*, but in Q iv, 6, *hulum*; and finally, interpretations of Qur'anic expressions by means of more current ones, sometimes with the help of different permissible readings¹ (p. 52, 10). On the whole, this treatise marks the beginning of the subsequently developed literature on *al-gharib fi'l-Qur'an*. Some of its portions are quite primitive, like: *ladaynā* means always *'indanā*, *la'natu'llāhi* means *'adhābu'llāhi*, *al-hamdu li'llāhi* means *ash-shukru li'llāhi*, etc. These attempts give us welcome glimpses of an early period of Qur'an-exegetics; and the above examples of harmonistic betrayal the difficulties by which the doctrinal theology of the Muslim majority was faced in the first half of the second century, until it was established as orthodox. The opponents of orthodoxy regarded their own doctrines not as innovations seceded from the Prophet's heritage of the Orthodox Faith, but as corrections of ideological mistakes, or even as the fulfilment of a heritage that had been left incomplete. This did not even escape that strictly orthodox *zāhiri*, Ibn Hazm. In some MSS. of his book on the sects (cf. I. Friedlander in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XXVIII, 78 f) we find the mention of persons whom the different Shrah-groups regard as responsible for the split in Islam: (a) the Muslim majority, which swore allegiance to Abū Bakr instead of 'Alī, (b) 'Alī himself, because he resigned his claim; (c) the Prophet Muḥammad, "because he did not make the problem [of the Caliphate] so clear as to render futile every objection [against the election of 'Alī]"; (d) Gabriel, because he brought the Revelation to Muḥammad instead of to 'Alī. The orthodox majority could refute these objections only by means of Traditions, this is the reason why explicit injunctions of *Sunnah* have a preference over arbitrary interpretations of the Qur'an—an attitude unequivocally taken by Malaṭī (p. 67, 21) in the section, *Dhikr al-Jamā'ah wa'n-Naṣīhah fi'd-Dīn*, which is a eulogy of the Islamic catholicity (*jamā'ah*). This old *tafsir*-contribution is the more valuable as in the later exegetic compilations—our only sources—such groping attempts are mostly forgotten, or perhaps intentionally overlooked as being obsolete. So, e.g., we find no reference in Ṭabarī's *Tafsir* to the sixty years of silence to be imposed on Unbelievers after the Resurrection—at least not in the commentary on the above-mentioned Qur'an-verses.

1 Our author says that Ibn Ma'sūd reads in Q XVII 64 *bi du'āika* instead of *bi-ṣatīka*. It is somewhat strange that Ibn Abī Da'ūd does not know this harmless reading while on the other hand he mentions such an extraordinary one like that noted on p. 11 foot-note

II. MUḤAMMAD B. 'UKKĀSHAH AL-KA[I]RMĀNĪ, Fragments from *Ār-Risālah fi Uṣūl Ahl as-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'uh* (pp. 11-13).

Here we find some sort of fundamental programme of a description of sects. Ibn 'Ukkāshah, who lived and wrote in the first half of the third century, mentions a dream of his in which the Prophet himself attests to the dogmas which form the criterion of true orthodoxy, foremost of all the dogma of the order of precedence of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and finally 'Alī. This order of precedence plays a considerable rôle in the whole of this compilation; it is supported—according to the customary Sunni method—by sayings of 'Alī and his descendants (pp. 120, 5; 121, 4 f; 125, 4 f). Thus we could easily understand the eulogetic formula '*alayhi's-salām*' which once occurs with reference to Abū Bakr; but the fact that it occurs only once permits the assumption that it is due to the copyist. Clever is the allusion to the historically established fact that "no oath of allegiance was more general, solid or definite than that to 'Uthmān" (p. 123, 22). But it is a tragic irony that this kind of election, which has proved very unfortunate in practice, has become the canonical pattern in the theoretical writings of the Sunnis.

III. ABŪ 'AṢIM KHUSHAYSH B. AṢRAM AN-NASĀ'Ī, from *Al-Istiḳāmah fī'r-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Ahwā'* (pp. 71-142).

Khushaysh died in 253, and was thus a contemporary of Jāhiz, who also was remarkable for his polemics against heretics. Khushaysh kept always to the formula of the seventy-two sects; but it is difficult now to decide whether the wording is that of Khushaysh or of Malaṭi. The latter's purpose with this section is the argumentation (*hijāj*, *hujaj*) to which he repeatedly alludes in the preceding chapters. But as this argumentation contains only Sunni counter-arguments, it is hardly of any value for the research into the real beliefs of the sects. Of considerable value is, however, the description of those heretic teachings by Khushaysh. We shall use in the following the abbreviation Kh to denote the whole of this section.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the *Zindīqs*, who are divided into five groups: (1) The non-Muslim Manichaeans and (2) the Mazdakis. (3) The 'Abdakīs, who retired from the affairs of the world owing to persecution by unjust rulers. It appears that they were the followers of that Abū Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Abdākī who, according to Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* No. 807, declined the viewpoint adopted by the Murji'ah (*irjā'*) because it leads, in political life, to an acceptance of rulers objectionable from the religious point of view. (4) The mystics of the Rūḥāniyyah sect, also called *Fikriyyah* (pp. 73, 13 ff), with several sub-sections; they profess that "their spirits look toward the Heavens", and that they rise by means of

contemplation to a direct colloquy with God Himself and to an enjoyment of the virgins and drinks of Paradise. As representatives of this group are quoted Ribāḥ, Kulayb and Ibn Ḥayyān; the famous Hallāj was at the time of Khushaysh's death only nine years old. (5) The Mu'aṭṭilah; they are only cursorily treated without mention of individual representatives, but with allusions against the teachings of the Mu'tazilah.

The main space in this chapter is devoted to the *Jahmiyyah*. Here Malatī quotes mostly Khushaysh. Of a real argumentation, as, e.g., that of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (cf. *Ilahiyat Fekültesi Meçnenusy*, 1927, pp. 314-27), we find here, however, hardly more than a beginning, and that not a very happy one (p. 87, 6-8): Regarding their often-discussed objection against God's descent from Heaven, the Jahmiyyah say: "Who, then, will take His place [on the Throne] when He descends to earth?" To this, according to Khushaysh, should be answered: "Who represents Him on earth when He returns to Heaven?"—an argument which would be suitable rather for a Jahmi. The propositions of Jahm¹, among others his denial of the Sunni tenet of the seeing of God on Resurrection-Day, are always only curtly mentioned and then refuted by quotations from older authorities and many passages from the Qur'an—generally concluding with the sentence, "and many similar [passages] in the Qur'an"—, but above all with plenty of Traditions.

The *Murji'ah*-groups are, unfortunately, anonymous throughout. So, e.g., we are not told who it was that taught: "We believe that there is no deity save Allah, and that Muḥammad is the Prophet of God; but we know not whether this is the Muḥammad of Mecca and Madinah or a Prophet from Khurāsān—and similarly with regard to *hajj* and the ritual relating to food . . . [Even he who says this is to be regarded as] a Faithful."²

Regarding the Shī'ah, see below in the section on Malatī.

Of the *Qadariyyah* (i.e., anti-predestinarians) only two sub-sects are mentioned. The one (p. 133, 1-3) insists so strongly on Free Will that it postulates the human freedom (*tafwīd*) to do good without even mentioning God's positive disposition and guidance (*tawfiq* and *hudā*); this sub-sect is called the Mufawwidah. Meant here is that exaggeration of the *qadar*-motif which had become the second proposition of the Mu'tazilah (*asl al-'adl*). Thus we see how unclear and relative many of the designations of sects are. For the name "Mufawwidah" does not convey any definite notion. We could as well call Malatī's collection of treatises a Mufawwidah compilation, because according to it (p. 94, 7 ff) "four angels guide the world". In Nawbakhti, p. 71, 10, and Baghdādi, p. 238, 11, as well as in *Qawā'id 'Aqā'id Āl-Muḥammad*,³ by Muḥammad

1. The text (p. 77, 17) has the reading al-Jahm b. Ṣafwān (with *al*-).

2. The syntactic construction (p. 113, 17) is very loose.

3. At the beginning of the section *Bayān Madhhab al-Baṭīniyyah*, which is being printed for the *Bibliotheca Islamica*

b. al-Ḥasan ad-Daylami, the expression *Mufawwiḍah* is used as denoting that super-Shi'ah which makes God "transfer" the guidance of the Universe to the Imāms. In this sense this name has achieved recognition by Ījī (p. 348, 2), Maqrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ* II, 351, 34), and Mas'ūdi (*Murūj* III, 266). Equally vague is the designation of the only other non-anonymous Qadariyyah-group; it is said of it (p. 133, 22 f): "The Shabibiyyah also (in the foregoing there is no mention of a similar attitude) deny that the knowledge [of God] precedes the human actions and beliefs. The enemies of God do lie." Shabīb b. Yazīd an-Najrānī was, however, a leader of the Khārijīs, and is otherwise generally designated as such (Ash'ari, p. 123 f; Maqrīzī II, 355, 22); this has been done even by Malaṭī himself in the present collection (p. 41, 13 ff).

The *Khārijīyyah* bears in Kh the older name of *Kharujīyyah*. Of the sub-sects several are without any explanation. With regard to others, which are often enough anonymous, nothing particularly characteristic is mentioned; we find only minor points of *fiqh* relating to slaves, marriage contracts and the drinking of wine (cf. Nos. 10, 17, 18). Only once there occurs in Kh a reference to a period with regard to a Shi'ah sub-sect (see below under No. 6): "Fudaykiyyah (No. 19) exist to-day in Baḥrayn and Yamāmah, but no more in Baṣrah, Kūfah or the Jazīrah."

It is very fortunate (from our point of view) that Malaṭī did not entirely overhaul the extant material, for so the primitive character of the old writing of Khushaysh remains still intact, even to the extent of contradictions within the collection. The nomenclature of the groups is not yet elaborate; the few available names are not yet stereotyped: it is obvious that it was still held that, by applying different standards of judgment, one and the same person could be judged as belonging to different schools of thought. The same holds more or less good also in the subsequent section of our collection.

IV. MALAṬĪ HIMSELF, in the extant portion of *Tanbīh* (pp. 1-43), in the following referred to as M.

The whole work seems to have contained a complete symbolism of religions; evidence of this is an allusion (p. 15, 7) to a preceding description of the Nestorians. Older works of this kind are—as is the case in Kh—not mentioned. M differs considerably from Kh with regard to numbers, nomenclature, definition and classification, although he also mentions—but only *passim*—the Tradition about the 72 or 73 sects (p. 38, 6). Only regarding the Mu'tazilah we find a mention of some persons representative of their school of thought, who have since become better known through the Mu'tazilī Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (*Al-Intiṣār*) and the *quondam* Mu'tazilī, Ash'ari (*Maqālat*); but their writings are referred to only in general terms. Rarely—as generally is the case in works on heresiog-

raphy—the structure of individual sects is considered; for the entire Shi'ah (as also in Kh) only once (p. 14, 8 ff): "Till this day there are some groups of them [Saba'iyyah] who teach in this way and read in the Qur'ân (lxxv, 17-18):

ان عَلِيًّا جمعه وقرأ به فاذا قرأناه فاتبع قراءته

['Verily, 'Ali has collected it and read it; and when we read it, follow his reading']—instead of:

ان عَلَيْنَا جمعه وقرأناه فاذا قرأناه فاتبع قراءناه

['Verily, upon Us rests its collection and its reading; and when We read it, follow its reading'].¹ This phantastic reading has been effected by merely changing the diacritical points, almost without touching the consonants. On several occasions M attempts cross-sections through the then prevalent structure of the Khârijiyyah (to whom also the only period-reference in Kh relates); so we read that of the Muhakkimah—who, in the opinion of M, are not the political opponents of Šiffin but mere murderers and madmen—"thanks to Almighty, no one remains to-day on the face of earth" (p. 38, 12); the same is the case with the Azraqiyyah, we are defined in a strangely harmless way, and with a sub-sect akin to them, the 'Umariyyah. On the other hand, it is said that in Sijistân, Hirât, Khurâsân and Kirmân there still exist many Š-l-jiyyah, "the worst of all . . . belonging to the [better known] Ĥamziyyah"; it is difficult to regard this group as identical with the Šaltiyyah mentioned in Shahrastâni, p. 96, 1, and Maqrizi II, 355, 12. Of other then existing groups we find the Šûrâ[t], who, to be sure, had at that time almost gone over to the Mu'tazilah; and an anonymous group (p. 42 f). But these notes must be taken with extreme caution: for M thinks the Najdiyyah as done with after the fall of Najdah, and knows of the Ibâdiyyah, who exist even in our days as a vigorous and morally unobjectionable community (according to M, murderers and robbers), "only remnants in the rural district of Kûfah" (p. 42, 8). As regards the Šufriyyah, the heresiographs hitherto known to us seemed to be uncertain as to which of four probable persons to attribute the name of this sect; to these four names M adds now a quite new one: of all people, the most bitter and successful enemy of the Khârijis, al-Muhallab b. Abi Šufrah! Thus we can understand that, according to M, this sect has finished with the surrender of Yazid b. Muhallab to al-Ĥajjâj. But, as a matter of fact, it still existed until nearly three centuries later—that is, up to M's life-time—and represented a factor of great military

1. According to Ibn Abi Dâ'ûd, *K. al-Maṣāḥif*, Ibn Mas'ûd and 'Ubayy b. Ka'b are said to have read this passage similarly, with the difference only of 'Alhiyyanâ instead of 'Alhiyyan, and in the following verse 19, *thumma innâ 'Alhiyyanâ bi-bayḍinhi*, instead of *thumma innâ 'alaynâ bayānahu*; see A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ân*, Leyden 1927 (De Goeje Fund XI), pp. 106 and 174.

and political importance in North Africa; and no heresiography can fully succeed in its task without taking this factor into consideration. It is valuable, from the point of view of scientific criticism, that a good deal of historical material in *M* is merely collected without further elaboration; this is particularly evident on the occasion of an explanation of the name "Mu'tazilah": it is said to be due to a political secession after the bargain for the Caliphate between Mu'āwiyah and Hasan (p. 28, 17 ff); immediately afterwards, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' appears as the bearer of a religious dogma (p. 30, 17 ff).

Survey of non-Shi'ite sects in Kh[ushaysh] and M[alaṭi]

Zindiq: Kh 5.—*M* none.

Mu'tazilah: Kh none; but cf. *Mu'aṭṭilah* under *Zindiq*.—According to *M*, the number of sub-sects is 20; but only wider circles are considered according to the facts of the case: that of Baṣrah, that of Baghdad, the two Ja'fars, namely, Ibn Mubashshir and ibn Ḥarb; cf. below under *Zaydiyyah*.

Murji'ah: Kh announces 20, but discusses only 11, all of them anonymous.—*M* only generally according to the facts of the case.

Khawārij: Kh under the name of Ḥarūriyyah; announced 25, discussed 21, out of these 5 anonymous.—*M*, under the heading of Shūrā[t] and Khawārij, 10 sub-sects not mentioned in the table of contents, the seventh of these under the heading Ḥarūriyyah.

Qadariyyah: Kh gives as total number 7, discusses 6, out of these 4 anonymous.—*M* none.

Jahmiyyah: Total number in Kh, 8; discussed according to 18 points.—*M* none.

The registers of the *Shi'ah* in *Khushaysh* and *Malaṭi* invite our particular consideration. Between these two, as regards the time of its origin, stands the monograph on the *Shi'ah*-sects by Nawbakhti, who himself was a *Shi'ite*; he died between 300 and 310 A.H., and had a very good insight into the fateful years of the "little *ghaybah*." Thus, he also has to be considered when we are to assign to the two new lists their proper place in the history of description of sects.

In both *Kh* and *M* the sub-sects are frequently anonymous or not sufficiently characterised. *Kh* gives an explanation of the names only in the cases quoted below. Unclear is the following passage in *M* (p. 26, 10-13): "The Ja'fariyyah are the 15th sect; their teachings are similar to those of the Ismā'iliyyah. The 16th are the Great Qaṭ'iyyah, who *yaqṭa'ūna 'alā* Muḥammad and 'Alī and secede [from certain Imāms] and pay allegiance [to others]. The 17th are the Little Qaṭ'iyyah, who *yaqṭa'ūna 'alā* ar-Riḍā and teach: there is no Imām after him; they follow their sometime-brethren of the Great Qaṭ'iyyah in all their sectarian teachings (*madhāhib*)."

We are unable to do anything with the name

"Ja'fariyyah" alone, which, e.g., denotes within the Mu'tazilah, the circle around the two Ja'fars of Baghdād. The comparison with the Ismā'iliyyah, which in M represents the only explanation, makes the position still less clear; for, if we were to regard the Ja'fariyyah as Ithnā-'Asharis—who do not appear elsewhere in M—we could not find "their teachings", but only, at the most, some points of their teachings, among those of the Ismā'iliyyah. But it is possible that M refers to those (in themselves very contradictory) circles of people who recognised, instead of the eleventh Imām al-Ḥasan al-'Askari or his son al-Mahdī, his brother Ja'far b. 'Alī, who was called al-Kādhīb by the real Ithnā-'Asharis; their recognition of this man went so far that they occasionally placed him above 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib himself; cf. the whole end portion of Nawbakhti, e.g., with reference to the Nafisiyyah (p. 89). But usually, when we hear the name Ja'far, we think of aṣ-Ṣādiq, after whom in these days the Ithnā-'Asharis in Irān and 'Irāq are named. If we are to believe that this Ja'far is meant here, we would suggest (by way of a guess) that in the list given below the Ja'fariyyah represent something like the group otherwise known as the Nāwūsiyyah—that is, one of the many groups of Wāqifiyyah, in this case the one which "stops" at aṣ-Ṣādiq. For it is clear that M is so deeply concerned with these groups that in his treatise the term *waqafa* seems to have overwhelmed the antonymous *qaṭa'a*; on the other hand, it is possible that M did not yet use the latter term in the sense we find—to be sure, with the preposition *bi*—in the hitherto known works on heresiography (cf. I. Friedländer in JAOS XXIX, 50 ff). For M's 17th group can mean only a standstill, i.e., an end, with Ridā, because the latter is said to have had no successor. In the same sense we could also attempt to use the term *qaṭa'a* with reference to the 16th group. Otherwise, if we were to explain this term, in spite of the preposition *'alā*—as is probable with Maqrizi (see below, No. 21)—as meaning, "they are certain as regards the deaths of Muḥammad and 'Alī", we would, with this very uncharacteristic characterisation, get nothing more but another very loose description of all Shi'ah groups—including those already described by M—with the exception of the Saba'iyyah.

In Kh's time, the Ḥamdān and Zikrawayh, as well as the Fātimīs, had not yet appeared before the wider public; and thus the Qarāmīṭah and Ismā'iliyyah are missing in his account. M brings them in remarkable order; his usual "catalogue of vices" is applied only to the first-named, though at another place (p. 25, 11 ff) he charges the Shi'ah on the whole with them. The Daylam are in M regarded as belonging to the Qarāmīṭah. Meant are probably those ultra-Shi'ites who are frequently mentioned in the older writings of the Zaydiyyah; they occur also in *Kalāmī Pir* (ed. by W. Ivanow, Bombay 1935, Index under Daylamān), and seem to have ultimately entirely displaced the Caspian Zaydiyyah (cf. 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-Wāsi'ī, *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346, pp. 28 f). Strange are M's conceptions regarding the Ismā'iliyyah. As the

new achievements in the Ismā'īlyyah-research will receive elsewhere a special consideration, we mention here only the indication occurring in M, p. 25, 14-22: "They propound [the doctrine of] the Imamate of the twelve [!] Imāms and offer 50 prayers [daily]." The other points are in nowise characteristic, so, e.g., the *ta'ziyyah* customs or the five *takbirs* over a grave. As regards their morals, the judgment is comparatively kind. Was it perhaps that M had to show consideration to the Fatīmi Caliphate which then stood at its zenith?

Worse is the treatment of the Zaydiyyah, because as its first representative is named 'Alī b. Muḥammad, "the one of Baṣrah" (p. 26, 22). Meant is the leader of the Zanj; this observation has been made by Massignon on the basis of the MS., even before its publication, in the *Enc. of Islam*, article "Zandj". Malaṭi mentions no genealogical tree; thus he is no more positive than the anonymous article "'Alī b. Muḥammad" in the *Enc. of Islam*. Usually we find the following names of ancestors (here supplemented by the more characteristic surnames): 'Alī Ṣāhib az-Zanj—Muḥammad al-Mkfi (?)—Aḥmad al-Mukhtafī—'Īsā Mu'tim al-Ashbal—Zayd ash-Shāhid (to whom the name of the sect goes back)—'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin—Ḥusayn—'Alī. Of oriental authors, the following give this list: Ash'ari, p. 85, 8; Mas'ūdi VIII, 31, 6; Ibn al-Athir VII, 139, 19; Ibn Ṭiqṭaqā, p. 227, 6; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*¹; according to Ibn Muḥannā, *Umdat at-Ṭalīb fi Ansāb Al Abi Ṭalīb* (Bombay 1318), p. 261, 3, and also Ibn Miskawayh in the unpublished portion of *Tajārib al-Umam*. Besides, we find in Ash'ari, p. 85, line 6, the name of one 'Alī instead of Aḥmad, and the same name in Ṭabari III, 1742, 11, between Aḥmad and 'Īsā; but this 'Alī is not traceable among the four sons of 'Īsā (Ibn Muḥannā, p. 259, 1 ff). Ibn Khaldūn I, 361, 16, mentions only 'Īsā b. Zayd as ancestor, without naming the intervening ancestors. European orientalists have generally accepted the first form. It is also taken over in Von Zambaur's Genealogy on table D, but on p. 41, n. 2, with omission of the name Aḥmad; further, in *Enc. of Islam*, article "Zandj", where, however, Zayd cannot possibly be the Shāhid because between him and his father, Zayn al-'Ābidin, one—not identifiable—'Abbās is interpolated. Now, these differences may be of no great importance, because none of the above-mentioned oriental authors or orientalists—with the exception, perhaps, of Ibn Miskawayh, Ibn Muḥannā (p. 261, 1) and Von Zambaur (?)—takes this genealogy seriously. Th. Nöldeke (*Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 156) regards it as equally probable that—as some oriental authors have set forth—Zanj belonged to the tribe 'Abd al-Qays; already C. Lang, in ZDMG XL, 607, has described the statement in which Zanj is shown as having descended from the House of 'Alī, as a "notoriously mendacious genealogy". This is quite possible. It is histo-

1. Lithography, Teheran 1271 (without page numbers), in vol. 11 at the beginning of the last quarter; the printed Cairo edition was not obtainable.

rically established that the Alide opposition had attracted many *mawālīs*. A poetic revolutionary (Ibn Muḥannā, p. 262) might have made the attempt to convince the slaves that they also belonged to the holy family which was represented as helping all oppressed. Nevertheless, the existence of such an 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtafī, allegedly descended from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, is not directly denied. Even later there were families which, without recognising him as the leader of Zanj, were regarded as his descendants: in Damascus and Cairo through his son Yaḥyā, and in Baghdād through his son 'Ubayd Allāh ad-Ḍarīr (Ibn Muḥannā, p. 240, 11; but cf. p. 241, 4). But, however doubtful be the nobility of the Zanj-leader, there is one remarkable exception: Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Maqātil at-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 228, 24 ff, has no hesitation to accept the first-mentioned genealogical tree. He gives the destiny of the Zanj-leader somewhat differently: according to him, the latter died in prison together with his son, Aḥmad, while another son, 'Alī, was released and was still alive in 313. This Iṣbahānī is not to be lightly dismissed. As compiler of *Aghānī* he employed an immense information service; and, equally, in his researches regarding the Alide politicians he was extremely careful and has always honestly admitted his failure whenever he was unable to obtain exact information (cf. M. Madi, *op. cit.*, p. 14). But, moreover, this Umayyad was himself a Shi'ite; evidence of this are some "astonished" Sunni statements—now brought together by Aḥmad Zākī al-'Adawī in the Preface to the new edition of *Aghānī* (1345 ff) I, 22—but, foremost of all, many Shi'ite works on *riḡāl*, as e.g., the compilation of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-Jannāt* (Teheran 1304), pp. 478-80. Thus we are faced with a serious dilemma, the importance of which goes far beyond the individual case under discussion. Either we must distrust this Shi'ite student of Shi'ah politics regarding his report, which obviously goes against the interest of his own sect; or we are led to suspect in the others—although they are not Shi'ites—that inclination (existing even in our days), at once to throw doubt on the descent of a Sayyid whenever reprehensible actions are known of him and cannot be historically refuted. In any case, I would suggest that in the article "Zaid b. 'Alī", in *Enc. of Islam*—in which, moreover, the sonless Yaḥyā has unfortunately taken the place of his brother 'Isā—the rather prominent accent on the doubt regarding the Alide descent, should be toned down. We should rather adopt the same hesitating attitude which, in matters pertaining to this genealogy, characterises the work of Ibn Muḥannā (d. 828), who himself was a Sayyid, and thus belonged to the Alide nobility. Although this very nobility had, according to Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, "particularly" violently disowned the leader of Zanj, the Alide genealogist Ibn Muḥannā remains, with some hesitation, neutral in the question whether a political revolutionary who has been generally designed as a criminal could be regarded as having descended from the House of 'Alī; while Sunnis, that is, opponents of all such political

claims of the Alides, often denounce such a man as an impostor—obviously with the view to safeguard the esteem generally conferred on this religious nobility. On the other hand, a man like Abu'l-Faraj, an expert in Shi'ah politics, for whom, as a Shi'ite, the claims of this nobility represent the will of God, does not take offence at an association of the notorious rebel with the House of 'Ali.

The fact that M regards the leader of Zanj as belonging to the Zaydiyyah shows how vague the term still is with him. Of two other Zaydi sects he describes—as it were, by way of compensation for the stain caused by the Zanj-movement—one as a pious association, and then counts as the “fourth sect of the Zaydiyyah the Mu'tazilah of Baghdād” (p. 26, 12). This conception is too wide, and at the same time too narrow. Zaydi inclinations, in a political but not theological sense, existed in the centre of 'Irāq among some of the Mu'tazilah; but they existed also among orthodox Sunnis, as has been shown in a contribution on *Majmū' al-Fiqh*, attributed to Zayd himself (see *Der Islam* XIII, pp. 44 and 51).

(To be Continued)

DURRÂNÎ INFLUENCE IN NORTHERN INDIA

By H. HERAS

(Continued from last issue)

AFTER suppressing his brother's rebellion, Zamân Shâh made brisk preparations for his new expedition against Lahore and the Marathas. He first endeavoured, apparently with success, to establish a friendly intercourse with some of the most powerful Sikh Chiefs in the Panjab.¹ Then he inaugurated relations with Tipû Sultan of Mysore, whom he knew to be a deadly enemy of the British and the Marathas, his prospective opponents in northern India. Apparently Tipû Sultan made the first move;² and Zamân welcomed the opportunity with open arms foreseeing the advantages he might derive from such a friendship. "Zemaun Shah cannot be ignorant of such advantages," said Mornington, "and if they should tempt him to invade Hindostan, the diversion of our force which would be occasioned by such an event, would offer the most favourable opportunity to an attack from Tippoo upon the Carnatic, it is not improbable that the object of the intercourse between Tippoo and Zemaun Shah was . . . some such plan of joint operation."³ Accordingly, a protracted correspondence between Afghanistan and Mysore began at once, and both powers seem to have agreed as regards their intentions and their plans. Mornington, writing to the Hon'ble Court of Directors in the beginning of 1800 says that, "the concert and correspondence subsisting between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, are now matter of public notoriety."⁴ And, more explicitly, while writing to Dundas some time after: "with respect to the views of Zemaun Shah, the papers found in the palace of Seringapatam have completely justified our opinion of Tippoo's disposition to obtain the assistance of that Prince, and of Zemaun Shah's inclination to afford it."⁵ Very prudently, there-

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Cape of Good Hope, February 28th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 27.

2. Minute of the Governor-General in the Secret Department. Fort William, August 12th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 188.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, Fort William, January 27th, 1800; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 201.

5. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, March 5th, 1800; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 226; cf. *ibid.*, II, 55. We cannot give definite information about the relations existing between

fore, did the new Governor-General refuse to make any reduction in the army "until we shall have been enabled to ascertain with more accuracy the designs of Tippoo Sultan, and of Zemaun Shah."¹

Mornington at once realised that it was necessary to obtain detailed reliable information about all the movements of the Durrani King. "Our intelligence of the motions of Zemaun Shah is very defective," he wrote in September 1798 to the Resident at the Court of Scindhia. "It is always vague as well as tardy. I desire that you will earnestly apply yourself to the speedy correction of this defect; it is of the utmost importance to us to obtain the earliest and most accurate information of the Shah's designs."² And to the Resident at Lucknow, a few days after: "It is much to be lamented that the intelligence from Zemaun Shah's country should be of so vague and uncertain a nature that no dependence can at any time be placed upon it; it appears to me an object of the first importance to establish some regular channel for the transmission of intelligence from that quarter. I request, therefore, that you will immediately turn your particular attention to this point and omit no effort for obtaining more correct information of Zemaun Shah's motions than we have hitherto been in the habit of receiving."³

And then, on June 3rd, 1798, the Governor-General received a letter from Zamān Shāh himself, the contents of which very likely amused Mornington by their simplicity, but at the same time warned him of the impending danger. The letter was still addressed to Sir John Shore, as it was written a year before. Mr. Lumsden, the Resident at the Court of Lucknow also received a similar letter.⁴ The bearer of these letters was one Ghulām Aḥmad Khān, apparently a Rohilla, who is called by the Afghan King "the news writer in Hindostan," an expression which is an evident euphemism for "spy".⁵ The letter in

Tipū Sultan and Zaman Shāh, for no definite information about him is found in the despatches of the Governor-General. The only definite piece of news referring to these relations is one found in a letter of Mornington to the Nawab of Oudh: "of the hostile intentions of Zemaun Shah against your Excellency's possessions no doubt can be entertained since the discovery made at Seringapatam." Fort William, November 5th, 1799. After all, is it not very strange that such incriminating papers should never have been quoted or published anywhere? Among the letters of Tipū Sultan found at Seringapatam, and published in 1810 by Col. William Kirkpatrick, one of the commissioners for the partition of Mysore, nothing is found referring to Zamān Shāh. One really doubts after considering all these things whether the friendship between these two Mussulman rulers which was only suspected by Mornington before the fall of Seringapatam was ever confirmed after this event.

1. Minute of the Governor-General, June 12th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 56.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Lieut.-Col. John Collins, Fort William, September 15th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 261.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to the Resident at Lucknow, Fort William, September 21st, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 267.

4. From Zamān Shāh to Mr. Lumsden; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 670.

5. The British authorities of India had also a news-writer in Afghanistan in the beginning of the

question reads as follows: "At this time the trusty Ghoolaum Ahmed Khan, the news-writer in Hindostan, after having the honour of paying his respects at the resplendent presence, described to us the excess of your attachment and fidelity which afforded us much satisfaction, and prompted further marks of our favour towards you. It is our intention to visit Hindostan, and at a proper season shall accordingly set out where we shall encourage friends and chastise enemies. We have, therefore, now deputed Ghoolaum Ahmed Khan thither to ascertain who are our friends and who are our enemies, which we will communicate accordingly; let your mind be perfectly at ease, and continue to walk in the path of allegiance and fidelity. Dated in the month of Zehidja, 1211 Hedgiree, answering to June, 1797."¹

The perusal of this letter made evidently no good impression on the Governor-General, who apparently made no reply. Hence, it is not strange that, when in the month of September of the same year 1798, he heard that Ghulām Aḥmad Khān was returning as an ambassador of Zaman Shah, he was not pleased at all, and even doubted that his embassy was genuine. Ghulām Aḥmad Khān was to visit the Court of Oudh and then the British headquarters. Mornington sent strict instructions to the Resident at Lucknow about his dealings with the pretended ambassador. "The doubtful character of Golam Ahmad Khan," he wrote, "will not justify any acknowledgment of his pretended commission; you will therefore take no notice of him, unless his conduct should appear to lead to a suspicion of his being employed as a spy, in which case he should be required to depart from the Vazier's dominions (Oudh)."² But there was still the probability that notwithstanding his desire to get all available information, Ghulām Aḥmad Khān might be a real Ambassador of the King of Afghanistan. Hence, Mornington's instructions to the Lucknow Resident; "With regard to your conduct towards Gulam Ahmed Khan, said to be charged with an embassy from Zemaun Shah, if upon his arrival at Lucknow he shall appear to be properly accredited from the Shah to the Governor-General, you will permit him to proceed to Calcutta, but otherwise you will take no notice of him."³ The suspicions of the Governor-General seem to have been well-founded, for nothing else is heard of Ghulām Aḥmad Khān or of his commission.

Shortly afterwards the Earl of Mornington received another letter from the King of Afghanistan of a rather serious nature. "I have lately received," Mornington writes to Henry Dundas, "a letter from Zemaun Shah, containing a declaration of his intention to invade Hindostan,

19th century.

1. From Zamān Shāh to Sir John Shore, Martin, *op. cit.* I, 670.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to the Resident at Lucknow, Fort William, September 21st, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 267.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

and a peremptory demand of the assistance of the Nabob Vazier (of Oudh) and of mine for the purpose of delivering Shah Aulum (Alam, II) from the hands of the Mahrathas, of restoring him to the throne of Delhi, and of expelling the Mahrattas from their acquisitions on the North-western frontier of India."¹ This letter of Zaman Shah included a threat; "Having plainly apprised the Nabob Vazier and me, that his object is to restore Shah Aulum, and to drive the Mahrattas out of India, and having called for our joint service in a tone of command for the prosecution of his project. He has added, that our answer will determine, whether he is to consider us to be his friends or his enemies."² This sounds like an ultimatum. "That he (Zaman Shah) should consider our not joining his royal standard, and our not assisting him in the restoration of Shah Aulum, and in the total expulsion of the Mahrattas in the light of an act of disobedience and enmity."³

What did Mornington do on receiving this arrogant missive?

First of all he was not sure of Zaman Shah's resources. "It is very difficult to form a conjecture with respect to the probability of Zemaun Shah's being able to execute his romantic design. That he entertains such a design is unquestionable; and whatever may be the result, it is prudent to be on our guard, and in the meanwhile to derive every collateral advantage from his declaration."⁴ As regards the alternative of joining the Shah or ignoring his demand, Mornington did not hesitate even for a moment: "As it is utterly impossible for me to aid the Shah in such a project, or to submit the honour and faith of the British Government to such conditions, I must suppose that the Vazier (Nawab of Oudh) and this Government will be treated as enemies by him, whenever he shall have an opportunity of bringing his army to act on our frontier."⁵

A period of great intellectual and diplomatic activity then commenced for the Governor-General. First, he coolly examined the situation of Hindustan and all the possible contingencies of an Afghan invasion. In a minute in the Secret Department he surveys the military strength of the prospective opponents of Zaman Shah. "Between the country of the Seiks," says he, "and the frontier of Oude no barrier exists to check the motions of the Shah excepting the power of Scin-

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, July 6th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 89.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Lieut.-Col. John Collins, Fort William, September 15th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 258.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to Major-General Sir James Henry Craig, Fort William, September 16th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 262.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, July 6th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 89.

5. From the Earl of Mornington to Sir James Henry Craig, Fort William, September 16th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 262.

dhia. The dominions of Scindiah at present are so weakened by internal dissensions as to be in a state nearly defenceless, while Scindiah continues at Poonah with the main body of his army, and while his tributary Chiefs, remaining in Hindostan, are notoriously disaffected to his cause, and are prepared to seize any favourable opportunity of annihilating his power."¹ "In the event of the dissolution of his power in Hindostan," Mornington continues in a letter to Col. John Collins, "your attention will be directed to the state of affairs which shall arise out of his destruction . . . My wish is to abstain from all such interference in any confusion which may follow the annihilation of Scindiah's power, as might involve us either now or hereafter in hostilities. Nor would I engage in any measures, which had a tendency either in the first instance to accelerate the ruin of Scindiah, or finally to exclude the revival of his authority. Consistently with these principles, my endeavours would be directed to frame out of the new order of things a system of defensive alliance against the approach of the Shah by entering into engagements, for that purpose, with whatever Chief who should have succeeded to the largest portion of Scindiah's power. Ambajee seems to me to be the most likely to stand at the head of any new system in the event of Scindiah's fall. Your particular attention will be given to the conduct of M. Perron, and of other Europeans now in the service of Scindiah, we must counteract any attempt from them to establish themselves in the form of a state in Hindostan; they would undoubtedly assist Zemaun Shah and perhaps enter into his service in the event of Scindiah's fall."² Mornington moreover considers another very serious possibility, viz., "that the approach of Zemaun Shah towards the frontier of Oude would become the signal of general revolt and plunder in that province."³

What he inferred from this survey is found in a letter to Sir James H. Craig:—"The most useful barrier against this invasion in the first instance would be the resistance of the Seiks, of the Rajpoots, especially the Rajahs of Jyenagur (Jaynagar) and Judpoor (Jodhpur) and of Dowlut Rao Scindiah."⁴

After considering all these facts and possibilities, Mornington acted with characteristic energy. "I have, therefore, transmitted the Shah's letter to Scindiah through the Resident at Poonah, with the view of

1. Minute of the Governor-General in the Secret Department, Fort William, August 12th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Lieut.-Col. John Collins, Fort William, September 15th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 260.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to the Hon'ble Henry Dundas, Cape of Good Hope, February 28th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 24. In making this survey and examination of probabilities Mornington was undoubtedly helped by Major-General Sir James H. Craig.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to Sir James H. Craig, Fort William, September 16th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

suggesting to Scindiah the possible danger of his hereditary dominions; and I have expressed my entire disapprobation of the ambitious projects of Zemaun Shah, and my disposition to enter into defensive engagements with Scindiah, for the purpose of frustrating the threatened invasion, declaring to Scindiah that, whenever he shall return into his own dominions, he will find the British Resident at his Durbar prepared to conclude such a defensive treaty, in which it is my wish to include all the Allies of the British Government."¹ And, writing to the Resident at Poona two days after, he says "I authorize you to assure Scindiah that I will use every effort to counteract the designs of Zemaun Shah, being resolved to resist to the utmost extent of the power vested in me, the attempts of any invader, who shall endeavour to disturb the established States of India in their actual possessions. Will you further suggest to Scindiah that as soon as he shall arrive in his own dominions, he will find the British Resident at his Durbar prepared to enter into defensive engagements with him for the mutual protection of his territories, of those of the Nabob Vizier, and of the Company against the threatened invasion of Zamaun Shah, and that it is my intention to propose a similar defensive treaty to all the British allies in India. You will inform Scindiah that if contrary to my expectations he should not return to Hindostan for the purpose of assisting in person in the protection of his dominions against the menaced attack of Zemaun Shah, I will take no concern in the security of a country abandoned by its own sovereign, and I will limit the operations of the British troops exclusively to the defence of our own territories and of those of the Vizier. In addition to whatever Scindiah may apprehend from Zemaun Shah, he must be sensible, that in the present disturbed state of his dominions and of his army, his fate is in our hands; but it would not be proper to make any direct intimation to him of our sense either of his danger, or of our own power with relation to the internal condition of his Civil and Military Government."² Besides sending these instructions to the Resident at Poona, the Governor-General wrote himself to Daulat Râo Scindhia informing him of Zamân Shâh's threat and of his own good will towards him and his state. This letter, as far as it concerns our subject, reads as follows: "It is always my wish to maintain the relations of amity and goodwill with you, and being constantly anxious for the maintenance of your prosperity and welfare, I inform you that I have received a communication from Zaman Shah, announcing his intention of visiting Hindostan, and demanding my assistance and that of the Vizier, for the purpose of restoring the throne of Delhi to Shah Allum, and of expelling the Mahrattas from

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, July 6th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 89.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Col. William Palmer. July 8th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21. Cf. *Ibid.* I, 200.

Hindustan. Colonel Palmer, in whose wisdom and experience I repose the greatest confidence, will have the honour to communicate to you the papers which were received by the Resident of Lucknow, from Zemaun Shah. If Zemaun Shah should invade Hindostan, it will be necessary for all the established powers upon the North-western frontier to be vigilant, and to attend carefully to the defence of their respective territories. For this purpose whenever you shall return into your own dominions you shall find the British Resident at your Durbar, instructed by me to enter into a defensive Treaty with you for the reciprocal protection of your dominions, of those of the Nabob Vizier, and of those of the Company, against the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah. With these friendly intentions towards you, it would give me great satisfaction to learn that your own prudence, and your regard for the safety of your valuable possessions on the North-western frontier of India, had suggested to you the propriety of returning to Hindostan for the purpose of taking the requisite precautions against the impending danger. Your friendship for the Company, which I believe always to be sincere, furnishes another motive to induce you not to protract your stay in the dominions of the Peishwa."¹

Not content with attaching Scindhia to his interests, Mornington took steps to invite all the other chiefs of Hindustan who could form a barrier against the advance of Zaman Shah. Writing to the Resident at the Court of Scindhia, he says: "It will be desirable to unite as large a body as can be brought to co-operate against the Shah; and with this view, I wish you to endeavour to conciliate the interests of such of the Seik Chiefs and Rajpoots, as may be disposed to resist the Shah, with those of Scindhia. I am aware of the obstacles which you will find to such an union in the impetuosity and violence of Scindhia's character, on the one hand, and in the recent memory of his oppression and injustice on the other. The Rajas of Jye-nagur and Judpoor will not easily forget the injuries which he has committed against them, and this bitter recollection may throw them into the scale of their natural enemy Zamaun Shah. It is, however, to be hoped that the imminent danger which Scindhia has lately escaped, as well as that which still threatens his dominions, may bring his mind to a sober sense of his real interests, and may induce him to afford to the Rajas, some such effectual protection against future oppression on his part, as shall unite them with him against the Shah."² The British alliance with these petty princes against the common foe was, according to the Governor-General, absolutely necessary. "But at all events," he wrote to Sir James H. Craig, "it will be necessary to consider the terms of a defensive

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Daulat Rao Scindhia, Fort William, July 8th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 694-695.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Lieut.-Col. John Collins, Fort William, September 15th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 259-260.

league, to which whether Scindiah shall be a party or not, the Rajpoots and Seiks must be invited."¹ One thing was clear in the mind of Mornington from the very beginning, of his planning such a league: "We must therefore be satisfied," he again wrote to Sir James, "in the event of Zemaun Shah's approach with a system of operations strictly defensive."²

In September, the Earl of Mornington wrote to Lord Clive about the effect produced by his letter on Scindhia: "Scindhia has received my letter with great good will, and now seriously turns his thoughts towards his own dominions, where his presence is required to compose the revolt of his tributary chiefs as well as to prepare a defence against the eventual approach of Zemaun Shah."³

Already in the beginning of October the Earl of Mornington could communicate the following good tidings to Henry Dundas: "Scindhia has received my propositions very favourably, and I have every reason to believe that he will endeavour to return to Hindostan, where the internal commotions in his dominions, and the increasing rumours of the approach of Zemaun Shah, render his presence absolutely necessary to his own preservation. The situation of Scindhia is at present such that we have a good deal to hope and nothing to fear from him. He will be useful to us if he should return to his own dominions, and if he should not his power must fall to ruin."⁴ Nevertheless, in a letter written a few days later, Mornington is not so optimistic: "the probability of Scindhia's early return to Hindostan is increased, but it is still uncertain whether his arrival within his own territory will be early enough for our purpose; and (notwithstanding my expectations expressed in a former letter, I am now inclined to think that) it is still more doubtful whether, at the moment of his return, the state of his authority and resources will be such as to warrant any great hope of an advantage to the Company from a formal defensive alliance with him against Zemaun Shah."⁵ In a month, this lack of optimism had deepened and settled into positive pessimism, revealed in a letter to the Resident at Poona: "I have viewed with particular concern the increasing embarrassments of Doulut Rao Scindhia, and the slow progress made by the Peishwa in the final arrangement of his government. The

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Sir James H. Craig, Fort William, September 16th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 262.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Sir James H. Craig, Fort William, October 27th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 315.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to Lord Clive, Fort William, September 24th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 268.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, October 11th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 292.

5. From the Earl of Mornington to Lieut.-Col. John Collins, Fort William, October 26th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 311.

former by obstructing the return of Scindiah to Hindostan, and by tending to weaken his authority, and diminish his resources, threatens to deprive us of the assistance of a power, whose co-operation, under other circumstances, might have been of the greatest advantage in the event of an invasion from Zemaun Shah. The latter by disclosing the weakness and irresolution of the Peishwa's mind, and by leaving me in doubt whether his councils will ultimately be guided by an influence friendly or hostile to his connection with the Company, makes it impossible for me to judge with any confidence what his conduct is likely to be in the event of a rupture between the Company and Tippoo Sultan. But, whatever may be the ultimate determination of the Peishwa, the period is arrived, when it is become necessary to call upon him in the most explicit manner for the faithful performance of the engagements contracted by his predecessor and recognised by himself."¹

While Mornington was in this uncertainty about Scindhia's co-operation he received alarming information from the Resident at the latter's court: "The last despatches from the Acting Resident at the Court of Scindhia state a report that Zemaun Shah is now relieved from all apprehensions, either of internal rebellion, or of foreign invasion; and his inclination as well as his ability to move his army towards the frontier of Hindostan, at the close of the rainy season, are now universally credited."² Sometime later he received another disconcerting piece of news: "On the north-western frontier of Hindostan a greater probability appears than has yet existed of the approach of Zamaun Shah. Gholam Mahommed, the Rohilla Chief, who was the leader of the rebellion in 1794, is returned into Rohilkund (Rohilkand) with a mission from the Shah and is endeavouring to excite the Rohilla Chiefs to commotion."³ Yet Mornington, far from being discouraged by this bold movement, even hoped to turn it to his own advantage. "This premature step, although a strong indication of the serious intentions of the Shah, will, I trust, enable me to give an immediate check to the spirit of revolt in that quarter, from which he could have derived great assistance in any attempt upon the frontier of Oude. With this view, I have invested Sir James Craig with the command of the troops in the Vizier's dominions, and I have directed the corps stationed at Futte Ghur to advance into Rohilkund for the purpose of securing the persons of the leaders of the projected revolt, and of crushing the seeds of commotion before they shall have gained any height. Even after

1. From the Earl of Mornington to the Resident at Poona, Fort William, November 10th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 337-338.

2. Minute of the Governor-General in the Secret Department, Fort William, August 12th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, October 11th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 296.

this object shall have been accomplished, it will still be necessary to maintain a large force on the frontier of Oude, as long as any danger of Zemaun Shah's approach shall exist."¹

Meanwhile, very vague rumours were circulating about Zamān Shāh's invasion. In September Mornington wrote to Clive: "The rumours are still various with regard to the state of the Shah's kingdom; if his army should not be at Peshawar early in October, he cannot attempt his projected expedition this year."² A month later he wrote to Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay: "Our latest accounts of Zemaun Shah scarcely leave a doubt of his having actually marched towards Hindostan."³ But a contradictory report seems to have reached him in the beginning of November: "My last advices from the North-western frontier of Hindostan encourage an expectation that the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah will not take place this year."⁴

The Governor-General was in the meantime hatching a new scheme, not to check the advance of the Durrani Shah, but to prevent his leaving Afghanistan, or at least to force him to go back to his country if he had already left before Mornington's plans were effective. The idea seems to have originated in the mind of the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay. To him Mornington writes the following: "I concur with you in thinking that services of the native agent you have appointed to reside at Bushire may be usefully employed for the purpose mentioned in that letter; and as the probability of the invasion of Hindostan by Zemaun Shah seems to increase, I am of opinion that Mehdy Ali Khan cannot too soon commence his operations at the Court of Baba Khan, or of whatever person may be in the exercise of the sovereignty of Persia. It would certainly be a very desirable object to excite such an alarm in that quarter as may either induce the Shah to relinquish his projected expedition, or may recall him should he have actually embarked in it. I am not possessed of sufficient information respecting the state of Persia, or the views of the ruling power in that country, to enable me at present to furnish Mehdy Ali Khan with any specific instructions or powers for the attainment of the object in contemplation. Until, therefore, his future communications shall have opened a more distinct view of the subject, we can only be authorised to offer to the Persian Government, in return for any efficient measure which it shall take for the purpose of diverting Zemaun Shah from his designs against Hindostan, such supplies of arms and

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-7.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Lord Clive, Fort William, September 24th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 268.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort William, October 24th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 307.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to Lord Clive, Fort William, October 8th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 286.

military stores as may be required, and as you may be able to furnish. If the credentials already provided for Mehdy Ali Khan by your Government should appear insufficient to procure him due attention from the ruling power in Persia, on the more important points now proposed to be committed to his management, it will be proper to furnish him with such additional letters and powers as may be suitable to this object. These instruments may at present proceed from your Government; hereafter it may be necessary that they should issue from myself."¹

Not content with this Mornington wanted to obtain a similar help from Turkey, so that Persia would be induced both by the British Agent and by the Minister of Turkey to foment disturbances in Afghanistan. "It is my intention," he again writes to the Governor of Bombay, "to suggest to His Majesty's Minister at Constantinople the expediency of his endeavouring to engage the Porte to concur with us in exciting the ruling power of Persia to such measures as may alarm Zemaun Shah for the safety of his hereditary dominions, and may recall him from the prosecution of his designs against the tranquillity of India. In the meanwhile it is my wish that you should take the earliest opportunity of suggesting the same considerations and objects to the English minister with the Porte, or through any other more expeditious channel. If I am rightly informed, a brother of Zemaun Shah is now at the Court of Persia: this Prince took refuge there not long since, and he might possibly be found an useful instrument in forwarding a plan of the nature in question."² This is the first time that Mahmud Shah is spoken of as the right instrument of the British against his brother Zaman. Mornington, who realized the importance of this measure, did not hesitate to give facilities to the Governor of Bombay to carry it out: "In order that this business may be impeded as little as possible by the delays necessarily arising from reference to me, I authorise you to furnish Baba Khan, or whoever may be the reigning sovereign of Persia, with any number of field-pieces, as well as any quantity of military stores, which you can safely spare, whenever the communications of Mehdy Ali Khan, or of Mr. Manesty, shall afford you reason to believe that the Government of Persia is sincerely disposed to make a serious diversion in our favour, by menacing the dominions of Zemaun Shah."³ The Governor-General was not satisfied as yet. He wanted to employ all possible means against Zaman Shah. Hence he continues his instructions to the Governor of Bombay: "With a view to the same object, I must repeat my desire that you will immediately employ all practi-

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort William, October 8th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 286.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort William, October 24th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 307-8.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort William, October 24th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 307-8.

cable means of exciting the people of Sind, and any other tribes occupying the countries which border on Moulton and Candahar, to alarm Zemaun Shah for the safety of his possessions in those quarters. These people have been stated to be generally ripe for revolt against the authority of the Shah; and possibly they might be induced, by a liberal supply of arms and ammunition, and by the countenance of this Government, to take advantage of his absence in Hindostan. I understand that such supplies might be conveyed to them through Kutch and up the river Indus, but you will, of course, be in possession of the best information on this head."¹ Soon after, Jonathan Duncan was replying to Mornington: "I . . . beg to assure Your Lordship that I shall strictly observe the line therein indicated in respect to Mehndi Alli Khan's intended negotiations with the ruling power of Persia; and endeavour also to discover the means of exciting the natives occupying the Delta and lower parts of the Indus towards a further diversion of Zemaun Shah's force, in the view of counteracting his intentions respecting India."²

Third Invasion (1798—9)

The letter of Jonathan Duncan quoted above was written on October 31st and had to be in Mornington's hands in the second half of November, when certain information about Zaman Shah's new invasion was received. On November 12th he was still writing to Dundas: "Our accounts of Zemaun Shah are still extremely vague and contradictory."³ But, three days after, Major-General Sir James H. Craig wrote to the Governor-General from Cawnpore: that Zaman Shah was "on the point of crossing the Attock⁴ for the purpose" of invading Hindostan; and that "little or no resistance would be made by the Seiks, and I fear as little is to be expected on the part of the Mahrattas."⁵ The surmise of Sir James H. Craig was quite correct. The Sikhs on this occasion followed the same policy as before, not daring to fight with Zaman Shah.⁶

Information about the Shah's advance came now regularly to the Governor-General. On December 10th he wrote to Lord Clive: "The

1. *Ibid.*

2. From Jonathan Duncan to the Earl of Mornington, Bombay, October 31st, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 320.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, November 12th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 342.

4. The Attock was always called in the 18th century the river Indus, near the fort of Attock.

5. From Sir James H. Craig to the Earl of Mornington, Cawnpore, November 15th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 346.

6. Ferrier, *op. cit.*, p. 119; *History of the Punjab*, I, 257.

Shah has crossed the Attock, and is certainly at Lahore with a large army. The Seiks will give every opposition within their power to his progress, but their internal distractions preclude the possibility of their meeting his army in the field. The Mahratta power on the north-western frontier of Hindostan, is nearly in the same state and temper as the Seiks, and Scindiah's return, (the object of my early and unremitted endeavours) appears as distant and uncertain as ever. In this state of affairs (of which I have received the account just now) I have determined that Sir Alured Clarke shall remain here in charge of the Government and of the army instead of proceeding to the coast; while I shall endeavour with your Lordship's assistance, to bring matters in your quarter to a distinct issue."¹

The Governor-General was somewhat optimistic about the opposition the Sikhs would offer to the Shah. Two months after, he wrote to the Court of Directors as follows: "The arrival of the Shah at Lahore, with the declared purpose of advancing to Delhi, and the defenceless state of the intervening possessions of the Seiks and of the Mahrattas induced me to assemble the main body of the army of Bengal on the frontier of Oude, and to station a large force within a few miles of Benares, for the protection of that opulent city."²

During Zaman Shah's occupation of Lahore, some information reached the Governor-General, which on account of its seriousness required prompt and energetic action. In the month of January 1798, Sir John Shore, after an inquiry, not always carried out with the utmost impartiality, had deposed Nawab Vizier Ali Khan from the throne of Oudh, on the ground of illegitimacy, and placed his uncle Nawab Sadat Ali in his stead. The deposed Nawab was ordered to fix his residence at Benares, and his successor assigned a lakh of rupees annually for his maintenance and upkeep.³ Vizier Ali, whose ill-feeling against the British was well-known did not henceforward try to conceal his hostility against the authors of his misfortune. When news of the arrival of Zaman Shah reached Bengal, the Governor-General was struck with fear: "Information has reached me," he writes to the Court of Directors, "through different channels, which left no doubt in my mind, that Vizier Ali had despatched a vakeel with presents to Zaman Shah; a circumstance which sufficiently indicated the disposition of Vizier Ali to attempt any enterprise of which the success might be favoured by the approach of the Shah, and by the consequent diminution of the British force in the interior parts of the province of Oude."⁴

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Lord Clive, Fort William, December 10th, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 363-364.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors, Fort St. George, February 12th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 430.

3. Cf. Mill, *History of British India*, VI, 44-8.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors, Fort St. George, February 12th, 1799;

Some information about the evil designs of Vizier Ali must have reached Nawab Sadat Ali himself for Mornington says in the same document that, about the same time, "the Nabob Vizier Saadut Ali applied, in the most pressing manner for the removal of Vizier Ali to some position less favourable to the exercise of his adventurous and daring spirit."¹ "I therefore," continues Mornington, "directed Mr. Cherry (Agent to the Governor-General at Benares) to signify to Vizier Ali my wish that he should reside in the vicinity of Calcutta, and at the same time to assure him that no diminution of his allowances or appointments would be attempted, and that he would neither be subject to any additional restraint, nor denied any indulgence at the Presidency which he had been suffered to enjoy at Benares."² When these orders were notified to Vizier Ali, at first he expressed "considerable reluctance to leave his actual situation, but in a short time he appeared to be entirely reconciled to the change of his residence and to be perfectly satisfied with the assurances which he had received of a continuance of the protection and indulgence of the Honourable Company." But a few days after, Vizier Ali paid a visit to Mr. Cherry and after some friendly talk treacherously slew Cherry, while his attendants slaughtered several other Englishmen.³ Then with his partisans he fled in the direction of Gorakpore, where he mustered a considerable body of banditti.⁴

After the disappearance of Vizier Ali from Benares, many more details of his conspiracy became known to the British authorities. "The sudden flight of Vizier Ali from Benares" says Mornington, "having enabled the magistrate of that city to secure the papers of the assassin, a scene of the utmost importance to your interests has been disclosed by the examination of these authentic documents. Copies of the several papers which fell into our hands were transmitted to me, and under my orders several persons involved in the designs of Vizier Ali have been apprehended in different parts of the provinces. The inspection of their papers has led to further discoveries, and although I cannot yet communicate to you a detailed account of the nature and objects of the designs and the views of those who have been

Martin, *op. cit.* I, 430.

1. The army of Oudh, on hearing of the advance of Zaman Shah, mutinied, and were prevented from proceeding to acts of violence against the Nawab himself by the presence of the Company's troops. From the Earl of Mornington to the Nawab of Oudh, Fort William, February 9th. 1800; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 210.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 431 and 429.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 535-6; Mill, *op. cit.*, VI, 163-5 refers all these happenings absolutely disconnected with Vazir Ali's conspiracy to favour Zaman Shah. The latter's influence on all these events is quite evident from the correspondence of the Governor-General.

apprehended or of their chief, I am already in possession of sufficient evidence to prove that a conspiracy had been formed for the purpose not only of restoring Vizier Ali to the throne of Oude, but also of favouring the invasion of Zaman Shah, and of expelling the English nation from the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa."¹

One of the documents found on this occasion was a letter from Shams-ud-doulah, brother of the Nawab Naib of Decca, who seems to have been a member of this secret league, to restore the Muslim supremacy in Hindustan and to expel the British from the country. This letter of Shams-ud-doulah is addressed to the Afghan sovereign Zaman Shah, who is therein entreated to put himself at the head of this Islamic confederacy. It runs as follows, after the usual compliments: "From the beginning the decrees of Providence have so ordered, that when the affairs of the world are changed and in a ruinous state, the Divine Greatness selects some one, particularly favoured by heaven, assists him, extends his power over the world, that mankind may prosper by his just administration. In these times, while disorder rears her head to the skies, and religious, as well as worldly concerns, are in the greatest confusion, the Almighty disposer of events has placed your illustrious Majesty on the throne, that you may give peace to mankind and improve their condition. Considering your Majesty as the support and champion of the true faith I am happy to offer my services in the most zealous manner, and rank myself among the propagators of our holy religion. Such is the desire of my heart, and my religious zeal, that I observe and presume to represent in an open and unreserved manner, the evils under which this country labours, and to state to your Majesty my own wishes. However great were the obstacles to my submitting myself to your Majesty's protection, I have at length fortunately surmounted them, and trusting to Providence, have dispatched this letter to your Majesty's court by Sheik Alli of Amil, who will explain fully all circumstances and contingencies relating to this country. I hope your Majesty will be pleased to hear him. I beg leave to observe, that owing to the imbecility of the House of Timour (Mughal Imperial family) and the contempt into which it has fallen of late years, the powerful have been weakened, and the weak become powerful; worthless unbelievers and ambitious villains have started up from every corner, boldly conquered all these countries, and established themselves here: as the poet observes. 'When the lions leave the plain the jackals become bold'. For these reasons, religion, which should be so highly praised, is here lost and of no value; nothing of Islamism remains but the mere name. They have so stripped and reduced the principal Mussalmauns, that they have no resource, and are obliged implicitly to obey their orders. The Mussalmauns are become vile and wretched; the

1. From the Earl of Mornington to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Fort St. George, April 22nd. 1799; Martin, *op. cit.* I, 535.

honour of the great men is gone; Christians seize and keep by force the daughters of the Syeda and Mussalmauns. Under these circumstances, when we can no longer act openly, it behoves us to exert ourselves secretly in the cause of religion. If your Majesty's victorious standards shall be directed towards these parts for the establishment of religion, and destruction of enemies, by God's assistance your Majesty will in a short time, and without any difficulty, conquer this country and annihilate your enemies. Sheik Ally will state all these things particularly. I hope your Majesty will be graciously pleased to number me among your attached slaves."¹

1. Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, I, 466-467
("London 1809")

IQBAL'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY*

By KH. GHULAM SAYYIDAIN

INTRODUCTION

IN THIS BOOK I propose to examine the educational implications of the philosophical ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal whom I consider to be one of the greatest poets and thinkers of the present age. His remarkable genius as a poet has received an adequate measure of recognition and has won the enthusiastic admiration of the younger generation in this country, primarily amongst those who are conversant with Urdu and Persian, the two languages which he utilises with equal grace and facility for the expression of his poetic ideas. Through Nicholson's translation of his well-known *mathnavi*, *Asrâr-i-Khudî* ("Secrets of the Self") and some portions of *Payam-i-Mashriq* ("Message of the East") as well as his *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam*, he has become known to a wider circle including the interested academic people in the West. In his poetry he combines the elucidation of the eternal values with a discussion of the current problems, and issues so happily that one can confidently prophesy an increasing popularity and influence for his work.

But I do not think sufficient attention has so far been given to an elucidation of his philosophical thought and the working out of the practical implications of his standpoint. To many people this attempt may even savour of a utilitarianism in bad taste. They hold that poetry like other fine arts, has no "message" to impart; it is a lyrical expression of the poet's emotional experiences and moods and does not lend itself to philosophical discussion or analysis. It is its own sufficient justification and does not need the surgeon's knife or the psychologist's ruthless examination. There may be something to be said for this delicate æsthetic point of view, but Iqbal himself has no patience with it. For him poetry, like all fine arts, is genuine and significant only when it impinges dynamically on life, deepening its appreciation, quickening its pulses, interpreting its fundamental purposes. Art not for the sake of Art, but for the sake of a fuller and more abundant Life.

Moreover, we have to remember that Iqbal is not just a lyrical poet transforming into beautiful verse his wayward whims and fleeting emotions. He is primarily a thinker and a philosopher in the best sense of

* The following is the Introduction and the first chapter of a lengthy essay which will be shortly published in book form.—*The Editor*.

the word, concerning himself not with abstract and remote issues and speculations which have no bearing on the living problems of the present, but bringing the wealth of his keen intelligence and trained mind to bear on these problems and to suggest their solutions. It will be a poor and partial recognition of his great genius if we allow ourselves to be lost in merely contemplating the visible beauty of the garden which his poetry conjures up before our vision. In his case, an examination and understanding of the content is at least as important as the appreciation of the form—if such a division of thought into form and content is at all warranted, except as a temporary practical expedient adopted for the sake of convenience.

But all this may, at best, be taken as a plea for the study of Iqbal's philosophical thought and one may concede the point but still wonder: why should one undertake a study of Iqbal's educational philosophy, when Iqbal is not an educationist in the limited everyday-meaning of the word and has not been engaged—except for a comparatively brief period—in teaching? Nor has he put forward anywhere, in a consistent and closely knit argument, any comprehensive educational theory. The answer to that objection, which will provide adequate justification for undertaking such a study as this, is twofold. Firstly, we should understand clearly the meaning and scope of the term Education. It is usually narrowed down to mean the process of teaching and learning which goes on somewhat tamely and mechanically within the precincts of schools and colleges. But that is obviously an unsatisfactory and fragmentary view, since it does not take into account all those formative social and personal influences which shape and modify the ideas and conduct of groups and individuals. Education, in its correct significance, must be visualised as the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on the life of a person or a community. It follows from this that the emergence of an outstanding creative thinker who has a distinct message to impart and new values to present before the world is a phenomenon of the greatest interest for the educationist; and, the more his ideas catch the imagination, the understanding and the enthusiasm of his contemporaries, the greater must be his influence as an educative force. Secondly, every philosophy of life, in so far as it throws light on the problems of human life and destiny, implies and postulates a philosophy of education, since both are concerned—with somewhat different motives, no doubt—with similar issues and problems: the meaning and purpose of human life, the relation of the individual to the environment, the problem of values, the general structure of the universe. Any coherent system of ideas, therefore, which provides guidance in facing these problems or offers a critique of existing institutions, culture, social practices and ways of thought must necessarily modify (in so far as we accept that school of thought) the basis of our educational theory and practice. For, education is, after all, engaged in the process of critically evaluating and effectively transmitting the cultural heritage, knowledge

and ideals of a social group to its growing members, thereby securing the continuity of their collective life and ensuring its intelligent, creative reconstruction. How can the educational worker be indifferent, then, to the philosophical ideas of a thinker like Iqbal who is constantly struggling with just those problems of human development and its proper orientation which engage his own attention?

It is with the strong conviction that Iqbal has a valuable contribution to make to the solution of these ever recurring but ever fresh problems—particularly as they impinge on the modern mind—that I have endeavoured to elucidate some of the most important and significant trends of his thought and to work out their implications for education in India. As one ponders over the deeper implications of his philosophy, as one watches him unravelling the meaning of the great drama of human evolution and the creative rôle played by man in it, one is apt to catch one's breath in wonder and fascination at the prospect so revealed. And then one turns with impatience and dismay, equalling Iqbal's own, to the pitiful, groping and often misdirected efforts made by education to fit man for his great and glorious destiny! A radical, thorough-going reconstruction of educational aims and methods seems imperatively called for, and although Iqbal does not provide—as we cannot reasonably expect him to do—a fool-proof educational technique or a text-book on educational methodology, he does what is far more valuable and significant: he directs our attention to those basic and fundamental principles of education which underlie all sound educational practices. And it is interesting to note that if we work out the practical implications of these educational principles, they often turn out to be in full agreement with the views which many great modern educationists have expressed on the problems of schooling, although their line of approach is entirely different and remote from that of Iqbal. This is but another proof of the important fact that there are certain urgent forces and characteristics of modern civilisation which, no matter how they are viewed, demand a certain type of education for modern men and women.

I may add that the task of interpreting his thought is rendered peculiarly difficult—yet pleasant—on account of the fact that it is mainly enshrined in his poetry. With the exception of his recently published *Lectures* all his other works consist of Urdu and Persian poetry; and poetry is by its nature a much more flexible and sensitive medium of expression than prose. It has greater emotional fervour, it can convey subtler shades of emotions and ideas, but it does not possess the same objectivity or precision of thought as a piece of careful and lucid prose. It lends itself to a greater variety of interpretation, which may yield greater appreciation but is apt to obscure intellectual clarity. In interpreting his poetry, I cannot claim to have rid myself of my subjective point of view and my sympathies and, therefore, the meanings that I have been able to read into it may be unconsciously somewhat biased.

But I have always exercised one important caution: I have been careful to attach to his verses the meanings which the *general* trend of his ideas seem to justify. For, unlike other poets, Iqbal's poetry possesses a coherence and unity of its own; it does not register the wayward and fleeting whims and moods of the moment. With them a certain verse may mean one of several possible things, sometimes nothing at all. With Iqbal every important verse has a definite meaning and it can, if properly understood, be fitted into the general system of his ideas. Thus his poetry is not like a mechanically put together cross-word puzzle; it has a unity of emotional and intellectual outlook and springs from deep, fundamental sources of conviction, faith and understanding. Its careful perusal will amply repay the students of philosophy as of education, to say nothing of the seeker after beauty of poetic expression, who will discover in it inexhaustible sources of delight and enjoyment.

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUALITY

NO ONE can develop any intelligent theory of education without consciously or unconsciously postulating some conception of the nature of the individual who is to work out his destiny. For the essence of the educative process, reduced to its most elementary terms, is the fact of a living human organism in constant inter-action and contact with a vast and complex environment, changing and growing as a result of this continuous intercourse. Like the philosopher, the educator must necessarily inquire into the characteristic nature of these two terms of his activity which ultimately determine the solution of all his problems.

Let us first examine Iqbal's conception of the nature and the function of the individual who is the object of the educator's attention. In order to grasp this, we must try to elucidate his concept of "individuality" which is the central idea of his philosophy and on which the rest of his thought-structure is based. This was first presented by him in a forceful but popular exposition in his Persian *mathnavi*, *Asrâr-i-Khudi* ("The Secrets of the Self") and it has been subsequently developed in a more coherent form in his *Lectures*. And, of course, it recurs like a constant refrain in all his poetical works, whether Urdu or Persian. It is necessary to examine his doctrine of Individuality at some length not only because of its intrinsic importance in his system of thought but also because modern psychology, biology and educational theory have laid special stress on it and recent mass movements and dictatorships have given it increased political significance. Modern political, industrial and scientific movements have tended to suppress individuality in various ways and, therefore, social thinkers who are concerned about the preservation of the values of human personality are naturally preoccupied with the problem of re-asserting the primacy

of Individuality in life. Iqbal, as a humanist, sensitive to all the possibilities of growth and expansion open to the human spirit, must inevitably devote a great deal of his attention to this problem.

To him *khudi* (self-hood, individuality) is a real and pre-eminently significant entity which is the centre and the basis of the entire organisation of life. Many other schools of thought, philosophical and religious, have strenuously sought to deny the reality of the Self, but Iqbal considers all these pseudo-mystic or pantheistic movements of thought to be dangerous in their practical consequences and misleading as intellectual hypotheses. The Hindu and the Buddhist philosophy regarded the Ego or the Self (individuality) as a mere illusion of the mind possessing no abiding reality of its own. Pantheism and pseudo-mysticism, as it developed both in the East and the West, looked upon it as a mere fragment of the Eternal Mind. The English disciples of Hegel, as well as those who believed in the doctrine of Pantheism, were also of opinion that the highest objective and ideal of man is to lose his individual identity in the Absolute like the drop which slips into the ocean and ceases to exist as an individual entity. This view is definitely rejected by Iqbal, who says that the negation of the Self, or its absorption into some Eternal Self, should not be man's moral or religious ideal; he should rather strive to retain his precious individuality and to strengthen it by developing greater originality and uniqueness in it. "The End of Ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it."¹ The true interpretation of human experience, he explains (discussing the words of Hallāj, "I am the creative truth"), "is not the drop slipping into the sea but the realisation and bold affirmation . . . of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality."²

This movement towards the achievement of a profounder individuality is not confined to the life of man: Iqbal finds it clearly expressed in the development of all living organisms. "Throughout the entire gamut of being," he says, "runs the gradually rising note of ego-hood till it reaches its perfection³ in man."⁴ Like Bergson, Nunn and some leading biologists of the day he believes that all living organisms are struggling to achieve a more or less complex individuality; in man the creative impulse has triumphed and he has developed powers which have opened up before him possibilities of unlimited growth and freedom.

Every thing exists for the show of itself,
Every particle is a martyr of the Greatness of the Universe;
The show of desireless life is naught but death,
In self-building lies the Self of God's Creation.

1. *Lectures*, p. 187

2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

3. "Perfection" should, in the context of Iqbal's thought, be interpreted here as *relative* perfection.

4. *Lectures*, p. 68.

A mustard-grain through its will of self-assertion is a mountain;
 A mountain through self-negation is but a mustard grain;
 Divine Truth alone has real existence in this World;
 All else is naught but quicksilver-glitter.

This is, in fact, his criterion of the degree of reality of any living organism; the extent to which it has achieved the feeling of a distant ego-hood "Only that truly exists which can say 'I am'. It is the degree of the intuition of I-am-ness that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being."¹ Thus he agrees with Bergson that "individuality is a matter of degrees and is not fully realised even in the case of the apparently closed-off unity of the human being". In his *Asrār-i-khudī*, he reverts to this theme again and again and discovers the meaning of the evolutionary process in this striving towards the achievement of a fuller and richer individuality. Thus he says:

"In as much as the life of the Universe comes from the strength of
 the self

Life is in proportion to this strength;
 When a drop of water gets the self's lesson by heart
 It makes its worthless existence a pearl.
 As the grass discovered the power of growth in its self,
 Its aspiration clove the breast of the garden.
 Because the Earth is firmly based on self-existence,
 The captive moon goes round it perpetually.
 The being of the Sun is stronger than that of the Earth,
 Therefore is the Earth bewitched by the Sun's eye.
 When Life gathers strength from the self,
 The river of life expands into an ocean."

Man, he holds, has achieved the highest measure of individuality and is most conscious of his own reality, for "the nature of the ego is such, that, in spite of its capacity to respond to other egos, it is self-centred and possesses a private circuit of individuality excluding all egos other than itself"—a view which is directly in opposition to all pantheistic doctrines about the nature of the self and the Universe. So strong and emphatic is his belief in the value and permanence of the human individuality that he rejects unhesitatingly the view that the highest ambition and bliss for the finite individuality of man is to be lost or immersed in the Infinite or the Absolute—the doctrine of Nirvana, or the ideal consummation of the Sūfi. "It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the Infinite ego to seek for himself the consequences of his past actions."² Thus, according to him, neither education nor other social and cultural insti-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

tutions can have any higher aim than that of strengthening the individuality of the educands for the realisation of their limitless possibilities.

Before discussing how this development of individuality can be facilitated, we must enquire into the causes which have been responsible for directing Iqbal's thought into this particular channel. He finds an emphatic sanction for it, in the first place, in the basic teachings of Islam. The Qur'anic view of the human ego, he points out, stresses in its simple and forceful manner "the individuality and uniqueness of man and has . . . a definite view of his destiny as a unity of life".¹ Even in the *higher* Sūfism of Islam "unitive experience is not the finite ego, effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite ego; it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite . . ."² But Iqbal is at the same time alive to the fact that the doctrine of the negation of the Self has crept into and profoundly coloured Muslim thought—mainly and originally through the study of Greek philosophy—although it is essentially repugnant to the spirit of Islam which is anti-classical.

The Qur'an is empirical in its attitude and holds that "in the domain of knowledge, scientific or religious, complete independence of thought from concrete experience is not possible." Thus it had sought to give a feeling of reverence for the actual, and ultimately made the Muslims the founders of modern science. But the slow permeation of the classic spirit of the Greek culture tended to obscure their true vision of the Qur'an. Socrates and Plato despised sense perception which, according to them "yielded mere opinion and no real knowledge", but Iqbal points out that the development of an active individuality is impossible except in contact with its dynamic environment. He impeaches Plato as "that old philosopher of sheep", because he deprecated a life of active striving in this world of varied forces and phenomena, which he refused to accept as a challenging and stimulating scene for human activity, and advocated instead a life of contemplation and pure thought for all the free citizens who could afford it.

"The thought of Plato regarded loss as a profit
His philosophy declared that being is non-being.
Since he was without any taste for action
His soul was enraptured by the non-existent.
He disbelieved in the material universe
And became the creator of invisible Ideas.
Sweet is the world of living phenomena to the living spirit,
Dear is the world of ideas to the dead spirit.
The peoples were poisoned by his intoxication,
They slumbered and took no delight in action."

1. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

It was a profound study of the general decadence which has characterised most of the Eastern nations and the Muslims in particular during the last few centuries, which has made him concentrate so strongly on the doctrine of Individuality. He was driven to the conclusion that this feeling of defeat and despair, this loosening of the fibres of national life was due to the adoption of the paralysing doctrine of self-negation. He seeks to give a new orientation and a dynamic quality to their thought and conduct by preaching the fullest and freest affirmation of the self in this real world of material forces and phenomena which can, and should, be utilised to serve the increasing purposes of the human spirit. Man, he points out in the words of the Qur'an, is the "trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril", and which can be fully realised only if he throws himself wholeheartedly into the troubles and turmoils, the joys and sorrows of the world which surrounds him. The unceasing reward of man consists, he says, in his "gradual growth in self-possession in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego".¹ He, therefore, preaches the doctrine of the fullest development and affirmation of the self in this world with all its material forces and phenomena and all its cultural and spiritual riches. This Self, which is always in the making, is a reservoir of yet untapped powers and unsuspected possibilities which demand that the individual should throw himself open to all kinds of formative and challenging experiences. If he withdraws from the world of strife his individuality will shrink and wither and his powers will remain unrealised. Even for the poet—generally looked upon as an emotionalist and sentimentalist living in a world of his own artistic moods and sensibilities—his message is one of strenuous striving, and he protests against the poet's normal attitude of relaxation and impotent whimperings against Fate:

"Oh! if thou hast the coin of poesy in thy purse,
 Rub it on the touchstone of life!
 For a long time thou hast turned about on a bed of silk:
 Now accustom thyself to rough cotton!
 Now throw thyself on the burning sand
 And plunge into the fountain of Zamzam.
 How long wilt thou fain lament like the nightingale?
 How long make thine abode in gardens?
 O thou whose auspicious snare would do honour to Phoenix,
 Build a nest on the high mountains,
 That thou mayst be fit for life's battle
 That thy body and soul may burn in life's fire!"

This note of bold and fearless self-realisation runs right through his poetry and philosophy, and he considers the cultivation of Individuality to be the highest goal of all social and educational efforts.

1. *Ibid.*, 111.

SHIVAJI AND AFZAL KHAN

By MUJIB-AR-RAHMAN

THE SO-CALLED "Shivaji and Afzal Khan" incident, in which the latter was stabbed and killed by the former, has ever been one of the most disputed points of Indian history. Grant Duff and his followers (e.g., Dr. Smith) are of opinion that it was Shivaji who gave the first blow with a treacherous motive and Afzal Khan was an innocent victim at the hand of the Marhatta hero.¹

But Prof. Sir Jadunath Sarkar and his followers (e.g., Prof. Taka Khab of the Queen's College, Bombay) say that it was Afzal Khan who took the first initiative in the engagement and gave the first blow, and the blow of Shivaji was a mere recoil upon the Khan.²

Dr. Surendranath Sen, who is also a great authority on Marhatta history, says: "... foiled in his attempt to draw Shivaji out of his impregnable stronghold of Pratapgad... Afzal Khan opened negotiations with him [Shivaji]. The two adversaries met, very slightly attended, to discuss the peace terms, and the Marhatta historians unanimously allege that the stalwart Muslim general tried to stab and strangle the slightly built Marhatta while they were embracing each other. Shivaji had been prepared for such a contingency. Though apparently unarmed he carried a small dagger... in the sleeve and a set of iron claws on his fingers.... The Muslim general was killed."³

The origin of these conflicting views may be traced back to the original authorities dealing with the subject. These authorities mainly fall under three groups: (a) Muslim, (b) Marhatta, (c) European.

According to the Muslim and European authorities, Afzal Khan was innocent of the charge which has been brought against him. Owing to his carelessness he was ensnared and killed by Shivaji. But the Marhatta historians (or, more properly, chroniclers and ballad-writers) say that the first proposal for the interview came from Afzal Khan who, with a treacherous motive, gave the first blow. Shivaji stabbed him for the sake of self-protection.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has substantially ignored the Muslim and European authorities and has followed the Marhatta chronicles almost

1. Grant Duff, *History of the Marhattas*, Edn 1912, vol. I, 134-7; V.A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*.

2. Sarkar: *Shivaji*, p. 66, 3rd Ed., and Prof. Takakhav and K.A. Keluskar, *Shivaji Moharaj*, p. 170.

3. Dr. Sen and Dr. Rai-Choudhury, *Ground Work of Indian History*, 2nd Ed., p. 245.

verbatim to decide the matter in favour of Shivaji. It does not seem proper on the part of a scholar like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who has dealt with the subject exhaustively in his *Shivaji*, to draw a hasty conclusion without subjecting all the authorities to a thorough scrutiny, especially when he has deliberately rejected the long-established opinion of Grant Duff, a historian of weight and authority.

We shall at first quote the passages from these authorities dealing with the subject, and then these records will be judged according to their merit, genuineness and the circumstances under which they were compiled; and lastly, we shall come to a final decision that will follow from the argument.

(a) Muslim: Muhammad Hashim alias Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab al-Lubab*, vol. II.

(b) European:

British: John Fryer, *Travels in East Indies*, and East India Company's Records.

French: Barthelmy A. Carre.

Portuguese: Cosma da Guard.

(c) Marhatta: Krishnaji Anant Savasad; Chitnis; *Shiva Digvijaya*, *Chitrugupta Bhaskar* and a few other ballads.

Now let us see what these authorities say about the incident.

(a) 1. Khafi Khan: "... I now relate what I have heard from the trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Marhatta race about the origin and the race of the reprobate Shivaji. His ancestors owe their origin to the line of the Ranas of Chitor... From this good stock, in the seventh or eighth generation, was born Shahu Bhonslah... Mullah Ahmad, an adherent of the Bijapur dynasty... held three *parganas* [districts] in this country... At this time two *parganas*, named Puna and Supa, became the *jagir* of Shahu Bhonslah. Shivaji became the manager of these two *parganas* on the part of his father and looked carefully after them. He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence, and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the Father of Fraud. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode. Like the *zamindars* of the country he set out erecting forts on hills.

"Adil Shah of Bijapur was attacked by sickness under which he suffered for a long time, and a great confusion arose in his territory. At this time Mullah Ahmad went with his followers to wait upon Shah Jahan, and Shivaji, seeing his country left without ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it, with the possession of some other Jagirdars. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants spread over rest of the Konkan and all the territory of Dakhin. Whenever he heard of a prosperous town, or a dis-

strict inhabited by thriving cultivators, he plundered it and took possession of it... The country of Dakhin was never free from commotion and outbreaks...

"He assembled a large force of Marhatta robbers and plunderers, and set about reducing fortresses. The first fort he reduced was that of Chandan.¹ After that he got the possession of some other fortresses... Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Bijapur in the time of Sikander Ali Adil Khan, the Second, whose legitimacy was questioned and who ruled, when a minor, as the *locum tenes* of his father. The operation of Aurangzeb against that country, when he was a prince in the reign of his father, brought a great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose. Shivaji day by day increased strength, and reduced all the forts of the country... Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin.

"When Sikander Ali Adil Khan came to years of discretion, and took the government into his own hands, he wrote letters to Shivaji, but without effect. He then sent Afzal Khan with a large army to chastise the rebel. Afzal Khan was one of Adil Shah's most distinguished and courageous officers, and he pressed Shivaji hard. The truculent rebel, knowing that he would gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance and request forgiveness for his offences. After some negotiations, the deceitful Brahman made an agreement that Shivaji should come under his fortress with only three or four servants and entirely without arms. Afzal Khan likewise was to proceed in a *palki* with four or five servants and without arms to the place agreed upon under his fort. After Shivaji paid his respect, and verbal agreements had been made, he was to receive the *khilat* and then be dismissed. When Afzal Khan had taken the proffered tribute and *peshkas*, Shivaji was to entertain him, and speed him on his way back to Bijapur, or rather he would attend him thither in person upon an assurance of reconciliation.

"The designing rascal by sending various presents and fruits of the country conciliated Afzal Khan who fell into the snare, believing all the false deceiving statements, observing none of the cautions which the wise commend... and without arms... he proceeded to the place. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot. Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort.

"He [Shivaji] begged that the armed men and servants, who had accompanied Afzal Khan's litter, should move further off. Shivaji had a weapon called in the language of the Dakhin *bichwa* on the fingers of his hand under his sleeve. He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said, 'I intend to kill my enemy;... the moment you see me strike do not think about me, but blow your

1. According to Grant Duff, Torna was the first fort he captured. *History of the Marhattas*, I, 130.

trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers'. He had given orders to the troops also that as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khan. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khan who raised his [Shivaji's] head and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Shivaji then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groaning. The trumpeter blew a blast of the triumph . . . then men, horses and troops rushed forth in great numbers on all sides and fell upon the army of Afzal Khan . . .

"But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the Sacred Kuran came into his hand, he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Muslim followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muslim were taken prisoners by his men and they had no friend to protect them, he [Shivaji] watched over them until their relations came with suitable ransom to buy their liberty."¹

A critical estimate of his [Khafi Khan's] statement: Khafi Khan was a contemporary Muslim historian of Delhi. He derived the account of this event, as he himself says, "from the trusty men of Dakhin" during his travels in South India (Elliot, *History of India* VII, 341, 351). From a perusal of these passages and his entire work it will be evident to every reader that he was a very frank, genuine, considerate and impartial writer. He abused every one, whether friend or foe, for his vices, and praised him for what he found praiseworthy in him. He did not refrain from calling Shivaji 'a rascal' for his treachery and plundering habits, yet he did not overlook the bright side of his character.² He held him in high esteem for his toleration towards Islam or more properly, for his veneration shown to the Holy Quran and mosques. That Shivaji was very much respectful towards Islam as well as to other religions is also proved by Christian writers.³

The most remarkable feature of his writings is his independence which he, regardless of the royal favour or disfavour, maintained with rigorous consistency.⁴ In spite of the imperial injunction he collected his materials and wrote his history privately for which he secured the immortal title Khafi (i.e., concealed) Khan (but some other scholars hold other view on this point). According to Dowson it is "one of the best and most impartial histories of Modern India."⁵

1. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab al-lubab*; Elliot & Dowson, *History of India* VII, 254—61.

2. *Ibid.*, VII, 260, 305, 342.

3. Bernier: *Travels in India*, p. 188; Thevenot, *Travels in the Indies*, ed. 1687, part III, 29; and Dr. Sen's *Foreign Biography of Shivaji*, 1st Ed., p. 180.

4. Khafi Khan, *Text*, vol. II, 726; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* VII, 441.

5. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* VII, 207.

(b) European Authorities:

2. John Fryer: *Travels in East India*.

"... The Rajas of the mountains, the most eminent among whom is Sevagi, derived from an ancient line of Rajas of the caste Bounceloes, a warlike and active offspring... Upon the downfall of the Nisham Shah [Nizam Shah] the father and his other sons listed themselves as pensioners to the King [i.e., Shivaji's father and brothers were granted pensions by the king of Bijapur]... Seva-Gi could not be won upon... but sought to raise himself by the ruins of others setting the lesser Lords at variance with their prince in whose quarrel he always made sure the upperground. Wherefore his [Shivaji's] father disinherited him... This turbulent young man works himself into greatness.

"At which the king of Bijapur beginning to cast an eye, finding him aspiring and intending to blast him in the bud, sent a potent army against him conducted by Abdul Caun [Afzal Khan], an experienced soldier, yet outwitted by Seva-Gi. For he, understanding of his having taken the field, while the main body was yet at a distance, sent him flattering and seducing messages, intimating withal, if he would but stop his march at an appointed Choultry [place of halt], out of sight of each rendezvous, he would meet him and kiss his feet, begging that he [Afzal Khan] would act the obliging office of a peace-maker between him and the King."

"Abdul Caun thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his friends... but they could not prevail. At the day prefixed therefor he takes with him his son and a selected number which he credited, would not be out-equalled by Seva-Gi... but the perfidious man had placed an ambuseado, and with a smaller show in appearance than Abdul [Caun] brought, waits his coming; who as soon as he spied him afar off, went to meet him, and prostrates himself before him with feigned tears, craving pardon for his offence, and would not rise till he has assured him of his being an advocate to procure it [i.e., pardon]. Going to enter the Choultry together, he cries out, like a fearful man that his lord (so he styled the general) might excuse his pleasure on him and ease him of his life, which Abdul Caun surmising, was because he was armed and the other [Shivaji] came seemingly unarmed, delivered his sword and ponyard to his page, and bade him [Shivaji] enter with courage; whereafter... he [Shivaji] slips a stiletto from under his coat sleeve, and then eying his blow, struck it at his heart, whereas the signal was given and his [Shivaji's] men came forth in which scuffle Abdul's son¹ gave Seva-Gi a wound but was forced to change habit with a *Frass* immediately, and venturing through untrodden paths hardly escaped to the camp who thereon were so discomfited, that they quickly dispersed themselves and left the field open

1. Our traveller here commits a mistake. He was not the son of Afzal but his body-guard Sayed Bandu as all the authorities unanimously say.

to Seva-Gi. Who, grown proud with his good fortune, resolves not to return till he has sacked Panala¹ one of their wealthiest and strongest cities."²

3. East India Company's Records:

In course of their commercial transactions the incident is frequently referred to by the Factors of Surat and Rajpur.

Letter No. 1.

From Rajpur Factors to Surat Factors

Dated the 9th December, 1659.

"... Sivagy, a great Rajput and as great an enemy to the Queen [of Bijapur] has taken the great castle of Panella [after the incident] within six course [kos]. We wish his good success heartily, because it works all for the Companies' good...."³

Letter No. 2.

From Rajpur Factor to the Company.

Dated, the 10th December, 1659.

"... Rustam Jemah [Jaman] who is much the Englishes Friends... but the Queen suspects him to be her enemy and so indeed he is... The person that is called the King of this country is known to be the bastard⁴ of this Queen's husband; and she would have the crown setted on him; but some of the *Umbraves* [nobles] of this country, knowing him to be spuriously begotten, will not give him homage and refuse to go to the Court; and these are Rustam Jamah, Bull [Bahlul] Chawne. Sivagy..., against whom the Queen this year sent Abdle Chawne with an army of ten thousand horses and foot, and because she knew with that strength he was not able to resist Sivagy, she counselled him to pretend friendship with his enemy which he did. And the other whether through intelligence or suspicion, it is not known, dissembled his love towards him and sent his mother as a hostage assuring him of his reality upon which Abdle Chawne advances and the two armies lay within a little distance of each other. While with a party from each of these two went to meet and embrace each other. And having had some discourse publicly they desired to be private when Sivagy with a dagger from out of his bosom stabbed the other to the heart. After which the signe [signal] being given his armies consisting of Rajputs and Hindus etc.

1. Panella. It was one of the hill forts of that country. After the incident Shivaji captured it as the subsequent letter No. 1 and other authorities show.

2. John Fryer: *Travels in East India*, Hakluyt Society Publications. Series II. vol. XX. pp. 59—62. The original language is maintained.

3. *Records of the English Factories in India*, ed. by Foster. Oxford, vol. X. 251 ff.

⁴ This (i.e. his illegitimacy) is supported by almost all the contemporary authorities.

fell upon the Moors and killed about 3,000 men, and put the rest to flight...."¹

(Sd.) Revington

(Sd.) Taylor.

(This letter is one of the main authorities which Prof. Sarkar has utilised, not fully but partially, in writing the history of Shivaji. He quotes the bracketed portion of the letter at the foot-note on p. 64 of his 'Shivaji' (2nd Ed.), and abruptly finishes it, not only in the middle of the letter, but even in the middle of the sentence, just at a place where the real truth begins to come out.)

Letter No. 3.

From Rajpur Factors to Surat.

Dated, the 4th February, 1660.

"Afzal Khan was killed by Shivaji".

(This is an abridged sentence from a long and complicated one.)²

Letter No. 4.

From Surat Factors to the Company (in England).

Dated, the 20th July 1663.

"Abdala Ckau who (whom) Sivagy killed at Jaoli."³

A Critical Estimate of the British Records

According to the statement of John Fryer, Afzal Khan was quite innocent. It was Shivaji who took the initiative. He personally travelled through the Deccan sometimes between 1672 and 1682, and recorded what he heard from the people of Maharashtra. He has committed some mistakes in his statement, but they are not of a very serious character. According to the first and second letters the Factors seem to be the well-wishers and friends of Shivaji. His well-wishers and friends are expected either to remain neutral or to write in his favour, if they at all write anything (as it usually occurs with every writer). So we cannot expect anything from the well-wishers of Shivaji that may go against him and in favour of Afzal Khan. Moreover these letters were despatched within a period of four years, and the accounts of the travels of John Fryer were recorded within a period of fourteen or fifteen years after the incident. According to Prof. Sarkar, these letters are very authentic and reliable. But they afford no hint at the so-called treachery of Afzal Khan. The latter portion of letter No. 2, which the learned Professor forgets or refuses to quote, distinctly says that Shivaji killed Afzal Khan

1. *Records of the English Factories in India*, ed. by Foster, vol. X, 249-250.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. X, 354.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. XI, 242.

in a friendly interview and it is confirmed by all the neutral and disinterested writers like John Fryer and Abbe Carre and others in distinct language.

4. French Records: B. Abbe Carre:

"... Abdel Kam [Afzal Khan] was the son of one of the greatest nobles of the Kingdom [of Bijapur]... Abdel Kam possessed all his father's tastes for splendour, but he added to it a furious passion for women. Sevagy and he shared the favour of the king of Visapur for a long time... The revolt of Sevagy having separated them, Abdel Kam obtained permission to retire... In this situation Abdel Kam weighed in his mind whether he would accept the office of the Commander-in-Chief... he decided to do so against his will and prepared to march against Sevagy... To spare himself all the anxieties, which love causes, he had there two-hundred women daggered in his presence... This was the reason why Sevagy gave his ears to the discourse of some of his generals who advised him to assassinate Abdel Kam on the pretext of an interview that he would ask of him at the time when the two armies should be on the point of fighting".

"Sevagy yielded to their discourse... murder was but a thing he was not frightened by, sent a herald to propose to Abdel Kam that he should advance alone at the head of his army to confer with Sevagy who would do as much on his part. For greater security he even offered to abandon his arms, provided that Abdel Kam should be pleased to cast away his.

"Abdel Kam accepted the offer and by an egregious indiscretion advanced alone, relying solely upon the word of Sevagy. It is true that he had always known him as a man of integrity and he had never imagined him capable of failing in his promise.

"Sevagy, however, had a dagger concealed under his vest and he was firmly resolved to use it and thereby finish a work which would otherwise have lasted long and the success of which was doubtful... When they came quite close to each other, Sevagy began the conversation—he spoke to him of their old friendship etc. Then changing his demeanour all of a sudden he drew out his dagger and stabbed him on the chest.

"Sevagy withdrew to his men who at once fell fiercely upon the army of Abdel Kam which was utterly dismayed...

"I remember that in 1673 in the course of a journey which I made by land from Surat to St. Thome [i.e., Madras]. I remained at Abdelpore of which Abdel Kam was the governor at the time of his assassination. I went to see the palace. I found there a large number of workmen occupied in cutting stones to be used for the mausoleum of Abdel Kam."

1. Abbe Carre, *History of Shiwaji*, transl. and edited by Dr. S. N. Sen in his *Foreign Biographies of Shiwaji*, pp. 227—230.

Critical Estimate:

From the records left by him it seems that he was, like John Fryer, a traveller. He had recorded what he personally saw and heard from the men of Dakhin in 1673 i.e., fourteen years after the event. He gives no hint of the so-called treacherous motive of Afzal Khan. On the other hand he distinctly says that it was Shivaji who took the initiative with a treacherous motive and gave the first blow. Like Khafi Khan and Fryer he derived the information of this event from the men of the Dakhin. His writings, according to Dr. Sen, are of unequal value. His statements are substantially the same as we find in Khafi Khan's work. Khafi Khan published his history after the death of Aurangzeb i.e., after 1707 at Delhi; Abbe Carre published his history in 1699 at Paris. Therefore, there could have been no correspondence between the two, yet both the statements are substantially the same.

Portuguese Record:

5. C. Guarda wrote his history of Shivaji in 1695 i.e., thirty-six years after the event. He lived among the Marhattas and wrote what he heard from them. Therefore we cannot expect from him the same accuracy of events and order of time as we find in contemporary writers—Muslim and European. In his work we find some mistakes in names and inconsistency of events. The Afzal Khan and Shaista Khan incidents seem to be mixed together, because the former incident seems, according to his statement, to have taken place at night. But from the account of the incident it is clearly apparent that Afzal was killed by Shivaji. That Afzal Khan entertained any black design against the life of Shivaji is referred to nowhere in his work—even by hint.¹

An Estimate of the European Records:

These European writers as well as Khafi Khan are of unanimous opinion that Afzal Khan entertained no treacherous design. On the other hand they unanimously say, either directly or indirectly, that Shivaji was the first man to display treachery towards the Khan. They all derived the information of the incident from the Marhattas; and nothing and up to 1695 we find no mention of the alleged treachery on the part of Afzal Khan.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 16 ff.

(c) Marhatta Records:

6. Krishnaji Anant Savasad: "... At the news of Sevaji's rebellion the 'Dowager Queen' summoned all the Adil Shahi nobles and ministers and asked them to march against Sivaji but no one agreed. Afzal Khan, a Wazir, however, agreed [saying]: 'What is Sivaji? I will bring him alive a prisoner, without alighting from my horse.' When he asserted this the princes became much pleased [with him] and gave him clothes, ornaments, elephants, horse, wealth ... and dispatched him with *Omraos* of note at the head of twelve thousand horse, besides infantry.

"Then the whole force was mobilised and set off in vast array. Then they came to Fuljapur. They came there and encamped. Sri Bhavani, the Patron deity of the Moharaja's family, was broken [into pieces], thrown into the hand-mill and pounded into dust. No sooner was [goddess] Bhavani broken than a heavenly voice was heard: 'Afzal Khan, thou art a wretch, on the 21st day from this will I behead thee, the whole of thy army will I destroy, and satiate the 90 millions *chamundas* [i.e., the blood sucking deities].' So said the bodyless voice. Then the armed men came to Pandharpur. They descended to the valley of the Bhima... They came to Wai committing sacrileges on the gods [along the route], then they decided that some one should be sent on an embassy to the Raja and he should be captured alive when his confidence has been inspired by the conclusion of a truce. Krishnaji Bhaskar, the envoy, was summoned and instructed (to say) that 'the old friendship between your father, the Moharaja and myself has been continued in brotherly intercourse, you are not on that account a stranger to me you should come and see me. I shall obtain for you the grant of the Principality of Tal-Konkan and a Jagir from the Badshah. The forts and hill forts you have captured, I shall get confirmed in your possession, I shall get for you further distinction, I shall have conferred on you as big a *saranjut* as you want. If you like to see the Badshah you may, if not, I shall get you exempted from the regular attendance at Court. You should peacefully bring the Raja for an interview, by making some such profession. Else we shall come.' So was Krishnaji Pant instructed. And then he arranged to dispatch him.

"In the meantime the Raja got the news that Afzal Khan had been appointed at the head of twelve thousand horses (against him) from Bijapur. When he learnt this the Raja decided to mobilize all his forces, fight at Jaoli and to go to Pralabgad in person. Then he was dissuaded by all. 'You (they counselled) should not give battle, peace should be concluded.' The Raja answered to that 'As he killed Shambhuji [a glaring mistake; Shambhaji was killed in 1690. Elliot VII, p. 337] so will he kill me. I will do what is possible before I am killed. Peace I will not conclude.' This decision was made. That night Sri-Bhavani of Tuljapur appeared [to him] in a bodily shape and said: 'I am pleased. I shall assist thee in everything. At thy hands I shall get Afzal Khan killed. I grant thee success. Thou shouldst have no anxiety.' In this man-

ner did the goddess enliven with resolution and confidence and assured him of security. The Raja awoke, called Jija Bai and related to her the details of the dream. Prominent men were summoned... to them all was the dream related. 'The goddess is favourably disposed, now will I kill Afzal Khan and rout his army,' so said he.

"The Raja started... went to Protapgad... he instructed Setaji Palkar Sarnabat to come up to the *ghats* with his forces. And he said: 'I shall invite Afzal Khan to Jaoli, meet him by offering to make peace, and draw him near me by inspiring confidence. You should then come and block the roads.'

"In the meantime Krishnaji Pant came as envoy from the Khan... The Raja had an interview with him. The Khan's message as he had charged him, was delivered... and there was a faithful and respectable man named Pantaji Gopinath in the Raja's service. Him did he summon and with him he held a private council in the Palace. The Raja said to Pantaji Pant: 'The Khan's envoy Krishnaji Pant has come on an embassy, I shall give him leave and send him off. I shall despatch you also to Afzal Khan. Go there,—have an interview with the Khan and conduct the negotiation. Demand the Khan's solemn oath. If he asks for an oath, give it and make no hesitation. Anyhow bring the Khan to Jaoli. Besides, you are to institute an enquiry in his army and get information by whatever means it can be obtained. Enquire whether the Khan's heart is set on my good or harm.'¹ With these instructions the Raja went to the court. He summoned Krishnaji Pant there. The Raja spoke: 'A solemn oath from the Khan is necessary. Take on that account Pantji Pant of our side with you to see the Khan. Make the Khan give him a [written] oath with an imprint of his palm on it. Bring the Khan to Jaoli, I will go and have an interview with uncle [the Khan]. There is nothing evil in my mind.' So said the Raja. He went and interviewed the Khan. Krishnaji Pant said: 'The Raja is not opposed to your views... As is Moharaja Shahji to the Raja, so are you [to Shivaji]; so he asserted on his oaths. The Raja will, without any fear come to Jaoli. The Khan also should come to Jaoli without entertaining any suspicion...' He [the Khan] took an oath with evil intention in his mind. The Khan said: 'The Raja is a base born unbeliever, Jaoli is a place of difficult access, he asks me to meet him there. Therefore, if thou Brahman, as an intermediary, will take an oath [for my safe return], I will go to meet Shivaji.' Therefore Pantaji Pant gave an assurance on solemn oath. 'The Raja is not disposed to do you any harm. Have no suspicion, arrange for going in an interview.' Saying so, he bribed men in the army, and enquired of the clerks and ministers and questioned them. They said: 'Shivaji is a rogue. He cannot be captured by fighting. Therefore an interview should be arranged by diplomacy. The Khan has so contrived that he should be captured at the time of interview.'

"Pantaji went to Protapgad. He saw the Raja and imparted to him what he heard. Then he said: 'There is evil intention in the Khan's mind. It is that he will bring you to an interview by a truce, capture you by treachery and then take you prisoner to Bijapur. If you have courage, I shall bring the Khan to Jaoli after detaching him [from his army] by many devices. You have to muster courage and single-handed kill him in a lonely place and plunder the whole of his army. Make the entire kingdom your own.' Such was the counsel he gave. It pleased the Raja. Pantaji Pant went to the Khan at Wai. He submitted to him the message. 'The Raja is timid. He has his suspicion about coming here for an interview. You should yourself proceed to Jaoli. He will come there and meet you. Give him assurance and take him with you . . .' Thereupon the Khan was highly pleased, marched on and came to Jaoli. He encamped below Protapgad and halted there with his army. It was arranged that the interview should take place . . . after a day's interval. The Raja should descend from the fort, the Khan should advance from his tent, and the two should meet each other in a place at some intermediate place."

"However after a regular negotiation he approached for an interview. The Raja put a coat of mail and a turban on his head with an iron mail under it, in hands a *bichwa* and a *bag nwak* and advised his generals 'only one should be fired from the fort, then you are to descend from the ghats and fall upon the Khan's army and attack it.'"¹

While going to the interview he took Jiwan Mohal and Sambhuji Kavji armed with swords, shields, *patta* and *firang*; other swordsmen were stationed in thickets at different places in the neighbourhood.

"When the Khan brought one thousand or fifteen hundred musketeers Pantaji prevented him saying that the Raja would be frightened and no interview might take place; 'Take two men and he will take two men'."²

Only Sayed Bandu accompanied him [Afzal Khan] there but he was removed by the advice of Shivaji.³

As the Raja embraced him, he [the Khan] caught his head tightly in his armpit and unsheathed his 'Jamad' (a short sword or, according to Prof. Sarkar, a long dagger) he had in his hand and struck at the side of the Raja and it slid over his steel mail. The Raja struck the Khan's belly with the 'bagnwak'. The Khan had only one cotton garment on . . . The Khan was killed . . . The signal was given. The Raja's men came down.⁴

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

A Critical Estimate:

The author was the Court Chronicler of Raja Rama, the son and successor of Shivaji. Unlike Khafi Khan he compiled his history under the direct order and supervision of Raja Rama, thirty-five years after the event (1694 A.C.). That the book was written only from memory, and without the help of any written memorandum and document, is proved by the misarrangement in the order of time and events.¹ So that we cannot expect anything that may go against Shivaji, the father of the patron (Raja Rama) of the historian. Therefore it has got every possibility of being partial. The author seems to be a very superstitious one. In more than one place we find him say that Bhavani came down from the altar and took possession of the body of Shivaji.² Chitnis, Chitragupta and the author of the *Siva Digvijaya* flourished about one hundred or more than one hundred years after the event. They followed Savasad in dealing with the history of Shivaji and quoted not only his passages but even his language almost *verbatim*. So they committed the same mistake as we find Savasad doing. According to Prof. Sarkar, these compilations are no better than the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.³

7. Chitnis: "... The elder Begum of Adil Shah Badshah observed that Shivaji had turned rebel, taken possession of the provinces, forts and led raiding expeditions... He did not listen even to his father's counsel... when the question put, Afzal Khan made the following determined speech: 'Is Shivaji's affair of too much importance? If I am ordered I shall bring him a prisoner or kill him outright'... With a total force of fifty thousand Afzal Khan marched to Tuljapur. He would have committed sacrileges upon the goddess but she was removed by the officiating priest... The Khan came to Pandharpur and molested the people of that place, but the image was hidden by the attending priest... Then he marched... committing oppression upon gods and Brahmans as he went... The Moharaja came to Rajgad... where the Khan learned the news of the Raja's arrival at Pratapgad, ... he left Puna road, marched towards Protapgad and encamped at Wai."

" 'Shivaji Raja has entered the thickets,' thought the Khan, 'I should draw him out by some artifice or if I can meet him personally by inspiring his confidence I shall follow what course may then occur to me, and render service to the Badshah.' Having matured his treacherous plan, he sent Krishna Bhaskar on an embassy fully intimating to him of his real designs.

"... Moharaja called a war council... and discussed the plan they should adopt. 'The army should be clearly kept intact and the enemy

1. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 3rd Ed., p. 413.

2. *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 10, 11, etc. and also Chitnis, p. 184.

3. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 2nd Ed., p. 451.

harassed... Deeming this counsel wise the Moharaja prayed to the goddess and she took possession of his body and said: 'Oh my child! why dost thou feel so troubled. Thou hast my blessing. I will remove thy difficulties and I will give thee success. Do not be anxious.'¹ Then he despatched an envoy.

The statements that follow are substantially the same as that of Savasad. So we do not think it desirable to repeat the same thing again. But the means by which he (Shivaji) came to know of the Khan's plan is different from that of Savasad. The Raja took the envoy Khrishnaji Pant (Afzal Khan's envoy) in private and thus addressed him: " 'You are a Brahman and... my aim is to found the Moharastra Empire. Our religion has been overthrown, gods and Brahmins are troubled, the Mlechchhas are supreme everywhere, everyone is oppressed. My aim is to remove this state of things. If you are favourable to this idea, then tell me frankly what is in the mind of the Khan? What is his real design?' In this manner did the Raja respectfully address the envoy. He was a Brahman, the Raja wanted to be the defender his faith. So he said: 'The Khan wants to give you such assurances as may bring about a meeting. He is resolved to commit treachery in that interview.'²

Thus, according to Savasad, Shivaji's envoy bribed the Khan's officers and obtained the information regarding his treacherous design, but according to Chitnis, Afzal Khan's own envoy disclosed it to Shivaji. But the author of the *Siva Digvijaya* says that Shivaji derived the information from a Marhatta general who in the disguise of a *faqir* went to the court of the Khan.³ Falsehood is the perennial source of confusion and contradiction. Such is the case with these records which were compiled about a hundred or more than a hundred years after the event. On other points the Marhatta Chronicles are substantially the same.

THESE are the statements in details dealing with the incident. If these materials are subjected to a rigorous criticism, the conclusion will be automatically evident to us. Now let us examine their historical authenticity.

Among the modern authorities on Indian History, who dealt with the subject exhaustively, the names of Prof. Sir J. N. Sarkar and Prof. Taka Khab occupy the first place.⁴ But Prof. Taka Khab quotes the very words of our Letter No. 2 (of the East India Company) which Prof. Sarkar has quoted at the foot-note of his Shivaji. From this it can be surmised that he has not gone through the original records of the

1. *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 183-184.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

4. Dr. S. N. Sen is the main authority on the Marhatta History, but he has not yet dealt specially with the life and history of Shivaji.

Company. We, therefore, think it desirable to omit his (Prof. Taka Khab's) name from the category of our criticism, and intend to criticise the work of Prof. Sarkar whom he has accepted as an authority.

Prof. Sarkar's mode of dealing: According to the learned professor, the East India Company's Records are very authentic and reliable. Again he utilised the Marhatta Chronicles almost *verbatim* for the account of the incident under consideration, and he says that it was Afzal Khan who, while embracing Shivaji, "tightened his clasp and held Siva's neck fast in his left arm with an iron grip while with his right hand he drew his long straight bladed dagger and struck at the side of Siva.' Siva groaned in agony as he felt himself being strangled but in a moment he recovered from the surprise, passed his left arm, round the Khan's waist and tore his bowels open.² Prof. Taka Khab follows the same Marhatta authority and draws the same conclusion.

Prof. Sarkar says that the Marhatta authorities (that is *Chitragupta*, *Siva Digvijaya*, etc.) are no better than Bankim Chatterjee's novels, and yet he follows the same authorities.³

According to the learned professor the East India Company's Records of Surat and Rajpur are authentic and reliable, yet he utilises these records not fully, but partially. He quotes the bracketed portions of the letter No. 2, but abruptly omits the remaining portions from which the real fact may be clearly evident to a judicious reader. And again he lays special stress upon the bracketed portion of that letter and writes the words, counselled him to pretend friendship with his enemy which he did," in italics. What does he mean by the sentence? Does he mean that Afzal is counselled to entertain any treacherous design? It does not say so. It may mean that if the Khan be not able to resist him, he should make truce with him (Shivaji) in order to avert his onward march from without, because at that time Bijapur was distracted by civil dissensions from within. The general of a kingdom that suffers from civil dissensions generally receives the same instruction from its ruler when he marches against a foreign adversary. It is a principle of international politics, and Afzal Khan's case was not exception to it. That there was a friendship established between the two generals, and Afzal Khan was killed are universally admitted facts. The real question is this: Who took the first initiative in the engagement and who was the interested (and earnest) party, and, lastly, who gave the first blow?

From the foregoing questions it will be evident to every reader that Afzal Khan was invariably successful in his campaign, and "Shivaji was much hard-pressed."⁴ The general who is "much hard-pressed" generally takes the first initiative in the proceedings of a truce in a military

1. *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 21.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22, and Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 3rd Ed., p. 66.

3. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 451.

4. Khafi Khan, E & D, vol. VII, 258 Sec. II.

campaign. In order to prove it let us come to the documents themselves. In the last portion of Letter No. 2, which Prof. Sarkar omits, the reader will find Shivaji to have "sent his mother as hostage assuring him [A. Khan] of his [Shivaji's] reality; upon which Abdel Ckawn advances". It bears a very deep significance. If Afzal be the first man (as the Marhatta Chroniclers and their followers assert) to make the first proposal and be anxious for it, then why should Shivaji send his mother as a hostage to the Khan? The earnest, interested and anxious party send hostages as a security for their fidelity. It is not the victorious but the defeated party that is still afraid of a future defeat generally, hankers after a truce and sends hostages to the victorious party. In the later history of the Dekkan, Tipu Sultan sent his two sons as hostages to Lord Cornwallis. It is not the mortgagee but the mortgager who, in earnest need of money, takes the first initiative to approach the mortgagee to mortgage his property as a security for the payment of the money which he borrows. The sender of the hostage is the first man to take the first initiative in an armistice proceedings. It is the eternal principle of the laws of war in international jurisprudence.

Grant Duff says that when Shivaji was about to start for the interview "he laid his head upon the foot of his mother and he sought her blessings".¹ This indicates that his mother was with him and was not sent to Afzal Khan as a hostage. But both the statements may be correct because Shivaji had also a step-mother. This "second" mother was a Bijapuri one.² That Afzal Khan was successful in his campaigns there is no doubt.³ A successful conqueror is never expected to be anxious for peace, and the defeated, earnest and interested party send hostage to the successful one. Thus the sending of Shivaji's mother as hostage is a clear indication of the fact that he was very anxious for, and interested in, the interview.

It may be asked how, if his mother was with the Khan, could Shivaji have murdered the latter and so endangered her life? In answer it can be said that he knew well that an army without general is like a body without life. He did not give them any time for a war council, as did the Persian Emperor in the case of the famous "Ten Thousand", to select a Xenophon from amongst themselves. It was easy for him to rescue his mother. If the mother died before the event, then our professor must admit that the Letter No. 2 (which is his authority) itself is false, and so his italicised words will have no value.

From these facts it is clearly proved that Shivaji was the first to make the proposal for the interview. The records and the logical argument that follows from them clearly speak so. This is supported by the

1. Grant Duff, *History of the Marhattas* I, 137.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

3. Khafi Khan, E & D, vol. VII, 258.

other two letters because they give no hint of the fact, and are confirmed by the other British, Portuguese, French and Muslim writers. In the face of these strong evidences Marhatta authorities are in a precarious condition. Now let us test the Marhattas authorities.

Marhatta Authorities:

These authorities and their followers say, as we have already said, that it was Afzal Khan who took the initiative. Now, the East India Company's records and the Marhatta records are, under such circumstances, contradictory to each other. But the learned professor says that these East India Company's records are very authentic and reliable. Both cannot be true. Either of them must be false. If he accepts the Marhatta records as true, then the East India Company's records are false, and with them their supporters are also false. Again, if he takes the East India Company's records as true, then the Marhatta records must be false and Afzal Khan will be honourably acquitted. But the East India Company's records are supported and confirmed by all the records except the Marhatta ones. If that be the case, then are the Marhatta records false?

Genuineness of the Marhatta Records Examined:

1. The Marhatta historians and chroniclers are not contemporary. Savasad, the earliest of them, wrote his chronicle in about 1694 A.C., i.e., thirty-five years after the incident. So we cannot expect from him the same amount of authenticity as we may have it from contemporary historians like Khafi Khan, Abbe Carre, E. I. Records, etc.

2. Savasad compiled his work under the direct order and supervision of Raja Rama, the son and successor of Shivaji. Anything likely to throw discredit on the character of his father cannot be ordered to be recorded by a son. It is the natural consequence of the relationship between the two. It has been accepted by Prof. Sarkar himself on p. xvi of his Introduction to vol. I of his *History of Aurangzeb*. Savasad says that it was Afzal Khan who took the first initiative in the affair with a treacherous motive. But the manner in which he (Afzal Khan) came to the place of interview does not support this view, and it has been examined in detail in the concluding passages.

3. That there are fabricated events in Marhatta records is proved by the Shaista Khan incident. While dealing with this incident, the Marhatta chronicler says that Shivaji entered into the room of Shaista Khan to murder him, but being implored by Shaista Khan's wife to spare the life of her husband, he only cut off three fingers of his right hand with his consent, provided the Khan should raise no alarm and

lead him to the gate for his escape.¹ If it be true, then why should his son Fateh Khan, his wives and other men have been killed in saving the life of the Khan? If he was secretly led out of the gate, then why should there have been a confusion, clamour and agonising shrieks of the wounded before his departure from the palace?² These European authorities had no correspondence with the Muslim historian, yet their statements entirely tally with that of Khafi Khan, because the truth is everywhere the same. If, therefore, the Marhatta chronicles contain falsehood, who can say that the same is not the case with the "Afzal Khan incident"? The later Marhatta chroniclers followed Savasad, specially in dealing with these two events, and they quoted even the language of Savasad. Therefore they are also expected to be unreliable. Now let us consider it from another point of view.

4. The European and Muslim writers completed their history of this event in 1694 A.C., the year when Savasad began to compile his chronicle, i.e., within thirty-five years after the event. It should be noted in this connection that within this period of thirty-five years (from the date of the murder of Afzal Khan in 1659 to 1694) the Muslim and European writers heard nothing against Afzal Khan and, consequently, recorded nothing. Why? Because the atmosphere of the Dekkan had not yet been infected with the story of the so-called treachery of Afzal Khan, and for this reason nothing was heard against him. But as soon as Savasad compiled and published his chronicle, everything became changed, and rumours of Afzal Khan's treachery began to be heard even from ballads (*bakhars*).

5. The real fact is indirectly betrayed by Savasad himself, when he speaks of Shivaji at the time of his arrival at the Mughal Court. While he was approaching there, says Savasad, in his mind the Badshah (Aurangzeb) argued: "Shivaji is not an ordinary man. He killed Afzal Khan in a friendly meeting. What should be done if in a like manner he jumps on the throne and makes a treacherous attack upon me."³ What the Badshah "argued in his mind" cannot be known even by those who sat by him, not to speak of Savasad who compiled his chronicle residing at Jinji. If it be at all imparted to Savasad by the imperial envoy, then Shivaji was guilty of the crime, because it is not innocence but guilt that creates suspicion in the mind of others. From this very sentence it will appear to every careful reader that Savasad deliberately suppresses something which he knows.

Now let us come to the place of interview and examine both of them in detail with regard to their pre-arrangement, motives and mode of arrival at the place of interview.

1. *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 44, 203–205, 206.

2. Khafi Khan, E & D, vol. VII, 269; Thevenot, Ed. 1687, part III, 28; Abbe Carre, *Foreign Biography of Shivaji*, pp. 175, 195, etc.

3. *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 62.

Pre-arrangement made by Shivaji:

According to all the records,

(a) Shivaji stationed his troops in thickets and jungles.¹

(b) He appointed one of his men to give signal to his soldiers.²

(c) He put on a steel mail and iron cap concealed under his head-dress and took two dangerous weapons in his sleeve and two swords hanging with the belt.³

(d) He took two well-armed swordsmen as body-guards with him to the place of interview,⁴ but the body-guard of Afzal Khan was removed from that place at the request of Shivaji.⁵

Pre-arrangement made by Afzal Khan:

(a) Like Shivaji he stationed no troops, either for self-defence or for aggressive purposes, in the neighbourhood.

(b) He appointed no signalman and took no body-guard with him to the place of interview, and the only body-guard which he wanted to take with himself was removed to a distance at the request of Shivaji.⁶

(c) Unlike Shivaji he put on a thin cotton garment (according to Grant Duff it was made of "muslin") and took a dagger hanging from his waist.

(d) He kept his troops (i.e., 1,000 or 1,500 men whom he took as body-guard) at a distance of long arrow-shot i.e., at a considerable distance.

Motive Considered:

(a) Shivaji:

If Shivaji was innocent, why did he take such minute precautions both for offensive and defensive purposes? Afzal Khan's conduct and absence of any previous arrangement betray no intention of treachery. He had only a dagger on his waist, but this was customary with all the soldiers of those times.

(b) Afzal Khan:

That Afzal Khan entertained no treacherous design is proved by the most simple and plain manner of his interview. Why should have Afzal

1. Khafi Khan, E & D, vol. VII, 260; *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 19.

2. Khafi Khan, E & D, vol. VII, 259; *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 18. Second letter of the E. I. Co.

3. John Fryer, p. 61; Khafi Khan, E & D, vol. VII, 259-60. *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 17-18.

4. *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 19.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Khan sent away his own body-guard, Sayed Bandu, and allowed Shivaji's two armed body-guards to remain on the spot? Was he not afraid of his own life and the consequences that should befall his soldiers and Bijapur. If Shivaji and his body-guard had not been prepared for the occasion, some of them might have been killed or at least received wounds. They came out of the engagement quite unhurt and entirely successful. It was Afzal Khan and his body-guard, Sayed Bandu, who were killed on the spot. Thus all the facts show that Afzal Khan was innocent, and Shivaji was guilty.

We trust our scholars will reconsider these facts, and revert to the simple story of Khafi Khan and Grant Duff.

A STUDY IN MUGHAL LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

By M. SIDIQ KHAN

INTRODUCTION

AN interesting feature of Mughal Land Revenue System was the grant of land holdings as rewards for services rendered or as endowments for the maintenance of religious institutions or persons. Broadly speaking, all the territories whose revenues were directly applied for some specific purposes without passing through the Imperial Exchequer were termed *jagir* lands, and in the Emperor Akbar's time these grants and endowments were termed generally as *sayūrgḥāl*. A certain portion of *jagir* lands was classified as rent-free or *a'ima* grants, while another particular class of rent-free land holdings solely granted for the payment of religious endowments was known variously as *madad-i-ma'āsh* or *milk*. Grants of fixed sums of money for the maintenance of religious institutions or persons made by the Mughal Government were, however, known distinctively as *wazīfas*.¹

It is recorded that rent-free *jagirs* were quite common in every district of Bengal,² and were generally and collectively known as *ba'd-i-zamīn* or miscellaneous lands but more properly as *lā-khīrāj zamīn* or rent free land endowments granted either by some of the Mughal Emperors or their district officers, the *zamīndārs*. These latter, who were mainly Hindus, made many such religious endowments of rent-free land for the support of Brahmīns and Hindu temples which were known as *Brahmōtra* or *Devōtra* grants. The Emperors themselves made such gifts somewhat less frequently and even then in the case of some *a'ima* grants, made by them, the grantees had to pay nominal quit rent or *salāmī* to the Government. Such assignments of land for religious purposes (*milk* or *madad-i-ma'āsh*) were commonly made in terms of area.

1. *Sayūrgḥāl* grants were allowances granted by the Mughal Emperors either in cash or by grants of land, which could be classified the *a'ima*, the *milk* or *madad-i-ma'āsh* and the *wazīfa*. It is of interest to note here the distinction between these grants and the *altamgha* grants which were hereditary assignments of partially rent-free land made under official seal mainly to deserving officers who applied for a grant of their "homes" i.e., of the villages and *parganaḥs* where they were born (see W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 127-28, and R.B. Ramsbotham, *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 107; F. D. Ascoli, I.C.S., in his *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report*, p. 27, defines *altamgha* as endowments to learned men.

2. In Mymensingh district alone there were 1,662 revenue-free estates in 1917. See *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Mymensingh, compiled by Mr. F. A. Sachse, I.C.S.

A recipient of a grant was given a certain number of *bighas* of land in a specified locality and the local officials were directed to demarcate the land and put the grantee in the rightful possession of it.¹

The tenure of such grants was only "during pleasure" of the Emperor or his successors. Most of these *sayūrghāl* or *a'ima* or *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants "were meant to last for a life or for more lives than one, but a change of policy or even personnel might in practice be followed by annulment or drastic reductions".² Then again it is also true that in actual practice, subordinate authorities of the Government like *sadars*, governors and *zamindārs* and others, could also interfere with the tenure of these grants. But it is quite clear, in the words of Moreland, that "while, however, a grant might be summarily withdrawn or modified, there is reason to think that its conferment created in the mind of the recipient some sort of expectation that he and his family would continue to benefit by the liberality of the State. Apart from the published documents, . . . [there are] a number of others, in libraries or in private hands, the survival of which suggests that they were considered to be worth keeping. Such documents . . . constitute evidence that at some period in the past the family possessing them had benefited by the King's favour, and in the Moslem period that fact probably counted for something when a new request was put forward."³ It is with such documents of *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants made to some families of a village in Bengal that I shall deal in the present article.

A number of hitherto unpublished Imperial Charters (*farmāns*) granted by the Emperor Shahjahan in the year 1631 to certain residents of the village Dhubaria in the province of Bengal, together with their confirmatory *taṣḥīhs*,⁴ *rūbkārs*,⁵ and other connected documents have survived till our day. A study of these is of great interest to the student of Indian economic history, and the documents throw a good deal of light on an aspect of Mughal land revenue administration, the grant and confirmation of *madad-i-ma'āsh* gifts of land by the Mughal rulers. In order to appreciate the circumstances leading to the grant of the *farmāns* and the ratifications by later authorities, it is first necessary to trace the history of the village briefly.

EARLY HISTORY OF DHUBARIA

THE fairly large village of Dhubaria, at present having a population of about 900 families, is situated in the Atia Circle, Tangail Sub-Division

1. See Ascoli, *op cit.*, Glossary p. 264; Moreland, *op cit.*, Appendix H. p. 274; Ramsbotham, *op cit.*, p. 189.

2. See Moreland, *op cit.*, p. 99.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

4. *Taṣḥīhs* were confirmatory letters or documents of renewal.

5. *Rūbkārs* were generally orders or judgments.

in the south-western extremity of the Mymensingh District in Bengal.¹ The village lies about half-a-mile to the north of the Bhadra Post Office, and a mile to the east of a tributary of the Jumna river, herself a channel of the mighty Brahmaputra. Dhubaria is typical of the many villages in this area which are situated among low-lying jute and paddy-fields which in the rainy season become miniature seas, being covered with water from the river Jumna and its tributaries.

For the early history of Dhubaria we do not have much material which can be authenticated by reference to records. As far as local traditions can be depended upon, we may say that the village began in the days of Muslim rule. This opinion is partially supported by the fact that up to this day a few ruins or remains of pre-Muslim temples or buildings have been discovered,² though the adjacent district of Dacca has an abundance of such ancient ruins of temples, palaces, fortresses and monuments.³ Further evidence as to the Muslim origin of the village is given by the fact that the population is predominantly Muslim, about 10 per cent. only of the total population being Hindus. This, in the face of the fact that there is no evidence of any sort that at any time in the history of the village the Hindus were oppressed or maltreated by Muslim rulers or villagers, is further proof that the village was Muslim in origin. The Hindus who are to be found there at present belong mainly, though not solely, to the lower middle and the lower social classes. There is hardly any trace of a Brahmin class, which one would naturally expect in any independent Hindu village community of a fair size.

It is interesting to attempt the explanation of the origin of the name of the village. Translated literally into Bengali, the nearest meaning of the name would be, "the place of the two houses", or "the place of the second house". The last interpretation is more probable as we find that there are nearby villages named Adai-baria ("the place of the two and a half houses"), Tebaria, ("the place of the three houses" or "the third house"), Choubaria ("the place of the four houses" or "the fourth house"). Further corroboration of this theory is derived from the fact that in two *thanas* of the district, *viz.*, Gafargaon and Iswarganj, there are two villages respectively named Satarabari ("the seventeenth house") and Atarabari ("the eighteenth house").⁴ It can, therefore, be very reasonably held that these villages were at one time or other situated on post roads; and that they originally grew out of post houses or stopping

1. It is of interest to note that while every other *pargana* of the Mymensingh District was mentioned in the *Ā'in-i-Akbari* the *pargana* of Atia was not mentioned. However, by Shahjahan's time Atia seems to have been well known to the Mughal Court.

2. Excepting the *Mandira-badi* which is referred to later in the body of the article.

3. See F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Dacca, The Romance of an Eastern Capital*, pp. 16-39.

4. See map of the Mymensingh District, given in *Mymensingh District Gazetteer* compiled by F. A. Sachse, I.C.S., 1917.

places on these highways.¹ While many Bengal villages have inexplicable names, Dhubaria, like Adai-baria, Tebaria and Choubaria, has a name which, we may say, clearly refers to the nature of its origin.

Topographically, modern Dhubaria is not the same as the old village of Mughal days. Even about a hundred years ago or so, there were considerable differences in its situation and natural features. The most important and obvious change since that date is the shifting of the channel of the river² which originally used to flow from east to west along the present southern border of the village. Due to erosion the course has now changed from north to south a mile to the west of the village, the river finally joining the Jumna.

Ancient landmarks, which would have demarcated the site of the village, have not survived till our day, so unpropitious is the climate of this part of Bengal, and so unsuitable the soil for the perpetuation of ancient buildings and monuments. The last generation of the residents of the village, and a few members of the present generation, claim to have seen the ruined foundations of a mosque, evidently of some antiquity, attached to the homestead of the present Qazi family. It is said that in its original state the edifice could claim some grandeur and was embellished with a high minaret. Some people say that the mosque was a *Badshāhi masjid*, built at the orders and expense of the Delhi Government, and that it was a gift of one of the more piously-minded Mughal Emperors to one or all of the *farmān*-holders or their descendants. This opinion is plausible enough, considering the all-important fact that the village itself grew out of the religious endowments made by Emperor Shāhjahān. Unfortunately, there are no documentary proofs to this effect, although the village has the rare distinction of possessing a number of authentic Imperial documents e.g., *Badshāhi farmāns*, *tashihis* and *rūbkaris*,³ issued by the Emperors and their subordinate authorities.

A second landmark, which the present writer also has not had the fortune of seeing, was a ruined building in a part of the old village (near the present school house, I am told) called the Mandira-Bari or "the house with (or of) the temple." No one belonging to the living generation has, however, seen any such structure or its remains on this site, though most of the older villagers have come to use the name as was given by their forefathers in still earlier days. The supposition is that

1. The old Imperial road ran from Pakulla to Mymensingh town and Lascarpur. It is quite possible that branches of the link roads or minor roads connected Dhubaria with one or more of the bigger roads. For an idea about the old roads in Mymensingh, see the *Gazetteer of Mymensingh District*, Ch. IX, Communications, pp. 91—98.

2. Originally, it is said, the Jumna was connected to the Dhaleswari river by the channel which ran past Dhubaria.

3. *Farmāns* were Imperial Mandates or Chapters. These were far more authoritative than the *sanads* which may mean various documents.

once upon a time a temple had existed there.¹

Of more interest is a vacant site to the north of the present village near Kapali-pada (or the quarter of the Kapalis, a very low caste of Hindus) which is to this day known as *Dakayta Shita* or "the homestead of the dacoits". Tradition says that this place was in reality, in the early days, the home of a notorious gang of dacoits, who plundered and terrorised the countryside. The villagers of Dhubaria at last being unable to bear the oppression of these robbers, (called the *gamcha-modas*, i.e., those who used towels or handkerchiefs after the fashion of the Thugees), appealed for the protection of the Nawab of Bengal.² The Nawab lost no time in punishing the miscreants, and according to a popular tradition, sent a body of soldiers, who, not finding the leader who had already decamped, made an example of all the other members of the gang by burying them alive in the graves dug in the courtyard of their own homestead.

THE IMPERIAL FARMANS

ACCORDING to the local traditions—and all of them agreed upon this one point—a villager, Khwāja Nazir Khān, reputed as of pious disposition, went on some mission to Delhi.³ It is stated that he was given an audience by Emperor Shāhjahān. What actually transpired at the interview with the Emperor is not known, but sometime later we find that nine Imperial *farmāns* making out *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants were issued to nine families of Dhubaria. There is, however, a theory that originally one *farmān* only was given to Khwāja Nazir Khān, but that later eight meetings were held in the village, and the Emperor subsequently issued nine *farmāns*. This view, however, has no corroborative evidence to uphold it. It is possible that the Khwāja was offered a *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant, and that instead of accepting it, he was instrumental in the subsequent granting by the Emperor of nine

1. This is the only trace of a Hindu ruin near the village. The original village was much smaller than what it is now, and the site of the Mandira Bari was just on the outskirts of the village on the bank of the old channel of the Jumna mentioned before.

2. These robbers worked on the lines of the Thugees. As far as can be known, they flourished at some time between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. One of the earlier leaders who achieved much notoriety was one Swarup Chand, and a later gang leader of some note was one Kaloo Khan. To the north of the village extending to a place near Gayhatta was a region densely covered with a tall growth of reeds and bushes. It is said that the villagers, when setting out for the nearby *hat* (or market) of Nagarpur, about two miles away, used to bid farewell to their kith and kin amidst tears and lamentations.

3. Even in Shāhjahān's days the countryside was subject to the depredation of robbers and freebooters. It is said that Khwāja Nazir Khān's mission in going to Delhi was to appeal for protection from the Emperor for his fellow-villagers.

separate Charters to nine different families who may not have been connected to him by ties of relationship.

A different version of the grant of the *farmân* is also in circulation among some people of the neighbouring villages, who hold that the original recipient of the Imperial grant was Khôja and not Khwâja Nazîr Khân, and that he was originally a cowherd boy of beautiful appearance, who was taken to the Mughal Court where he ultimately became a eunuch of the Imperial Seraglio. It is further said that as a token of royal favour the village of Dhubaria was given as a Jagir to him and his relations.

On examination of the facts it is, however, quite clear that the first version is the correct one, as *madad-i-ma'âsh* grants of land made by the Mughal rulers were specifically meant for religious endowments, and the *farmâns* and *tashîhs* repeatedly state that the grant of Dhubaria was of the *madad-i-ma'âsh* class, and it is explicitly mentioned in more than one place that in return for the grant, the recipients of the Charters were to be constantly offering their prayers for the permanence and stability of the State.

DETAILS OF THE FARMÂNS AND THE TASHÎHS

THE NINE original *farmâns* granted by Emperor Shâhjahân, were all dated the 15th Amardâd Kati (?) of 1040 A.H. A mention of the names of the original recipients of the charters together with the amounts of land given is first necessary.

The first *farmân* concerned of 22 *bighas*¹ of *lâ-khîrâj madad-i-ma'âsh* land in Dhubaria, *amla*² of *pargana*³ Atia to Shaykh Muhammad, Shaykh 'Imâd, 'Abd Allâh and Adam. On this *farmân* is entered a memorandum of the five different *tashîhs* (or confirmatory documents) issued by the *kârpardâzes* (managers) of the kings of those days to corroborate the original grant.

The second *farmân* concerning 60 *bighas* of fallow land fit for producing crop and exempt from rent, out of Kutha, one of the *amlas* of *pargana* Atia, was also granted under the seal of Shâhjahân Badshâh Ghâzi-ad-Din Muḥammad to Dawlat Bibi and others, and had six *tashîhs* attached thereto, one of them being that of the *kârguzâr* (service holder) of the time of the Emperor 'Âlamgir.

1. *Bighas* are units of land measurement prevailing in many parts of India even to-day. They, however, varied from time to time and from place to place. The Shâhjahâni *bigha*, according to some, was equivalent to two to three present-day *bighas*. The present *bighas* (in Bengal) is approximately one-third of an acre.

2. *Amla*, according to Ascoli, meant a grant of land.

3. According to Moreland, *pargana* was "the Indian name for an aggregate of villages. Came into official Moslem use in XIV c., partially superseding *Qasba*".

Thirdly, we may mention the *farmān* granting 108 *bighas* of land in Kima Baria, one of the *amlas* of *pargana* Atia as a *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant by Shāhjahān to Meah. Two of the *taṣḥīḥs* relating to this have survived to our day. The fourth *farmān* of the same Emperor to Budhū and others made an endowment of some *bighas*¹ of land from a place in *pargana* Atia. Four *taṣḥīḥs* were obtained by the descendants of the first grantees from later authorities.

The fifth grant of the Emperor was of 60 *bighas* of cultivable land in Dhubaria, to Shaykh Dilwar and Shaykh Khidr, and it was for the grant of 100 *bighas* of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land, also in the place Kutha previously mentioned, made out in favour of Jān Bibi and others, to which were attached five confirmatory *taṣḥīḥs* of subsequent authorities.

The seventh and the eighth Charters of endowed land were regarding 80 *bighas* in each case, made out to Aḥmad and others in the first case, and to Tkhtiyār and others in the second case. The numbers of ratifying documents or *taṣḥīḥs* in these cases were eight and five respectively.

The last of the nine *farmāns* was unfortunately destroyed by fire somewhere before the eighteenth century.² But during the trial of a law suit brought against the villagers for assessment of taxes, the *rūbkar*³ of the Deputy-Collector in charge confirm the statement that it was granted to the forefather of Mīa Khān, Ghulām 'Abbās, 'Alim Allāh and Muḥammad Nādir who were all alive in 1837.

A study of the *taṣḥīḥs* by themselves yields some interesting information. Some of them were issued even in the lifetime of Shāhjahān himself. The recipients had to produce these before the officers of the *ṣadr* or the local revenue officers before they could have their lands demarcated or could be given possession of them. On the accession of a new Emperor, or even the change of governors or other officials, the recipients of *a'ima* and *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants were called to exhibit the documents entitling them to rent-free holdings. Thus we find that in the reigns of Aurangzēb, Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748) and 'Ālamgir II (1754—1759) such *taṣḥīḥs* were issued, and that some of these, attached to different *farmāns*, were issued nearly at the same time and by the same officers; it is quite clear that there were occasions when all the *farmān*-holders were summoned by the Revenue officials to produce their Charters and *taṣḥīḥs* of former authorities. If they had any, they were ratified by new *taṣḥīḥs*.

One of the nine Imperial *farmāns* is one which had come down in

1. The number of *bighas* granted by this *farmān* is not clear.

2. The fire is mentioned by the descendants of the *farmān*-holders when in 1837 they were required, as defendants in the suit instituted by the East India Company, to produce the Charter. The exact date cannot be ascertained.

3. See below, The *Rubocary* of Mr. Matthew William Karbhorns, Deputy Collector of Mymensingh, dated the 25th April, 1837.

a state of fair preservation upto a generation ago is reproduced here.¹

"In these days the August and Auspicious Farman (Mandate) (effaced) is passed to the effect that sixty bighas of land exempted from revenue in Pargana Atia Sircar (effaced) (torn)² from the commencement of autumn as madad-i-maash (means of subsistence) of Sheik Dilwar and Sheik Khizir (torn) spend the income thereof year after year on their maintenance and be engaged offering up prayers for the perpetuation of the state (torn). The Karoris (Collectors of revenue) of the present and the future time shall carry out the said August Mandate and by measuring the said land and determining the boundaries thereof leave it to the possession of the said persons and exempt them from all Governmental demands, civil and fiscal, and shall not interfere with (torn) on the ground of the Malwajhat (a general term for the revenue received from the land and expenses required for dismantling any fortress), and for War, and hunting, Dahnini (five per cent.) Mukuddumi (money allowance to the Mukuddums or Collectors), (torn) Kanungoi (allowances or perquisites of a revenue officer,³ (torn) (torn) this (pasted over) and do not (torn)."

On the reverse of the *farmān* is recorded the following: "Memorandum of the date of the Sanad 26th Aman year 4th Tuesday corresponding Rabi-us-Sani 1041 H.S. (illegible) the noble and exalted Monsur Khan it is ascertained (pasted over) order of His Majesty is passed to the effect that 30 bighas of fallow land exempted from Revenue in Pargana Atia, Sircar Bazuha to Sheik Khizir."

As regards the *tashih*s relating to the nine *farmāns* of Dhubaria, as has been mentioned before, some of them were obtained by the grantees or their descendants and heirs in the reign of Shāhjahān himself or in the time of later rulers. A *tashih*—one related to the *farmān* reproduced above—is also reproduced here so as to explain and make clear the terms and the implications under which such confirmatory documents were granted to the holders on their descendants.

1 This *farmān* and the *tashih*s reproduced in this article were translated from the original Persian into English by the translator of the Calcutta High Court in 1923-24. It will be noticed that the translator inserts English equivalents after many of the Persian terms, and these can be accepted as accurate, except in one or two places where the writer has preferred interpretations given by other authorities. The spelling is that used by the translator.

2. Should read *Sircar Bazuha*. *Sircar* or *sarkār* meant under Akbar, a revenue district. In 1582 Todar Mai made the first settlement of Bengal under the Mughals. From that time the district of Mymensingh was included in *Sircar Bazuha*.

3. Kanungos were *pargana* accountants and registrars. The term denoted the men (Hindus) to whom Muslim administrators looked for information regarding the customs of their Hindu subjects.

Taṣḥīḥ:

Mohamed Ali,
 Son of Nurulla
 (Illegible)
 Shahjehan Badshah
 Ghazi (effaced)

Seal
 illegible

Seal
 illegible

Seal
 illegible

The Order of His Majesty passed is as Follows:

Be it known to the *Mutsuddis* (writers) of important matters, Officers of the present and the future time, *Chowdharies* and *Kanungos* of Pargana Atia, Sircar Bazuha, that according to the irresistible mandate and command of His Majesty and the sanads of the former authorities also the Sanad of Umdadul Mulk Islam Khan¹ a *jote*² containing sixty bighas of fallow land exempted from revenue in Mauza Dhubaria, one of the Amlas of the said Pargana, was fixed as *madad-i-maash* (means of subsistence) on Sheik Dilwar and others, which has now come to be verified by the noble and liberal-minded Mir Mohamed Ali, the Prime Minister,³ and the fact of their right recently came to light. For this reason according to the advice of the well-wishers the said land as per details given in the schedule is fixed and settled on them as before in case they hold possession of the same and be alive.⁴ It is requisite that the said land should be left to the said persons and there should not be at all any alterations and changes in the rules relating thereto, and that the said persons should spend therefrom on their maintenance and be engaged in offering prayers for the perpetuation and permanence of the state.

They are excused and exempted from all Government demands, civil and fiscal, and their possessions should not be disturbed on the ground of *Malwajhat* (a general term for the revenue received from the land), *Sair Wajhat* (Sair duties collectively such as customs, transit duties, house-tax, market-tax etc.), *Salami* (fee or fine levied annually from the holders of rent-free tenures as a quit rent),⁵ *Peshkhasi* (present

1. This Islām Khān was the governor of Bengal under Shāhjahān between 1638 and 1639. He is more properly known as Islām Khān Mashhādī.

2. A *jote* is a *ryoti* holding.

3. In the schedule of the *taṣḥīḥ* the office of Mir Muḥammad 'Alī is given as *qadr*, which does not mean, as the translator holds, the Prime Minister, but a high Mughal officer whose duties included the supervision of grants. See Moreland, p. 277. Moreland bases his interpretation of the term on Blochmann's note on the *qadr*s of Akbar's reign, in his translation of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* I. 270, 16.

4. This was an important condition attached to the grants: apparently it was the Mughal practice to escheat all grant lands if lawful heirs failed or if the holder alienated the lands gifted to them.

5. Ascoli's interpretation of the term is better than the above one. It says *salāmī* meant, "a premium for advantages received or a complimentary gift": this seems to be more correct in the present case

given on renewal of a grant),¹ Faujdari (tax levied for the support of the Police), Ralvadari (duties on grains and other articles),² Dehdari (fees of the revenue officer), Chowdhari (the privilege of the Chowdhari),³ quanoongoi (allowances and perquisites of the Quanoongo), Shikar (hunting), Paikar (War)⁴ or any disputes about agriculture, gardens and residence and on the ground of Jalkar (fisheries), Banker⁵ (forest duties), demands for Muthafa (ground rent) etc., etc., and should not be interfered with in respect of any practice or customs and no fresh sanads should be demanded from them every year.

Treat this as urgent and do not act contrary to this, dated the 4th Ramjan 1057 Hijri."

On the back, presumably, is the schedule of land given as *madad-i-ma'ash* to Shaykh Dilwar, and this, according to the *taṣṣiḥ-nāma* signed by Mir Muḥammad 'Alī (Sadr) is as follows:

"The Tashihanamah in the names of Dilwar and others is to the effect that according to the irresistible mandate of His Majesty (illegible) and the Sanad of the former authorities as also the sanad of Umdadul Mulk Islam Khan, sixty bighas of fallow land exempted from revenue, situated in Mouza Dhubaria, one of the Amlas of Pargana Atia, Sircar Bazuha was granted to the above-named persons as *madad-i-maash*, and that at present on this the 23rd of Shaban in the 41st year of His Majesty's auspicious accession, corresponding to the Hijri year 1057, the matter came to the knowledge of the exalted personage and the fact of their having right thereto is proved. For this reason according to the advice of the well-wishers, the land is settled on them as before, in case they hold possession of the same and be alive.

On the 23rd Shaban in the year (...) ⁶ corresponding to the year 1057 H.S. Sixty bighas of fallow land exempted from revenue, the matter came to the notice of the exalted personage and the grant subject to the continuance of the possession and life (of the grantees) ... under the signature of the noble-minded Mir Mohammad Ali Sadar on 18th Ramjan in the year 41.

than the above translation given of the documents, or Moreland's interpretation of *saldmi*, "a present offered to an official on approaching him".

1. Peshkhasi was the name of a present given to the Government by tribal or local chiefs. See Moreland, p. 267.

2. The translator's interpretation of the term is "duties on grains and other articles". Very few of the books on Mughal administrative and agrarian systems mention it, but there are mentions of this in appendices V and VIII of the *History of Bengal* by Major C. H. Stewart. The references therein tend to corroborate the translation of the term as given above.

3. The *chowdhri* was, according to Moreland, the headman of a *pargana*.

4. This might as well have been the local watch-tax, for *pa'ik* also meant a village watchman.

5. Should be Vankar.

6. The regnal year given here is indiscernible.

Copy of this reached the (Office?) of the Sadar (Prime Minister) Sealed.	On the 4th Eikad 41, copy reached (the Office of the Governor of the Province) Sealed.
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An interesting point that crops up on reading the first part of the *taṣḥīḥ* is the fact that the document is one of the many of this nature based on the *farmān* and the *sanads* of the former authorities and the *sanad* of Imdād al-Mulk Islām Khān. It was the custom of Mughal Revenue officers, whenever in the course of their assessment of lands they came across rent-free holdings, to demand from the grantees their title deeds, and if on enquiry they were satisfied with the authenticity of those and the identity of the landholders, they issued confirmatory documents (*taṣḥīḥs*) which were formally sealed and signed by them. Sometimes the change of the Emperor, or his *ṣadr* or *nāzim*¹ or *diwān*,² led to the necessity of checking the grants of rent-free lands, and the possessors or occupiers of such holdings had to produce their deeds and get them endorsed in due course.

On studying the above *farmān* and the *taṣḥīḥs* together, it is apparent that the latter amplified and made clear the terms and conditions laid down by the former. As a matter of fact, only the *taṣḥīḥ* clearly indicates that the grants were based purely on the royal will; though this is not mentioned expressly in the *farmāns*, the grants were liable to escheat on the failure of legal heirs to the recipients of the *farmāns*, or if in some way or other the land was alienated by or from the original owners. Thus we see when Shaykh Khidr's heirs failed him the authorities recovered his half-share of 40 *bighas* from the total of 80 granted jointly to him and his brother, Shaykh Dilwar.³

Although the *farmān* given to Dilwar and Khidr did not state the duration of the tenure of grants, the *taṣḥīḥ* reproduced before, which was drawn up sixteen years after the original *farmān*, clears up the point. It reads "the said land ... is fixed and settled on them [the descendants of Shaykh Dilwar and Shaykh Khidr, the applicants for the *taṣḥīḥ*] as before, in case they hold possession of the same and be alive. It is requisite that the said land should be left to the said persons and there should not be at all any alterations and changes in the rules relating thereto, and that the said persons should spend the income therefrom on their maintenance and be engaged in offering prayers for the permanence and perpetuation of the State." Thus it is evident that the Mughal Emperors, looked upon the

1. The *nāzim* was even more important than the *diwān* in position. He was usually the governor of a province and minister of criminal justice.

2. According to Moreland, in the seventeenth century the *diwān* was a high official in the Revenue Ministry or the provincial Revenue Officer.

3. See below *Rubocary* of Mr. Karbhorns

"maintenance" of the *farmān*-holders and their descendants who were supposed to be constantly engaged in praying for the welfare of the State, as a religious or *quasi*-religious duty, and to provide for these the grants made to them were classified as *madad-i-ma'āsh*.

Upon examination of some of the other concessions, besides the gift of land, made to the recipients of the *farmān*, we find that they were to be exempted from all Government demands, civil or fiscal, and most of the taxes and dues are specifically mentioned so that there would be no chance for over-zealous officials to take advantage of any loopholes in the terms of the grant and exact some money out of the poor villagers. The intention of the Mughal authorities was clearly, to exempt the fortunate villagers of Dhubaria from all future payments and dues to the State or to its officials, and until the institution of the lawsuit by the East India Company in 1837, the villagers enjoyed this exemption. Even in 1837, the lawsuit was ultimately decided in favour of the villagers, and it was only after 86 years more that the Bengal Government, while seeking fresh avenues for collecting money, raised the question of the liability of the villagers for road-cess and held that Shāhjahān's Charter and the *taṣṣiḥs* of later rulers did not exempt them from the payment of road-cess charges which should be paid by the landowning people of the village.¹ The matter was not finally settled, and no payments were made until in the year 1935 the villagers filed a declaratory suit against the Secretary of State for India regarding this matter in the court of the Collectorate of Mymensingh, where the matter, at the time of writing this article, is pending.

The question may arise as to whether the *farmāns*, the *sanads* and the *taṣṣiḥs* are genuine. It may be stated here that eight of the original nine *farmāns* came down in a fairly good state of preservation to the middle of the nineteenth century though even then some of these documents were, partly illegible and partly damaged due to the ravages of time and the ubiquitous lacunæ. Eight of the nine Charters together with forty-four of the *taṣṣiḥs* attached to them, together with other relevant documents were produced in the court of the Deputy Collector of the District of Mymensingh in 1837 during the lawsuit filed by the East India Company.² However, in 1923 the villagers were able to produce only two of the *farmāns* in court, one out of these being thoroughly illegible being worm-eaten. Through indifference and a failure to realise the value of these documents, most of these have been lost or damaged.³

1. The ground for the suit was that the Mughal Emperor had endowed the lands for the sustenance of the *farmān*-holders and their descendants, but not for profiteering out of these lands. Since, the Government said, the village gentry were letting their surplus lands to ryots and realising rent from them, they as well were liable to pay the road-charges to the Government.

2. Mentioned before. For a reproduction of extracts from the judgment of the Deputy Collector, see below.

3. Even though some of the present-day residents of Dhubaria claim to have some of the *farmāns*

However, the *Rubocary* (*rúbkár*) of Mr. Matthew William Karbhorns, the Deputy Collector of Mymensingh who decided the lawsuit of 1837, has survived and this alone is sufficient and conclusive proof of the authenticity of the *farmâns* and the *tashîhs*. Parts of the *rúbkár* which will be of interest are reproduced below.

"Rubocary of the Court of the Deputy Collector in the District of Mymensingh."

The 25th April, 1837.

Present: Mr. Matthew William Karbhorns,
Deputy Collector, Mymensingh.

Government (plaintiff) versus Baiku Mohammad and others.¹

"Case in a claim for assessment of the Government revenue of the Lakheraj (rent free) land in Mouza Dhubaria away Ghunta[?] appertaining to Pargana Atia under Regulation III of 1828." In the course of the Judgment it is said that among other documents filed by the defendants were "eight *Farmâns* with 44 *Tashîhas* (amendments or documents confirming the said Farmans) filed by the Defendants, were perused by the Court. It appears that this case was instituted on perusal of the particulars of Lakheraj (rent free land) in connection with the map of the year 1207. B.S."²

Mr. Karbhorns further states that "the Defendants in order to prove their inheritance as representatives of those who filed the map, filed their respective objections stating that:

"The Emperor Shahjehan had granted the land i.e., the said Mouza, a lakheraj Madad-i-maash (i.e., lakheraj for the support of learned and religious persons) to the ancestors of the Defendants in 1040 Hijri by 9 *Farmans* bearing the date the 5th Amardad Kati. Accordingly they have been holding possession of the same from generation to generation. Of those 9 *Farmans*, the ninth *Farman* as also the *Tashîha* thereof, was destroyed by fire, mention of which has been made in the remark column of the said map. Besides that out of the existing *Farmans* one was found worm-eaten and destroyed at the time when the map was filed. Some torn pieces thereof together with the *Tashîhas* along with them have been filed by the present Defendants who seek justice. Seven original *Farmans* with a copy of the worm-eaten *Farman* and some *Tashîhas* along with them have been filed in proof of these respective objections..."

Then follows a list of the nine *farmâns*, their original grantees and

and *tashîhs*, repeated requests by visiting Government officials and others, among them the writer, have failed to bring them to light. This makes the existence of the documents rather doubtful.

1. These were the lineal descendants and heirs of the original recipients.

2. In 1207 Bengali Era, apparently at the order of the East India Company, the villagers submitted a map of their holdings which seems to have the particulars of the *farmâns* noted upon it.

their *tashihs*. Later on Mr. Karbhorn's judgment runs as follows. "From the *Farmans* and *Tashihs* filed by the Defendants and the interrogatories got recorded by Muhammad Nigah, defendant,¹ as also the particulars of the Lakheraj lands found in the *Serishta*,² it appears that their ancestors in the time of Shahjehan Badshah of Shahjehanabad were granted 910 bighas of Lakheraj lands (this part is torn according to the copyist) some Sanads bearing the seal of the deceased Emperor and dated the 5th Amardad Kati 1030 Hijri, by way of Madad-i-maash Lakheraj to be enjoyed by the recipients with their children³ as given in the endorsement on this condition that they should ever be engaged in offering prayers for the perpetuation of the State. On the basis of the grants made by the former Emperors during their sovereignty, they continually obtaining *Tashihs* from generation to generation, held undisturbed possession of the said Lakheraj land which is situated in one and the same place, excepting the 40 bighas of land which has been resumed owing to the death of the malik (owner) thereof.⁴ After the occupation by the Company Bahadur of the conquered territories and the enforcement by them of the laws made for the administration of those territories, they (the holders of the grant) filed papers giving the particulars of the Lakheraj lands covered by the *Farmans*. Though the Sanads and deed filed by them (torn, copyist) were not registered ... but (their failure to do so) cannot extinguish the right of the holders of the land ... *There arises no suspicion whatsoever as to the importance and genuineness of the deeds filed by the Defendants*⁵ (torn) reason for resumption of this sort of Lakheraj land (torn and destroyed, copyist) the possession and occupation of the said land by the Defendants without assessment of the Government revenue being made thereon is considered just and proper. It is therefore ordered that the claim of Government be dismissed and the costs of both parties be borne by [themselves?] and that the record of this case with a copy of the Rubocary be transmitted to the (torn) Revenue Commissioner for inspection."

This Judgment is conclusive proof that the village of Dhubaria had really the distinction of being one of the few rent-free *madad-i-ma'ash* holdings granted in the province of Bengal by Emperor Shāhjahān.

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1. A *mukhtar* of Dhubaria and a man of great influence.
 2. Records Department.
 3. This evidently implied that the grant was for more than one generation and probably permanently.
 4. Shaykh Khidr probably died childless and his half share of the 80 *bighas* granted by the fifth *farmān* was escheated by the State.
 5. My italics.

CONCLUSION

THE HISTORY of the village of Dhubaria may not be unique, but it is distinguished. Due to the grant of the Imperial Charters from the time of the Mughal Emperors it has enjoyed exemption from taxation till this day. Its good fortune, in this respect, was received with some jealousy by the people of the neighbouring villages. Thus in the early part of the 19th century,¹ Muchi Meah father of Jabbār Šāhib, *zamindar* of Dilduar in the Mymensingh District, tried to annex a share in the lands of the Dhubaria lâ-khirāj, which naturally had by that time come to be greatly prized. It happened that the last surviving member of one line of *farmān*-holders, happening to leave Dhubaria, sold his share of land to Muchi Meah. Strictly speaking it was expressly laid down in the *farmān* that, while the lawful descendants of the original recipients were to hold and enjoy their *jagīrs*, they were expressly prohibited from alienating their shares to people of other families, although in practice such transfers must have taken place on many occasions. Muchi Meah, after the purchase tried to take possession of the lands by force; according to traditions, he raided the village seven times consecutively with his sirdars and *lathials*. The villagers, however, in this crisis hit upon the plan of resisting the aggressions of the Dilduar *zamindār*, by obtaining the support of *lathials* of the important and influential neighbouring Hindu *zamindar* of Gayhatta. The combination of the villagers with Gayhatta proved to be too strong for Muchi Meah who ultimately had to desist in his endeavours.

1. This is said to have taken place some time after 1837.

ZIAUDDIN BARANI*

By SYED HASSAN BARANI

ZIAUDDIN BARANI, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, was the first Indian to write the chronicle of India. The art of writing history came to India with the advent of the Muslims. Prior to Barani there were two historians, who wrote the history of the Muslim kings of India; one of them was Sadruddin Muhammad, son of Hasan Nizami Nishapuri, who came to India in the days of Qutubuddin Aybek. He wrote his book *Taj-ul-Maathir* near about 630 A.H.; it is a description of the Ghoris and the conquests of their successors in Delhi till the reign of Iltutmish. The other one was Abu Umar Minhajuddin Osman, son of Sirajuddin Al-Jarzayani, who, during the reign of Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Sultan Iltutmish, wrote a universal history of the world, including an account of the Muslim kings (1259-60). These two historians, as their names indicate, were not born in India but came from abroad.

Long before the appearance of Hasan Nizami and Minhaj, the historians who wrote anything about India were not natives of this land. Abu Rihan Al-Beruni (died 440 A.H./1048 A.C.), the author of *Kitabul-Hind*, and Abul-Fazl Beyhaqi (died 470 A.H./1077-78 A.C.), the author of *Tarikh Beyhaqi*, and again Abu Nasar Atbi (died 430 A.H./1029-30 A.C.), the author of *Tarikh Yamini*, were all natives of Central Asia. However much India is indebted to their works, they cannot be called Indian historians.

Ziauddin Barani, as his name shows, was born in Baran, which is now called Buland Shahr, in the Doab between Meerut and Aligarh. Archæological discoveries have proved conclusively that the place has been known to history ever since Buddhism came to the fore in India. Al-Beruni makes no reference to Baran in his *Kitabul-Hind*, although he describes fairly well some places in its vicinity. Al-Beruni, when writing of events in 409 A.H. (1018-19 A.C.) makes mention of the conquest by Mahmud of Ghazni of a fort which gives a doubtful reading of the name, which some historians, e.g., Sir Henry Elliot¹ have read as "Berner". Considering the context it corresponds to Baran. According to Atbi, this place was the capital city of a Hindu

* Translated from the Urdu by Syed Sabah-ud-Din.

1. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. II, 42.

State. It was one of the invulnerable forts of the Doab during the time of the victorious raids of Muhammad Ghori, and was the capital of Raja Bhim Sen Doar. This fort was conquered by Muhammad Ghori in person. I have the original mandate with the monogram of Abul-Muzaffer Sultan Muhammad Nasir Amirul-Mumineen in my custody, which tells the story of the conquest and the subsequent administration of the fort. Barani is mentioned more often than not in the *Tabaqat Nasiri*. Sultan Shamsuddin was the Amil of Baran before his accession to the throne, and some of his inscriptions are still extant in the "Idgah" of Buland Shahr, which have much in common with those of Qutub Minar and the mosque known as "Quwatul-Islam".

After the conquest of Baran, some high families consisting mostly of Sayyids and Sheikhs, took their abode there, and were awarded *mansabs* and high posts. Some of these families with their genealogical tables are still extant in this city.

Ziauddin Barani makes mention of his own family only incidentally. Among his contemporaries—nay, among the authors who knew him personally—is one Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak-ul-Alvi al-Karmani Mir Khurd, the author of *Seirul-Auliya*. The subject-matter of his book is an account of the khwajas of chisht, particularly of Sheikh Nizamuddin, of his devotees and followers. His mention of Ziauddin Barani as one of the fast friends of the Sheikh is illuminating. Authors of later times like Sheikh Abdul Haq, author of *Akhbarul-Akhbar*, have gleaned little bits of Barani's life from this source only. But Mir Khurd is hopelessly reticent about him except in pointing out that Ziauddin Barani's father came of respectable ancestors.¹ In the absence of all details we can say nothing certain of his origin or of the date when his family settled at Baran.

It is clear from Barani's own statement that his father did not come of a Sayyid family, but his mother and grand-mother were Sayyids. If this view, together with the fact that his father came of a respectable family, are taken into consideration, he may then probably be taken as a Sheikh on his father's side.

Ziauddin Barani has not given us anywhere his grandfather's name, but he was reckoned as one of the Royal Ministers inasmuch as Sultan Alauddin on one occasion addressed Barani's uncle before his court nobles as *vizir-zada*, born of a vizir,² Barani himself says that his father was of gentle stock.³

The name of Ziauddin's father was Muayyadul-Mulk, which seems a royal designation rather than a name. Muayyadul-Mulk's brother's name was Alaul-Mulk who was much to the fore in Alauddin's reign.

1. *Vide Seir-ul-Auliya*, published by the Muhibb-Hind Press, Delhi dated 1302 A.H., p. 313.

2. *Vide Ziauddin Barani, Tarikh Firuz Shahi*, p. 257.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

The maternal grandfather of Muayyadul-Mulk and Alaul-Mulk was the Commander Hisamul-Mulk, who started his career as a court councillor¹ in the reign of Balban and was afterwards given the deputyship of Lacknauti, the capital city of Bengal. When Balban marched with his conquering troops, he left instructions behind to Hisamul-Mulk to send him all news of the capital.²

Ziauddin Barani's mother was the daughter of Sayyid Jalal Kaithali. The Sayyids of Kaithal, situated in the district of Karnal in the Punjab, were renowned for the purity of their descent. Ziauddin Barani writes:

"The Sayyids of Kaithal were very famous for their genealogical purity. The father of the author was the husband of Jalaluddin Kaithali's daughter. Sayyid Jalaluddin was the most worthy and talented of the Sayyids of Kaithal; and the father of this old man [the author] was a gentle soul, and the grandmother a Sayyid, and a lady of profound scholarship and spiritual insight and accomplishment."³

Ziauddin Barani's uncle Alaul-Mulk was one of the most trustworthy attendants of Alauddin even in Jalaluddin's regime. When Alauddin proceeded to the Deccan from his headquarters at Karra for his first military expedition against Devagir, he left the administration of Karra and Oudh solely in the charge of Alaul-Mulk.⁴ And again he was one of the many supporters of Alauddin, who conspired to assassinate Jalaluddin. After his accession to the throne, Alauddin conferred high posts on Alaul-Mulk and Muayyadul-Mulk. Muayyadul-Mulk was appointed the Amil of Baran,⁵ and Alaul-Mulk was called back from Karra and given the office of kotwal of Delhi.⁶ Alaul-Mulk was very fat. It was on account of his obesity that Alauddin could not bestow on him the post of vizarat. But the Sultan held him in the highest veneration, and paid due regard to the sanity of his counsels. Alaul-Mulk was always frank and sincere in his counsels to the Sultan, and he often changed momentous schemes if Alaul-Mulk's counsel demanded it. Barani says that, when prosperity intoxicated Alauddin, wild thoughts germinated in his brain, and he entertained fancies which had never occurred to any king before him. In his exultation and folly he quite lost his head, framing the most impossible schemes and nourishing the most extravagant ambitions. He became so presumptuous that he began to cherish the dream of founding a new religion and of going out into the world in search of conquests like Alexander the Great. No one had the courage to dissuade the imperious king from his absurd designs except Alaul-Mulk, who convinced him of the imprac-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

tibility of his schemes and the hollowness of his ambition, and directed his attention to the political, military and administrative affairs of the State.

It was always a matter of grief to the Sultan that Alaul-Mulk could not get the vizarat on account of his obesity. At the time when the Mongols made inroads on Delhi, great anxiety prevailed in the city. The Islamic supremacy over India was in peril. The Sultan marched out of Delhi with a great force. Alaul-Mulk advised him not to lead the army personally. But Alauddin, who, for his heroism and audacity, can be numbered among the greatest figures in history, disdained the advice. He, however, commended Alaul-Mulk's sincerity and gave expression in the hearing of his nobles to the following thoughts, which testify his high regard for Alaul-Mulk.

"You know that Alaul-Mulk is a vizier and *vizir-zada* and has ever been sincere to me. From the day of our kingship to this day he has been giving us useful advice. We have given him the office of kotwal on account of his obesity, although he has the right to the post of vizarat."¹ Addressing in the end Alaul-Mulk, he said: "You are an intellectual and the son of an intellectual person. You have been always frank in telling me everything which came within the recesses of your heart... But the gravity of the situation demands that all wisdom be relegated to the background, and only cold bloodshed, wanton massacres, and cruel murders conducted by myself are required for the moment."² And when he was off on his mission, he placed the city, his women and treasures under Alaul-Mulk's charge. Barani writes:

"At that time the Sultan, when starting on his military expedition, entrusted the city, the women of the Harem and the treasures to the care of the author's uncle who was at that time one of the most trusted confidants and counsellors of Sultan Alauddin and who was also the kotwal of Delhi."³

The dates of the deaths of Muayyadul-Mulk or Alaul-Mulk are not definitely known, but we do not find any mention of these two personages in the period subsequent to the days of Alauddin's rule. So it appears that they died within the first three years of Alauddin's rule, for Barani writes:

"Ulugh Khan, Nasrat Khan, Zafar Khan, Alap Khan, Malik Alaul-Mulk, the author's uncle, and Malik Fakhruddin Juna Dad Bek, Malik Asghari, and Malik Tajuddin Kafuri, who were the pillars of Alauddin government, each of whom was peerless in tackling the great problems of administration, and who apparently abetted the murder of Sultan Jalaluddin, did not reap the fruits of Alauddin's rule and lived only for three or four years [of his reign]. But in point of diplomacy and politi-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-72.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

cal acumen they were among those men of whom one stroke of policy annexes a country and whose counsels avert an impending catastrophe."¹

Ziauddin Barani does not give anywhere the date of his own birth. Mir Khurd and other historians of the day are silent on the point. Barani, however, says that he was in the seventy-fourth year² of his age when he wrote his book *Tarikh Firuz Shahi*. This book was written in the year 758 A.H. It is thus probable that he was born in the year 684 A.H., in Sultan Ghiyasuddin's reign. As mentioned elsewhere, his place of birth was Baran, but he came to Delhi in his very childhood with his father, who was employed in the Imperial service. He was a minor in the days of Kaikobad, attained majority in Jalaluddin's time, and it was during this period that he began his education. Details of his pursuit of learning are wanting. He makes little or no reference to the particulars of education he received, or even to the teachers under whom he studied. He says only that his teachers were talented men of ripe scholarship.³ This is no exaggeration on the part of Barani inasmuch as profound scholars of literary and scientific tastes came to India from Central Asia with the advent of the Mughals even in Balban's days, and a pretty large number of them settled in Delhi. He finished the Holy Quran and began learning the alphabet in Jalaluddin's days.⁴

He completed the rest of his education during Alauddin's rule. In his description of Alauddin's reign, he mentioned forty-six or forty-seven teachers, under some of whom he sat as a pupil, some of whom he had visited, while others he had seen in classes or assemblies. Though he does not write the accounts of these teachers, yet it appears from his statement that they were erudite scholars:

"During the whole of Alauddin's reign there lived at Delhi scholars who were highly learned, and scholars of that calibre were not to be found in Bokhara, or Samarkand, or Damascus, or Tabrez or Isfahan or Byzantium or in any part of the world; and in every art that they took up, Commentaries, Theology, Principles of Religion, Grammar, Explanations, Discourse, and Logic, their researches were hair-splitting, and every year a number of students graduated under their training, and they were able to challenge theological decisions; and some of the teachers in point of learning were the equals of Ghazali and Razi."⁵ "I have been a pupil," he says further on, "of some; I have gone to others. most of them I have met in literary assemblies."⁶

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 336-37

2. *Ibid.*, p. 573.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-53.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-53

6. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

It is sad to note that Barani paid little or no attention to preserving the literary history of the time, and we do not know much of the scholars of the age except their names which I give below for the reader's benefit. It was indeed a difficult task to read out these jotted-down names. They prove beyond cavil that a century after the conquest of Delhi, Islamic education had made considerable headway in India.

(1) Qazi Fakhruddin Naqila, (2) Qazi Sharafuddin Sarbahi, (3) Maulana Nasiruddin Ghani, (4) Maulana Tajuddin Maqdam, (5) Maulana Zahiruddin Lung, (6) Qazi Mughisuddin Beyana, (7) Maulana Ruknuddin, (8) Maulana Tajuddin Kulahi, (9) Maulana Zahiruddin Bhakri, (10) Qazi Mohiuddin Kashali, (11) Maulana Kamaluddin Koli, (12) Maulana Wajihuddin Papli, (13) Maulana Minhajuddin Qanbi (?), (14) Maulana Nizamuddin Kulahi, (15) Maulana Nasiruddin Katra, (16) Maulana Nasiruddin Sabuni, (17) Maulana Alauddin Tahir, (18) Maulana Karimuddin Johri, (19) Maulana Hujjat Multani Qadim, (20) Maulana Hamiduddin Lukhlis, (21) Maulana Burhanuddin Bhakri, (22) Maulana Iftikharuddin Barani, (23) Maulana Hussamuddin Surkh, (24) Maulana Wahiduddin Mulho, (25) Maulana Alauddin Kurk (?), (26) Maulana Hussamuddin ibn Shadi, (27) Maulana Hamiduddin Banyani, (28) Maulana Shahabuddin Mullani, (29) Maulana Fakhruddin Hansvi, (30) Maulana Fakhruddin Saigal, (31) Maulana Salahuddin Satraki (?), (32) Qazi Zainuddin Naqila, (33) Maulana Wajihuddin Razi, (34) Maulana Alauddin, Head of Theology, (35) Maulana Miran Marikala, (36) Maulana Najibuddin Savin, (37) Maulana Shamsuddin Sum (?), (38) Maulana Sadr-uddin Gandhak (?), (39) Maulana Alauddin Navelsoi, (40) Maulana Shamsuddin Yahya, (41) Qazi Shamsuddin Gazroni, (42) Maulana Sadr-uddin Tavi (?), (43) Maulana Muinuddin Loni, (44) Maulana Iftekharruddin Razi, (45) Maulana Muizuddin Andheri, (46) Maulana Najmuddin Inleshar, (47) Maulana Ilmuiddin, grandson of Sheikh Barahuddin Zakariya.

There is no manner of doubt but that Alauddin's reign was a triumph of political as well as literary activities; and it is indeed a strange phenomenon in the history of the Sultanate as well as of the Mughal's rule that Alauddin and Akbar were illiterate, yet their periods were extraordinarily bright with literary glories.

Ziauddin was educated in an age renowned for literary brilliance. Learning, moreover, had ever been the most desired pursuit in his family, and famous nobles of the time, like his father and uncle, were learned men. Barani received the most careful education, predominantly religious, and mysticism became inherent in his nature. He conceived a keen desire from his childhood to mix with saints and recluses. He was deeply influenced by the audience of Sheikh Nizamuddin, and his love and devotion to the Sheikh reached its climax when he took up his abode at Ghayaspoore where the Sheikh lived.¹ He ranked as the most

1. *Vide Seirul-Auliya* by Mir Khurd, pp. 312-13

devoted disciple of the Sheikh. He describes other saints of the day as well. Sidi Maula was a *darwesh* from Upper India, who built a splendid *Khanqah* (monastery), which all sorts of people began to frequent. Rich and poor, young and old came to see Sidi Maula, who helped the destitute with food and money. Someone reported to the king that several discontented and needy nobles used to go to Sidi Maula and sit with him in the evening and talk sedition. Jalaluddin therefore put him to death.¹ Barani paid a formal visit to Sidi and dined with him.² It was not long, says Barani, after the murder of Sidi Maula that Jalaluddin's family was brought to extinction by Alauddin, and the credulous piety of Barani made him ascribe this tragic fate to the death of Sidi Maula. "I remember," he says, "that on the day of Sidi's death a black storm rose in the State. In the same year there was a scarcity of rain, there was dearth in Delhi, and grain rose to a *jital* per *seer*. In the Sewalikhs also, the dearth was greatly felt. The Hindus of that country came into Delhi with their families, twenty or thirty of them together, and in the extremity of hunger drowned themselves in the Jumna. The Sultan and the nobles did all they could to help them."

Primarily influenced by religion and mysticism as Barani was, he conceived an inveterate hatred of æsthetic learning.³ It cannot be said, however, that he did not allow himself the frivolities of youth. He plunged, as he himself confesses, into the vortex of the gay life of the capital, and revelled in luxury, pleasure and excitement to satiety. When age had chilled his blood, he looked back feverishly upon the carnival of pleasure when his blood used to be hot. He has described in graphic details⁴ the convivial parties of the days of Alauddin and Jalaluddin, when all assembled, drank wine and beguiled the dreary hours with music and dancing. He had in his personal service troops of entertainers, and life was a gorgeous affair to him in those halcyon days. "Now that I am old, toothless, pale, haggard, and reduced to insignificance with the stinging invectives of the enemies, I look back," he writes, "in remembrance to those days of frivolity which I spent with the most high-souled and high-spirited personalities of the time. The witty and the beautiful ones, with their rosy cheeks and silvery countenance, cup-bearers, boys with mellow voices, and musicians with the liquid softness of their songs, had the privileges to serve me. As I remember those days, I keenly feel tremors running through my frame, and now I am lying unknown, moneyless, helpless in dull oblivion in a dingy corner."⁵ Again, after describing the gay parties, the cup-bearers and musicians of Jalaluddin, he writes:

1. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 208—12.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 43 and 465.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 165, 199, 201 and 365.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

"I am the misguided old man wondering at my disappointment and failure. The sands of my life are running out. In the days of which I am speaking, in memory of the life-giving damsels, the moon-faced girls whose coqueries I had seen, whose music I had heard, and whose dances had ravished my soul, I wished to put on the sacred thread, to paint on my accursed forehead the vermillion marks typical of the Brahmins to blacken my face and roam about in the streets in love of the charming blondes, to heap infamy upon myself; and even after sixty years of life, when I find them all missing, I wish to go out weeping, with my clothes torn and with a hoary head, and die at the foot of their graves."¹

In the absence of all corroborative details it is difficult to estimate Barani's life activities. We are not in a position to say how long his father lived in Baran, or where Ziauddin Barani passed most of his days during the period of his father's life there. He was eleven years old at the end of Jalaluddin's reign, and attained maturity and received education during Alauddin's reign; but what were his different pursuits and activities till the reign of Muhammad Tughlak is not known. All that we know is that he had the entree to the best of society. He associated with the luminaries of the court and was very intimate with Khusrô, whom he describes as "the greatest of all ancient and modern poets", and also with Hasan Alai Sanjari, the famous poet and musician.² Alauddin's reign may be called "the Magnificent Age" of the Sultanate of Delhi, when great things came to pass by unknown processes and a galaxy of master-minds arose in different spheres of life as the inevitable product of the age in which they lived, since they had no patronage and no encouragement from any quarter.³ Ziauddin made friendship with all these eminent persons of his day. A man is known by the company he keeps, and Barani lived up to the highest standard of the aphorism.

He was a familiar courtier of Muhammad Tughlak, who smiled at his sallies and enjoyed his stories.⁴ He lived at the court of the Sultan for seventeen years and received many favours and gifts from him.⁵ He was in close confidence of the Sultan, who sought his counsel in the knotty problems of the Government. "Once insurrection followed upon insurrection. During the four or five days of Ramazan that the Sultan halted at Sultanpore," writes Barani "late one evening he sent for him [i.e., the author]. When he [Ziauddin] arrived, the Sultan said: "Thou seest how many revolts spring up. I have no pleasure in them, although

1. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

2. Barani has given vivid and wonderful descriptions of both Khusrô and Hasan. I have omitted them for reasons of space. Readers will find them either in the original book of the author. pp. 16-17. or in Barani's book. pp. 359-60.—*Translator*.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

4. *Mir Khurd Seirul-Auliya*, p. 13.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. p. 467.

men will say that they have all been caused by my excessive severity! But I am not to be turned aside from punishment by people's remarks and revolts. Thou hast read many histories: hast thou found that kings inflict [capital] punishment under certain circumstances?"¹ The answer Barani gave to the king, though based on Jamshed's authority, is a glowing representation of the political science and philosophy of his own time. According to Jamshed, Barani replied: "Capital punishment is approved under the following circumstances: (a) Apostasy from true religion and persistence therein; (b) wilful murder; (c) adultery of a married man with another's wife; (d) conspiracy against the king; (e) heading a revolt or assisting rebels; (f) joining the enemies or rivals of the king, conveying news to them or aiding or abetting them in any way; (g) disobedience, productive of any injury to the State, but for no other disobedience but that which is detrimental to the realm. The servants of God are disobedient to Him when they are disobedient to the king, who is His vice-gerent, and the State would go to ruin if the king were to refrain from inflicting punishment in such cases of disobedience as are injurious to the State."

This, however, is a clear demonstration of the fact that the king was regarded as a mere guardian of the people, cherishing his subjects and protecting the people, whose repose and prosperity were not to be sacrificed to anything except the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority and the security of the State. But they were all indifferent to the stern, wearisome and serious ideals of the duty of kingship incumbent upon them. These monarchs all agreed that they ruled as vicegerents of God, by divine right, by the will of God. Yet this imposing origin of their authority gave them no sense of security, nor any exceptional purity of relations with their subject races. The maxims of statecraft which they followed were of the earth. The king, in the conduct of his office, was subject to no control. He was an absolute monarch. He could do as he chose. It was for the subjects to obey. The will of the king, and that alone, was in theory the only thing that counted. The condition of the vast mass of the people was the thing least considered. The masses were weighed down and hemmed in by the fancies and whims of the king. Muhammad Tughlak, for example, was a man of violent passions, capable and guilty of orgies of dissipation and acts of savage cruelty, hard and fiendish in his treatment of men, and any attempt to humour him made his odious tyranny still more awful. Barani's exposition bore no fruit. "Kings", argued Barani further "appoint viziers, advance them to high dignity and place the management of their kingdom in their hands in order that those viziers may frame regulations and keep the country in such good order that the king may be saved from having to stain himself with the blood of any mortal."² "Those

1. *Ibid.*, p. 509. I have borrowed parts of this translation from Elliot.—*Translator*.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 511

punishments," replied the Sultan, "which Jamshed had prescribed were suited to the early stages of the world, but in these days many wicked and turbulent men are to be found. I let my wrath visit the suspicion or presumption of their rebellion and treacherous designs and I punish the most trifling act of contumacy with death. This I will do until I die or until the people act honestly, and give up rebellion and contumacy. I have no such vizier as will make rules to obviate my shedding blood. I punish the people because they all have at once become my enemies."¹

The Sultan sought Barani's advice also on the occasion when the latter was sent from the capital by Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayaz with letters of congratulation on the conquest of Devagir. One day, as Barani was riding in the Sultan's suite, he conversed with him and the conversation turned upon rebellion. The Sultan said: "Thou seest what troubles these treacherous foreign Amirs have excited on every side. When I collect my forces and put them down, in one direction they excite disturbance in some other quarter. If I had at the first given orders for the destruction of all foreign Amirs of Devagir, Gujrat and Broach, I should not have been so troubled by them. This rebel, Taghi, is my slave; if I had executed him or had sent him as a memorial to the king of Aden, this revolt would never have broken out."² Barani could not help feeling, as he says, a desire to tell the Sultan that the troubles and revolts which were breaking out on every side and this general disaffection all arose from his excessive severity and that, if punishment were suspended for a while, a better feeling might spring up, and mistrust might be removed from the hearts of the people. But he dreaded the temper of the king and could not say what he desired. "I said to myself," he writes, "what is the good of pointing out to the Sultan the causes of the troubles and disturbances in his kingdom, for it will have no effect upon him!"³

In the latter days of the Sultan's reign, Hasan Gangu took Devagir and laid the foundation of a rival kingdom of the Bahmani dynasty. The Sultan was very much distressed, sent once more for Barani, and addressing him, said: "My kingdom is diseased, and no treatment cures it. The physician cures the headache and fever follows, he strives to allay fever and something else prevails. So in my kingdom disturbances have broken out; if I suppress them in one place, they appear in another; if I allay them in one district, another becomes disturbed. What have former kings said about these disorders?" "Historians record," replied Barani, "many remedies which kings have employed. Some kings, when they have perceived that they do not retain the confidence of their people and have become the object of general dislike, have abdicated their throne, and have given over the government to the most worthy of their sons. Of all political ills, the greatest and the most terrible is a

1. *Ibid.*, p. 511.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 516.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 516-17.

general feeling of aversion and want of confidence among all people."¹ The Sultan replied: "If I can settle the affairs of my kingdom according to my wish, I shall consign my realm of Delhi to three persons, Firuz Shah, Malik Ambar, and Ahmad Ayaz, and I shall then proceed on the pilgrimage to Mecca. At present I am angry with my subjects and they are displeased with me. My remedy for rebels, insurgents and disaffected people is the sword."

It was not easy to pull on with such a king. Barani has given a picture of the Sultan, which is corroborated by Ibn Batuta. He was a veritable freak of nature, a mixture of opposites. He was magnanimous, generous, and an abstainer from all evils. He was a dashing rider; he was gifted with an inventive mind and fluent tongue. In calligraphy he would put to shame the most accomplished scribes. And the felicity of his diction, the sublimity of his style, and the sallies of his wit left the most accomplished teachers and scholars gaping. No learned or scientific man or scribe or poet or physician could maintain his position against the Sultan's argument. Yet with all this, he was rough, boorish, tyrannical and intensely blood thirsty. This, Barani explains, was because the dogmas of philosophers, which are productive of indifference and hard-heartedness, had a powerful influence over him. But the declarations of the holy books and the utterances of the Prophet which inculcate benevolence and humanity and hold out the fear of future punishments were not deemed worthy of his attention.² The Sultan, who was angry with his subject and whose subjects were aggrieved with him, expired in his military camp fourteen miles from Thath by the side of the river Sind in the year 752 A. H. (1351 A. C.)

Barani bewails the death of his benefactor with the acutest sense of sorrow. He writes:

"The protector of the world, conqueror of the universe, who had sat on the Imperial throne, slept now between planks of wood, and from the carpet of kingship was confined to the grave.

"The exalted head of Alp Arsalan, you saw, ascended to the sky. He died, and now you see his body beneath the earth. The rich who had thousands of gate-keepers for their palaces, have now crows as keepers of their tombs.

"Oh, Justice from the hands of the faithless sky, and mercy from the cruel times, which confine kings and protectors of the world into the graves of four yards and like to see the king of the east and west in disgrace.

"The day of judgment dawned, and we are still asleep. Proclaim to the sleepers of the world: It is doomsday, get up and tear down the roof of the high place; Muhammad Shah slept into the heart of the earth. Make your mourning-dress black."

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 516-17.—Elliot's translation.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 465-66.

Barani's lamentation is not groundless. After Muhammad Tughlak's death, his life grew insipid, and he lost all sunshines of joys and pleasures, passing the rest of his days in monotony, misery and sickness.

Muhammad Tughlak left no male issue behind him, but his minister Ahmad Ayaz crowned a man who pretended to be the son of the late Sultan, and resisted the approach of Firuz Shah to Delhi; but he was overcome and put to death by Firuz, who was already proclaimed king by the royal troops. There was no untoward incident in Barani's relation to Ahmad Ayaz or Firuz in Muhammad Tughlak's time, but after his death, his adversaries contrived for reasons unknown to sour King Firuz's temper, exasperating him irretrievably against Barani. The king remained inexorable till Barani's last breath. Barani's frantic supplications failed to move him, and the estrangement of his feeling lasted. Barani would have liked to dedicate his book, *Tarikh Firuz Shahi* to the king, but his loyal wish went with him to his grave. For six long years he lived under the glories of Sultan Firuz Shah, and grew old and disappointed, and died in disfavour, neglected and miserable, with no honour, wealth or ease in his waning age. He has made morbid references to this in his book.

"I, Zia Barani, the author of this history, have fallen into a multitude of miseries after the death of the [previous] king. My ill-wishers, enemies, and opponents have endeavoured much to do away with me, and I have been injured by the evil propaganda against me. They have poisoned the ears of His Majesty by misrepresenting me. Had the Grace of God, and the learning, kindness, affection and reasonableness of the king of the day, Firuz Shah Sultan, not come to my rescue, and had the king given ears to the poisonous words of my ill-wishers, I should long ago have slept in the lap of mother earth. And had not the kindness of this protector of the poor come to my relief, I should not have existed up till now."¹

In another passage he describes his sorry plight, making references to the bounties and generosity of the exalted nobles of the realm:

"I have fallen on hard days, and grown tired of my own self. Beggars go out of my door without receiving anything. Oh, I had better died earlier than seen these evil days. I have nothing, nor do I get a single penny from any quarter."²

Still on another occasion he boasts of the qualities of his book, nourishing the pious desire to present his book to the king, who, as he says, loved to read history:

"Oh, what should I do! I have been flung aside from the presence and proximity of the king. I do not find any opportunity to present this book to him. I am broken-hearted and pray to the Omnipotent God, for the sake of my broken-heartedness, for the sake of my help-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 556-57.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205.

lessness, and for the sake of my miserable condition, to look down upon me and provide me the opportunity for making presentation of this history of mine to the Master of the World, His Majesty Firuz Shah, the King of the Realm of God."¹

Barani was one of those men, who found relief and delight in incessant munificence. He enjoyed the sunshine of Muhammad Tughlak's generosity, receiving bountiful gifts from him. He could have hoarded a vast reserve of wealth, but he kept nothing in store. His last days, as Mir Khurd says, ended in gnawing miseries, and he departed in object indigence for a sojourn to the world of everlasting peace. The king was pleased to give him a small stipend in his last days,² but he had no savings at the time of his death. He gave in charity the last garments he possessed. His corpse was shrouded in sackcloth and was buried by the side of his father and friends, in the neighbourhood of Maulana Nizamuddin's tomb. Mir Khurd writes:

"At last, after the afflictions of a few days, he stepped out for the next world boldly and heroically. At the time of his death he had no clothes and not a single penny with him, the clothes of his body he had given in charity. Sackcloth served as coffin sheet. Verily, he was much influenced by the audience of the Sultanul-Mashaikh [i.e., Nizamuddin], and ended his days in righteousness. He departed from this world as a pauper, as everyone must depart, and was buried in the neighbourhood of the grave of Sultanul-Mashaikh, and just below his father's. May his soul rest in peace."³

The depository of his remains has been located to the south of his friend Khusrô's grave. No inscription or memorial stands on his grave to commemorate him, still there is no reason to doubt his burying place.

His life is instructive. Born in a rich family, brought up as a highly cultured man with all the sensitiveness of high breeding, leading a comfortable life, he died a melancholy death in penury and affliction. It is, however, safe to say that, despite all his helplessness and the king's indifference to him, he passed away quiet and serene from this world.

The date of Zia Barani's death is not definitely known. He was 74 years of age when he finished his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, and he does not seem to have lived long after that. According to Mir Khurd, he was a little over 70 years of age at the time of his death.⁴ Amiable and companionable as he was, he was gifted with a sprightly wit, and superb liveliness. Nature had endowed him with a quick understanding, a versatile temper, and sound commonsense. He was "conspicuous as a honey-bee of the daintiest flowers of wit and humour". Those around him loved to hear from him tales renowned as the "quintessence of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

2. *Seirul-Auliya*, p. 212.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

moral and intellectual virtues."¹

He has left behind him a legacy of works, of which *Sina-i-Muhammadi*, *Salvat-i-Kabir*, *Inayat-Namah*, *Maathir Saadat*, *Hasrat Namah*, and a history of the Barmakides are notable. The most famous of his books is *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, which has given a stamp of immortality to his name.

History was a passion with Barani. Though he had read books relating to different arts and letters, history always occupied the largest place in his imagination. And of this subject he had made an extensive study. He himself describes his attachment to history in the following words:

"I have devoted myself to the study of books and I have read plenty of ancient and modern books concerning every subject and next to Commentaries, Traditions, Theology and the Principles of Saints, nothing proved so useful as history."²

Zia Barani has written a lengthy introduction on the subject of history and its uses. History, according to him, is a knowledge of the doings of Prophets, Caliphs, Sultans, political and religious leaders. It is a record of the qualities and virtues of religious and political leaders and not a picture of the rascalities of low, mean-minded people.³ Further on, he widens the connotation of the word "history" and includes good and evil within the ambit of historical subject-matter.

"The subject of history is the record of good and evil, justice and injustice, rights and their opposite, virtues, sins, vices and weaknesses of the ancients, so that posterity may take their lessons to the heart and see the good of justice and the evils of injustice so far as political statecraft is concerned, and they may adopt virtuous ways and refrain from evil-doing."⁴

According to Zia Barani only intelligentsia are entitled to a study of history. The ignorant masses, however, have no right to study it.

"It is only the chosen ones, gifted with intelligence, who are entitled to a study of history; the lesser fry, the rascals, the untutored, the mean-spirited and the people of crooked intelligence, the down-trodden, the scoundrels, and blackguards have nothing to do with history. History will do them no good, and it is absolutely useless for them."⁵

This mentality of Zia Barani should not surprise us. We should always bear in mind that he was an Indian of aristocratic rank. He was saturated with such thoughts; the atmosphere in which he was nurtured was responsible for them. People in those days were divided into two definite compartments. The one held supremacy by virtue of its supe-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 9.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

riority, religious or secular or dynastic, and the other was the "mob", which by reason of ignorance, indolence and laziness, looked upon loyalty to the higher classes as the peak of their ambition and were not conscious of their own rights. The king was the shadow of God and, though from the theoretical viewpoint he was the guardian of the subjects, yet in actual practice kings owed their crown to repressions, tyranny, fraud and deception, war, bribes and all sorts of unfair means.

But thus limiting the subject-matter of history and the horizon of the historian, Zia Barani has narrowed the orbit of history. This attitude is far removed from the true conception of history as outlined by Ibn Khaldun at a later date. In the opinion of Ibn Khaldun, the subject-matter of history is the sociological condition of mankind, to be studied from the evolutionary point of view—how the human unit progressed from barbarism to culture, how mankind welded itself into groups, how these groups after mutual warfare established their supremacy over one another, how States and governments of sundry kinds and degrees were established, how in the march of civilisation different callings and professions, arts and industries sprang up; in short, how mankind progressed in the different departments of culture. From Ibn Khaldun point of view, the establishment of States and governments is only one aspect of the happenings in the course of civilisation and does not embrace all conditions of human life. He wants the historian to have such a wide outlook as to hold all human happenings within his ken, and he does not consider only one department of a part of human life as the subject-matter for history. Warfare, accidents, revolutions, and the downfall of empires, the record of kings and ministers, earthquakes, plagues, famines, general calamities, the wiles of the tyrant, and the exploitation of the greedy, do not constitute all history.

The main differences between the viewpoints of Zia Barani and other old historians on the one hand and Ibn Khaldun on the other is that the first group looks upon individuals and not upon society as the subject-matter of history. They are quite content, therefore, with accounts of individuals instead of the accounts of social units; hence they do not penetrate to the real truth of things, but lose themselves in superficial matters. They do not understand the intricate maze of cause and effect and do not rightly interpret historical events. They are not aware of the secret but powerful forces which work behind the scene and which occasion changes and revolutions in history—forces which turn individuals into mere pawns moved across the chess-board of history.

None before Ibn Khaldun had such a high conception of history. Even after him there have been very few historians who have studied history with such catholicity and breadth of vision. Old Muslim historians generally do not beyond chronicles of personalities, warfare and catastrophies of a particular nature.

Though Zia Barani's conception of history is far from a correct appraisement, yet, as compared with historians who were contemporaneous with him as well as those of later date, his viewpoint is more catholic than that of others. He has busied himself to a large extent with general affairs. Undoubtedly he has not dealt with them from the viewpoint of Ibn Khaldun, but much can be learnt from his books by one desiring to compile a history of sociological conditions and human development of that period. He has devoted page after page to administration, grading of personalities, and current affairs, and looks upon them as necessary points within the province of history. In this respect Zia Barani is superior to his predecessors, like Minhaj and Nizami. The latter is hardly more than a lover of words, absorbed in literary craftsmanship; he has shown his literary excellence in the description of events and has confined himself to affairs connected with conquest. The description of Minhaj is simple and artless, but rather dry. I look upon him and Nizami as mere story-tellers who have contented themselves with the affairs of kings. From the viewpoint of humanity, the high-souled and enlightened Abul-Fazl alone among historians of later date enjoys superiority over Barani. The fact is that Abul-Fazl, like Ibn Khaldun, was an author of extraordinary merit and his *Ain-i-Akbari*, like Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddama*, is unique of its kind.

Because of the limited view of history taken by Zia Barani, the advantages of the study of history, as mentioned by him, are also of the same nature:

(1) There are accounts of the doings of Prophets and Sultans in the revealed scriptures. This is also the subject-matter of history and its true object is moral edification, "and history is an art or science which edifies the wise."¹

(2) There is a very close connection between Tradition and History, and it is extremely necessary that a Traditionist should be a Historian at the same time.

(3) History teaches commonsense and helps the power of thinking and decision.

(4) It imparts useful lessons to kings and teaches them what is of use at the most critical juncture.

(5) As we read the lives of the Prophets we learn patience and contentment.

(6) A study of history makes us adopt the virtues of the good and it makes us shun the vices of the evil-doers.

(7) The historian immortalises all those of whom he writes.

(8) From a study of history we get to know the moral lesson of ideal justice, that vice is punished and virtue triumphs.²

After discussing the subject-matter and uses of history, Ziauddin

1. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

discusses the condition upon which history-writing should be based. He thinks that the primary duty of a historian is impartiality and delineation of the truth, and therefore he does not think everybody qualified for history-writing. In this connection his opinions are recorded:

"The compiler of history must be a man of trust, veracity and impartiality, so that the belief of the reader may be strengthened and people may easily believe him.¹ And since a historian must be wise, and knowing, conscience and religion are also a condition precedent to the writing of books of history.² And one of the necessary conditions of the writing of history is that for reasons of conscience it is so incumbent upon the historian that, if he records the virtues, goodness, impartiality, benevolence of a king or a celebrated personality he should not hide his vices and weaknesses. He should not feel shy of such statement but should write it plainly if expediency allows, or else he should inform the wise and the learned readers of these things by hints. And if through fear he cannot record the weakness of his contemporaries, he is helpless. But so far as his predecessors are concerned he should write the exact truth. And if the historian has been offended either by a king or a minister or an eminent person, or if he has been favoured by them, he should not in the course of writing the history make any mention of these things, so that he may not record a greatness or a virtue or an event which does not belong to the person in question. But the historian must, on the basis of religion, belief, truth and conscience, be a recorder of truth and truth alone. And it is incumbent upon historians to refrain from the ways of liars, flatterers, exaggerators, poets, and romancers, because they call a shell by the name of a ruby and, goaded by their avarice, they will call a pebble a gem, and most of their inventions are forgeries and lies; on the Day of Judgment the fraudulent author will suffer the worst pangs."³

At the end of this long address which details the subject-matter and uses of history, Zia Barani has thus praised the merits of his books and tried to convince us of his truthfulness:

"I have taken great pains in writing this history and I expect the just-minded to think that this book comprehends many things. If they will call it a book of history, they will find here accounts of kings. If they look for commands, administrative affairs and governmental business in this book, they will find plenty of it here, and if they look for counsels and advice of administrators, in this book they will find it much better than in many compilations. And whatever I have written is true and veracious; this book is reliable and, since I have recorded many different opinions, it is creditable."

And then again he writes:

1. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

"I, Zia Barani, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, have done magical wonders in this book, and people versed in history, who are rare as the Phoenix and the Philosopher's Stone, know that for a thousand years such a book as *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, which records administrative affairs, has not been produced by any historian.

"In every line, nay in every word I have recorded stories of administrative genius in connection with the accounts of kings, and I have outlined the government of the rulers either obviously or by way of hints."¹

Barani then makes a sorrowful allusion to the lack of interest, regard and patronage in the country for writers of history. He has written that even if Jamshed, Khosroes, Noshirawan and Pervez had been living and had given him cities as rewards, he would have refused to exchange his book for their cities and would have boasted of it. He says again that if the first desire be not possible to be realised, would that Aristotle had been living so that he might have done justice to his book; or even if this desire were a vain hope, would that such a book had been written during the time of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Sanjar, so that his name should have been known in the Islamic World. If these things, he says further, were, however, were vain hopes and desires, he wished that he could get an opportunity to present his book to the King Firuz; but he could not, because he happened to be one of those who had fallen under the disfavour of the king.

Barani is just in complaining of the indifference of the people towards historians. The *Firuz-i-Shahi* was written one hundred years after the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and there had been no historian in the intervening period, nor did one appear for years after Barani's death. Firuz Shah was always anxious to find a man who could write a worthy history of his reign, but no man intelligent and erudite enough could be found to meet his wishes. Shams Siraj Afif wrote his book after Firuz Shah's death and Timur's invasion. His is an account of Sultan Firuz Shah's rule as well as of the earliest kings and of the events afterwards. The book also is surnamed *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, but, unfortunately, it is not found complete. The assumption that it is the history of King Firuz only is, however, wrong. Afif was an interesting historian, and he paid due attention to the general history of the day. According to him, Firuz Shah himself seemed to evince an interest in history-writing. Educated and cultured no doubt he was, but his age is not remarkable for literary excellence, although his kind heartedness gave much peace and prosperity to the subjects. When the king could not see his wish fulfilled, he caused some of the important events of his reign to be inscribed on pillars of stone, and round the domes of Koshak Shigar and Koshak Nigar.²

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

2. Shams Siraj Afif, *Firuz-i-Shahi*, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 177.

The art of writing history, as mentioned elsewhere, was introduced into India by the Muslims. Before the advent of the Muslims the native population of India paid little or no regard to history, although they made appreciable progress in Mathematics, Astronomy, and other branches of Science. When the Muslims came to India from Central Asia the literary activities in their land of origin were already declining, and the splendour of their history-writing was on the wane. The Muslims could well boast by that time of great historians like Tabari and Al-Beruni, and in western regions of Asia, where Arabic was universally spoken, history was still a glorious tradition, and Ibn Khaldun appeared as a resplendent star above the horizon of the late eighth century. But in the eastern realm, where Persian replaced the Arabic language and became the literary medium, the standard was fast sinking. The Muslims of those countries, oblivious of the rich traditions of their past, came to a country where history was despised as being of no literary importance. True, history was written, but it was low in standard; historians were produced only by fits and starts and were merely chroniclers. If Minhaj, Hasan Nizami, Ziauddin Barani, and Shams Seraj are compared with their predecessors, they fall very short of the high standard of their Arabian contemporaries, Ibn-ul-Athir and Ibn Khaldun.

Ziauddin Barani has written his book in an easy, simple and lucid style, but he gets more often than not wearisome on account of his confused jumble of high-sounding words. On the whole, however, he is simple, clear, crisp; and stripped of all florid ornamentation, he stands unique amidst the Persian authors. He is often vivid, imaginative, and racy in his style, sometimes soaring high in poetic ecstasy. He indulges often in Hindi phrases. The Muslims came as conquerors and their official language, the Persian, naturally became the sovereign language in India. With the establishment of the camp and capital at various places in India, frequent opportunities occurred for the coming together of the conquerors and the natives. The indigenous dialects inevitably exercised some influence upon the Persian. The peculiar construction, phraseology and imagery of Hindi began to be imparted to, and engrafted upon, the Persian language. The large preponderance of Hindi words and phraseology in the writings of early Persian authors of India is, therefore, not astonishing. Khusro's works teem with them. Barani, born and brought up in India, could not be an exception to this. We need not, therefore, offer any apology or minimise the literary worth of his book on that account. Such a change comes over every language when it is confronted with a similar situation, language being always susceptible to change and flexibility. There are numerous instances of this kind in all languages.

Barani rises to the height of his eloquence when he describes the convivial parties of Sultan Muizuddin Kaikobad. He was only a child at that time, and the descriptions are mere imageries and creations of

fancy. Barani takes a great pride in the picture he has drawn, and calls it the master-piece of his book.

Sultan Muizuddin Kaikobad was the grandson of Balban. His father, Sultan Nasiruddin Bughra Khan, became the Governor of Bengal after Balban's death. In his absence Kaikobad was proclaimed King in Delhi. Contention naturally arose between father and son, but it ended in a compromise. The father acknowledged the son as the king of Delhi. Khusrô has also written all these details in his *Qiran-us-Saadain*. When saying farewell to his young and pleasure-seeking son, the father gave him a few pieces of advice and exhorted him not to indulge in excessive frivolities and pleasures. The son acted for some time in accordance with his father's advice, but could not help becoming a victim to his temperament. Zia Barani has given a graphic and wonderful picture how he fell a prey to it.

Ziauddin Barani intended writing a universal history from Adam to his own days, but he gave up the idea because of the existence of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, which was already a history of the kind Barani proposed to write. He wrote, therefore, only the accounts of eight kings of Delhi, which the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* failed to write. The *Firuz Shahi* comprises the description of the following kings: Ghiyasuddin Balban, Muizuddin Kaikobad, Jalaluddin, Alauddin Khilji, Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji, Ghiyasuddin Tughlak, Muhammad bin Tughlak, Firuz Shah Tughlak.

Ziauddin Barani declares that what he has written on the life and actions of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban, he himself heard from his father and grandfather and from men who held important offices under that sovereign. Again, the details of Kaikobad's reign, "he learnt from his father Muyyadul-Mulk and from his preceptors who were men of note at the time." Again, "the events and affairs of Jalaluddin's reign unto the end of this work, all occurred under his own eyes and observation."

Barani's history is, therefore, a fruit of only personal observations and hearsay statement. His book is devoid of deep research, great discrimination and sustained effort. He writes independent of all authorities much like a story-teller with a facile pen and unrestrained zeal. His book sometimes lacks the unity of arrangement, and the chapters are often wanting in logical order. He has failed to go deep into the stern reality of affairs, subordinating individual inner details to a compact whole. He looks at things considered in their entity, and writes in a general way, he is evidently conscious of it. He writes:

"In this book I have recorded all the diplomatic and administrative affairs of the State, and in the description of conquests I have not mentioned every event or happening, nor have I mentioned privileges granted to the people, since wise people will well known these things from a study of administrative affairs."¹

1. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 468.

This idiosyncrasy of Barani is responsible for many discrepancies in his book. He hardly makes mention of dates and era, and those which he has mentioned are inconsistent with facts concerned. He is often hopelessly superficial in the knowledge of some of the important events of the time, and often misses details worthy of notice. He could have well avoided most of these deficiencies if he had only given himself to serious study and solid labour instead of depending exclusively on personal evidence and oral authority. It is true, no doubt, that he had no book in his time which could be called a comprehensive history of the age, but he had at his disposal works of contemporary authors from which he could derive a good deal of useful information. His own friend Khusro's works on the period from Balban to Ghiyasuddin Tughlak would have been useful in this respect. He could, again, seek help from historians like Kabiruddin Iraqi, the author of *Fatah-Namah Allai*. Moreover, books by other authors, now extinct, were then available. Barani could have benefited through all these resources, but he unparadoxically failed to do so.

To Barani history is mainly a repository of moral and intellectual virtues, an emporium of sublime thoughts, of chastening and elevating emotions. He delights in moral reflections and pious sermons,¹ and in these guise tries to delineate the spirit and form of governmental organisation. The multitude of sermons delivered in the name of various persons are apparently all imaginary, much like the series of speeches of the Greek historian, Thucydides, who purports to have been the mouth-piece of the intelligentsias of Greece. In these sermons we find, however, the spirit of polity as well as the moral and social defects of the time. Barani reaches his height when he criticises the frequent changes of rulers and the coming and passing of great personalities. He strikes a melancholy note on such occasions and moralises over the fickleness of the world; in the lofty flight of these thoughts he sometimes reaches the sublime. His graphic account of Jalaluddin's coming to Kushak-i-Lal is indicative of his bend of mind. When Sultan Jalaluddin enters Delhi to sit on the throne, accompanied by his officers and supporters, he alights at the Daulat Khana and, reaching the Hall of the Nobles, covers his face with his handkerchief and weeps bitterly. He thus addresses the nobles: "kingship", he says, "is all delusion and fraud, painted without but hollow within. . . . I recall to myself the kind of Emperor Sultan Balban was. He governed the country for forty years. His sons were cultured and his nephews renowned. Owing to his grandeur and the awe it inspired, the supporters and officers of his government had struck their root deeply, and none of his opponents or rivals were left in the country. Not more than three years have passed since Sultan Balban's death and the accession of his grandson, yet in spite of their former magnificence, I do not see more than three or four of his officers

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 69—80, 95—106, 152—156, 289—296.

in the present company. Their magnificence and grandeur are gone... Even in the hands of a man so terrible, active and experienced, the kingdom did not last for ever. Nor did it pass on to his sons after him in proper order. How, then, will it remain in my hands or pass as an inheritance to my children?... He who grasps at the supreme power throws himself and his all to destruction at a single stroke."¹

With all his limitations and defects, Barani is an indispensable historian of his age. A student of history will not be able fully to appreciate the details of the period without this book.

Barani's way of writing is much akin to biography. He is a consummate master of biographical sketches; his characters are realistic and distinctive, and his criticism just and impartial. He fails somewhere to understand some complex figures of his age. He could not, for example, grasp Muhammad Tughlak's administration and reforms. Muhammad Tughlak walked ahead of his age, which Barani, together with the people of the time, failed to understand. His monetary reforms were the result of his financial wisdom, but it could not win the appreciation of his contemporaries. Alauddin's administration was likewise much misunderstood.

With all this, Barani is the first great Indian historian, and we can be rightly proud of him.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-80.

PAGES FROM SAHÎH AL-BUKHÂRÎ*

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY MUHAMMAD ASAD-WEISS

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Dispenser of Grace.

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS¹

AND whoso of the Muslims kept company with the Prophet or saw him, is of his Companions.

SECTION I

- (1) 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of 'Amr, who said: I heard Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh say: Abû Sa'id al-Khudri related to us, saying:

THE Apostle of God said: A time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and some will say, Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with the Apostle of God?—And they will answer them, Yea.—And they shall be victorious. Thereafter a time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and someone will say, Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with the companions of the Apostle of God?—And they will answer, Yea.—And they shall be victorious. Thereafter a time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and someone will say, Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with a companion of the companions of the Apostle of God?—And they will answer, Yea.—And they shall be victorious.

- (2) Ishâq related to me: An-Naḍr related to us: Shu'bah informed us, on the authority of Abû Jamrah, [who said:] I heard Zahdam ibn Muḍarrib say: I heard 'Imrân ibn Ḥusayn say:

*This is an excerpt from an English translation of *Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî* which is being published under the auspices of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government by the Arafat Publications, Model Town, Lahore.

1. In all available texts, this chapter is not distinctly treated as a separate entity, although it is obviously one; the *bismillâh*, however, which in Bkh generally precedes a new chapter, occurs in all texts, which leads us to the assumption that the author intended it to be a separate chapter. The word *bâb* (section) before the title is omitted in the text of Abû Dharr al-Hirawî; I have inserted it after the *tarjamah* to mark the beginning of the first section.

THE Apostle of God said: The best of my community is my generation¹, thereafter those who will follow them, thereafter those who will follow them.

‘Imrān said: And I know not whether he mentioned two or three generations after his [own] generation.

And, behold, after you² there will be people who will testify without being asked to testify³; and will betray and will not be trusted; and will make vows and will not fulfil them: and opulence⁴ will become marked among them.

- (3) Muḥammad ibn Kathīr related to us: Sufyān informed us, on the authority of Manṣūr, on the authority of Ibrāhīm, on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh, on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh:

THE Prophet said: The best of people are my generation, thereafter those who will follow them, thereafter those who will follow them. Then will come [such] people that one's testimony will outrun his oath, and one's oath, his testimony.⁵

Ibrāhīm said: And while we were small, they⁶ would beat us in matters of testimony and oath.⁷

SECTION II

THE PRAISEWORTHY QUALITIES OF THE MUḤĀJIR⁸ AND THEIR MERIT: OF THESE WAS ABŪ BAKR ‘ABD ALLĀH IBN ABĪ QUḤĀFAH AT-TAYMĪ

The Word of God, exalted be He: For the poor emigrants who have been driven from their homes and their possessions, seeking favour from God and [His] pleasure, and help God and His Apostle: these are the sincere.⁹—And He said: If ye help

1. The term *qarn* is sometimes erroneously translated as "century"; in reality, it denotes people belonging to the same period or being of equal age (cf. Lane VIII, 2987), that is, a generation.

2. I.e., after the first three or four generations.

3. Sc., because they are not held trustworthy. The commentators (e.g., *Fatḥ al-Bārī* V, 198) have advanced several laboured explanations of this sentence, but they are not convincing. The only acceptable interpretation appears to be the one given above.

4. Lit., fatness (*siman* or *saman*). The meaning is, that the people of the time thus predicted by the Prophet will extremely care for their material well-being, without having any of the virtues required of a Muslim.

5. I.e., they will be careless with regard to their testimony, swearing to more than they can testify, and testifying to matters which exceed the scope of their oath.—For a fuller explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh xlii/9, No. 2.

6. Sc., the parents and teachers.

7. To prevent the misuse of testimonies.

8. Regarding the wider implications of the term *ḥijrah*, see Bkh i. No. 1. n. Wherever the word *muḥājir* (emigrant) occurs in a Tradition without any further qualification it refers to those Companions of the Prophet who emigrated with him or shortly after him (that is, before the conquest of Mecca, in 8 A.H.) from Mecca to Madinah, in order to be able to live freely according to the tenets of Islām. Such emigration, entailing the giving up of home and family relations for the sake of God and His Prophet, was naturally regarded as an action of great merit; and so the designation of *muḥājir* had not only a historical connotation, but was also a sign of particular distinction.

9. Qur'an lix, 8.

him' not, God hath helped him;—to His Word: Behold, God is with us.¹—And 'Ā'ishah, Abū Sa'id and Ibn 'Abbās said: Abū Bakr was with the Prophet in the cave.⁴

- (1) 'Abd Allāh ibn Rajā' related to us, on the authority of Abū Ishāq, on the authority of al-Barā', who said:

ABŪ BAKR bought of 'Āzib' a camel-saddle for thirteen *dirhams*; then he said unto 'Āzib: Bid al-Barā' to carry my saddle for me.—Thereupon ['Āzib] said: Nay, not until thou tell us what ye did, thou and the Prophet, when ye left Mecca⁵ and the idolaters pursued you.

[Abū Bakr] said: We departed from Mecca,⁶ and remained awake—or: travelled⁷—

throughout that night and the [following] day, till the sun was at its highest. Then I cast my eyes around to see whether there was some shade where we could betake ourselves for refuge: and lo, there was a rock. I went toward it and saw that it had still a little shade. I smoothed the ground and spread on it a bedding for the Prophet and said unto him: Lie down, O Prophet of God!—And the Prophet lay down. Thereupon I went forth to look around for any of the pursuers. And lo, I met a herdsman driving his flock toward the rock, desiring of it that which we had desired. I asked him: To whom dost thou belong, O boy?—He said: To a man of Quraysh.—He mentioned his name, and I knew him. Then I said: Is there milk in thy flock?—He answered: Yea.—I said: Wilt thou, then, milk [for us]?—He said: Yea.—So I bade him to do so, and he tied up a ewe of his flock. Then I bade him to clean her udder of dust, and bade him to clean his hands. (Thus,—said [Abū Bakr], slapping one of his hands against the other.) He drew a little milk for me. I had already prepared a waterskin for the Prophet, of which the mouth was covered with a piece of cloth; and I poured [some water] into the milk so that it cooled to the bottom, went therewith to the Prophet and found him already awake;

1 Sc., the Prophet Muḥammad.

2 Qur'an ix, 40.

3. The Tradition of 'Ā'ishah referred to is fully quoted in Bkh li/21, No. 9; the Tradition of Abū Sa'id al-Khudri in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥabbān (see *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 7); and the Tradition of Ibn 'Abbās in Bkh liii, *sūrah* ix, sec. 9, No. 3.

4. When the Prophet and Abū Bakr left Mecca for Madīnah, they first hid themselves during three nights in a cave in Mt. Thawr in the vicinity of Mecca, and thence proceeded further, after having procured a guide (cf. Bkh li/21, No. 9). The author mentions this fact here to show the regard in which Abū Bakr was held by his companions for having stood by the Prophet at a time of great danger.

5. Father of the narrator, al-Barā'.

6. On their *hijrah* to Madīnah.

7. Although it might appear that this narrative refers to the actual departure of the two fugitives from Mecca, it refers in reality to events which happened three days later, namely, after their departure from the cave of Mt. Thawr. It is probable that 'Āzib already knew the story of the cave so Abū Bakr restricted his narrative to events which happened after that.

8. It appears that al-Barā' was in doubt as to the word employed by Abū Bakr.

and I said: Drink, O Apostle of God!—And he drank until I was satisfied. Thereupon I said: It is time to depart, O Apostle of God.—He said: Yea.—So we departed, those people [still] pursuing us. But none of them perceived us save Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Ju'shum,¹ riding his mare. I said: This pursuer hath already reached us, O Apostle of God!—But he said: Grieve not: for, behold, God is with us.²

(2) Muḥammad ibn Sinān related to us: Hammām related to us, on the authority of Thābit, on the authority of Anas,

ON the authority of Abū Bakr, who said: While we were in the cave,³ I said unto the Prophet: If any of them had looked down below his feet,⁴ he would have surely seen us.—But he said: What, thinkest thou, O Abū Bakr, could befall twain who have God as the third with them?

SECTION III

THE SAYING OF THE PROPHET. CLOSE ALL DOORS SAVE THE DOOR OF ABŪ BAKR

Ibn 'Abbās related this [Tradition] on the authority of the Prophet.⁵

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad related to me: Abū 'Āmir related to us: Fulayḥ related to us, saying: Sālim abu'n-Naḍr related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn Sa'id, on the authority of Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī, who said:

THE Apostle of God addressed the people and said: Behold, God gave one of His servants the choice between this world and that which is with God; and the servant chose that which is with God.—Thereupon Abū Bakr wept; and we wondered at his weeping over the announcement of the Apostle of God concerning one of God's servants who had been given the choice. But it was the Apostle of God himself who had been given the choice, and Abū Bakr knew it better than we.⁶ Then the Apostle of God said: Behold, of all people, the most generous toward me with regard to

1. For particulars about this man, who later embraced Islām, see Bkh li/21, No. 9, n. There is also described how Surāqah was rendered unable to fulfil his inimical designs regarding the Prophet.

2. Cf. Qur'ān ix, 40, which refers to the same incident. In some versions of Bkh, this Tradition is followed by a short commentary on *sūrah* xvi, 6, erroneously supposed to have been added by al-Bukhārī. It is, however, missing in most authoritative texts, and thus appears to be a later interpolation (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bārī* VII, 8).

3. See p. 100, n. 4.

4. When the Prophet and Abū Bakr were hiding in the cave, some of the pursuers passed above its mouth without noticing it (cf. Bkh li/21, No. 22).

5. This Tradition is fully quoted in Bkh viii/80, No. 2.

6. The Prophet spoke the above words at the time of his temporary recovery from his last illness (cf. Bkh viii/80, No. 2, and a Tradition on the authority of Jundub, quoted by Ibn Hajar in *Fatḥ al-Bārī* VII, 9, in which the narrator precedes the same account with the words, "I heard the Prophet say, five nights before his death," etc.). Thus Abū Bakr understood that the Prophet was alluding to his imminent death.

his companionship and his property was Abū Bakr. And were I to chose anyone but my Sustainer to be my dearest friend, indeed I would chose Abū Bakr'; but [for him I cherish] Islāmīc brotherliness and love. There shall be left open no door in the mosque, save Abū Bakr's door.'

SECTION IV

THE MERIT OF ABŪ BAKR COMETH NEXT AFTER THAT OF THE PROPHET

'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abd Allāh related to us: Sulaymān related to us, on the authority of Yaḥyā ibn Sa'id, on the authority of Nāfi',

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said: In the time of the Prophet we used to assign different ranks to people; and we used to give Abū Bakr the precedence, next to him, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and next to him, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.'

SECTION V

THE PROPHET'S SAYING, IF I WERE TO CHOSE [ANYONE] TO BE MY DEAREST FRIEND

*Abū Sa'id told this [Tradition].*⁴

- (1) Muslim ibn Ibrāhīm related to us: Wuhayb related to us: Ayyūb related to us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: If I were to chose my dearest friend from among my community, indeed I would chose Abū Bakr; but [he] is my brother and my companion.

1. The expression *khalīl* denotes the dearest or most sincere friend who has no rival in the love and reliance conferred upon him (see *Lisān al-'Arab* XIII, 230 f.). As the Prophet's highest love was reserved for God Himself, he could not attribute to any mortal the same degree of affection and devotion.

2. When the Prophet's Mosque at Madinah was first built, it occupied a narrow space between houses, some of which had doors opening on it. The house of 'Ā'ishah, in which the Prophet mostly lived (and which to-day is included in the mosque and surmounted by a green dome), also bordered on it; and adjoining to this were the houses of other wives of the Prophet (Ibn Sa'id I/ii, 180 f.), as well as those of some Companions, e.g., al-'Abbās. All the Companions' houses, with the exception of those of the Prophet's wives and of al-'Abbās, were later demolished by 'Umar when he rebuilt and enlarged the mosque, which originally occupied only the space indicated to-day by the *Rawḍah* (*ibid.*, III/i, 203; IV/i, 13). During the Prophet's last illness, the latter stayed in 'Ā'ishah's house; as he was troubled by the noise and the frequent passing of people, he ordered all doors leading from the houses to the mosque to be closed, with the exception of that of Abū Bakr, as a special mark of esteem for the old and trusty friend.

3. It is probable that Ibn 'Umar told this Tradition at a time when the Muslims were divided in their opinions as to whether 'Uthmān or 'Alī occupied a higher rank. This Tradition is to be found, in a more explicit form, in Bkh 1/8, No. 3.

4. Reference to the Tradition already quoted in sec. 3.

- (2) Mu'allā ibn Asad and Mūsā related to us, saying: Wuhayb related to us, on the authority of Ayyūb¹ . . . and said:

[THE Prophet said:] If I were to chose my dearest friend, indeed I would chose him² to be my dearest friend; but Islāmic brotherliness is the best [of what I can give him].

Qutaybah related to us: 'Abd al-Wahhāb related to us, on the authority of Ayyūb, the same.

- (3) Sulaymān ibn Ḥarb related to us: Hammād ibn Zayd informed us, on the authority of Ayyūb, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Mulaykah who said:

THE people of Kūfah wrote to Ibn az-Zubayr concerning the grandfather,³ and he said: He of whom the Apostle of God said, *If I were to chose my dearest friend from among this community, indeed I would chose him* (that is, Abū Bakr), assigned to him⁴ the position of father.⁵

SECTION VI

- (1) Al-Ḥumaydi and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh related to us, saying: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im, on the authority of his father, who said:

A WOMAN came unto the Prophet, and he bade her come again.⁶ She said: What shall I do if I come and find thee not?—as if she were alluding to [his] death.⁷ He said: If thou find me not, go to Abū Bakr.⁸

- (2) Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭayyib related to me: Ismā'il ibn Mujāhid related to us: Bayān ibn Bishr related to us, on the authority of Wabarah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, on the authority of Hammām, who said:

I HEARD 'Ammār say: I saw the Apostle of God while there was none with him

1. The rest of the *isnād* is the same as in the preceding Tradition.

2. *Sc.*, Abū Bakr.

3. *I.e.*, the position of a grandfather in matters of inheritance.

4. *Sc.*, the grandfather.

5. Abū Bakr, in cases where the father of the deceased died before the latter, assigned to the grandfather the same share in the inheritance as that which is allotted to the father of a deceased. There is, however, difference of opinion among the legists concerning this point (for a full discussion of this problem, see Bkh lxxii/9).

6. It is nowhere mentioned in the Traditions who the woman was or what the problem was she had brought before the Prophet.

7. It appears that this happened during the Prophet's last illness, and the woman was afraid lest he should die before she came again, and so her matter would remain undecided.

8. Thus, perhaps, the Prophet indicated that after his demise Abū Bakr would guide the Muslims in his place.

but five slaves,¹ two women,² and Abū Bakr.³

- (3) Hishām ibn 'Ammār related to us: Ṣadaqah ibn Khālid related to us: Zayd ibn Wāqid related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, on the authority of 'Ā'idh Allāh abū Idris,

ON the authority of Abū'd-Dardā', who said: I was sitting with the Prophet, and there came Abū Bakr, lifting the end of his garment,⁴ so that his knees were visible; and the Prophet said: Your friend hath had a quarrel.—[Abū Bakr] greeted [him] and said: O Apostle of God! Behold, there was something between me and Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and I was hasty with him; then I regretted it, and asked of him forgiveness, but he refused it. And so I have come unto thee.—Then [the Prophet]

1. The five slaves were (according to *Faṭḥ-al-Bārī* VII. 15): (1) Bilāl the Abyssinian (for biographical note see sec. 26). (2) Zayd ibn Ḥārithah (see sec. 18). (3) 'Āmir ibn Fuhayrah. He was a slave of a Qurayshī, and was maltreated by his master owing to his adherence to the Prophet. Thereupon Abū Bakr bought him and immediately liberated him. When the Prophet and Abū Bakr left Mecca on their *hijrah* and hid themselves for three nights in the cave of Mt. Thawr, 'Āmir came daily to them with his flock of sheep and supplied them with milk, as is narrated in Bkh I/21, No. 9. (He should not be confused with the shepherd mentioned in Bkh I/2, No. 1.) Later he migrated to Madinah and took part in the battle of Badr. He was killed in one of the later campaigns. (See *Istī'āb* II, 449; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 164 f; Ibn Hishām I. 160, 195, 292.) (4) Abū Fakayhah or 'Ammār ibn Yāsir (the narrator of this Tradition); it is uncertain which of the two it was. Abū Fakayhah was a slave of Ṣāfiwān ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, and suffered the same persecution as Bilāl and 'Āmir ibn Fuhayrah, and was also bought and freed by Abū Bakr (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 91). As to 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, see sec. 22 of this chapter. (5) Probably Ṣālih ibn 'Adl, called Shuqrān. He was a slave of the Prophet, bought by the latter from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf; he took part in the battle of Badr, whereupon the Prophet liberated him (*Istī'āb* II. 594; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 34).

2. The first of them was Khadijah. As to the other woman, the reports differ as to whether it was Umm Ayman or Sumayyah. Umm Ayman (whose real name was Barakah) was a slave inherited by the Prophet from his father; she had nursed him in his childhood. He freed her on his marriage with Khadijah, whereupon she married 'Ubayd ibn Zayd and bore him a son, Ayman, who later became a Companion of the Prophet and fell in the battle of Ḥunayn. After her first husband's death she married Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, the Prophet's freedman, and bore him a son, the subsequently famous Companion, Usamah ibn Zayd. The Prophet always regarded her as a member of his family. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 162 f.) As regards Sumayyah-bint Khubbāt (or Khayyāt), she was a freed slave and the mother of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, the narrator of this Tradition. She was the first martyr of Islām, having been killed in a heinous way by Abū Jahl for the sake of her convictions (*ibid.*, 193). Some commentators assume that the other woman (beside Khadijah) was neither Umm Ayman nor Sumayyah, but the wife of al-'Abbās (mother of al-Faḍl). Ibn Ḥajar, however, regards this as extremely improbable (cf. *Faṭḥ-al-Bārī* VII, 16).

3. In reality, the first Muslim man was 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who embraced Islām shortly after Khadijah; the narrator, however, does not mention him because he was at that time a mere child. In any case, Abū Bakr was the first free-born man who openly declared himself a Muslim; and it seems to have been the intention of the narrator to show this fact.

4. —in order to be able to walk quickly. His hurry is also implied in the subsequent words of the Prophet.

said three times: God will forgive thee, O Abū Bakr!

Thereafter, behold, 'Umar [also] regretted and went to Abū Bakr's house and asked: Is Abū Bakr here?—And they answered: Nay.—So he went to the Prophet and greeted him; but the Prophet's countenance changed so much that Abū Bakr was frightened and threw himself on his knees and said twice: O Apostle of God! By God, it is I who was in the wrong!—Thereupon the Prophet said: Behold, [when] God sent me unto you and ye [all] said, Thou liest, Abū Bakr said, He speaketh truth,¹ and helped me with his person and his property. Will ye, then, not let my companion alone?—[And he said this] twice. After this, [Abū Bakr] was not molested again.

- (4) Mu'allā ibn Asad related to us: 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn al-Mukhtār related to us, saying: Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā related to us, on the authority of Abū 'Uthmān, who said:

'AMR IBN AL-'ĀṢ related to me that the Prophet sent him in command of the army of Dhāt as-Salāsil.² [He said:] And I came unto him and asked: Which of the people is the dearest unto thee?—He answered: 'Ā'ishah.—Then I said: [But] of the men?—He said: Her father.—And I said: And who next?—He answered: Next, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.—Then he enumerated some [other] men.³

- (5) Abū'l-Yamān related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf informed me that Abū Hurayrah said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say⁴: Whilst a herdsman was guarding his flock, a wolf fell upon it and bore a ewe away; and the herdsman pursued it. Then the wolf turned toward him and said: Who will guard this flock⁵ on the Day of the Beast of Prey⁶—on the day when it will have no herdsman but me?

And whilst a man was driving an ox⁷ which he had burdened with a load, it turned toward him and spake unto him, saying: I was not created for this, but was created for ploughing.

1. The perfect diction of the Prophet, which often implied much in a few words, is beautifully illustrated in his saying, "Abū Bakr said, He speaketh truth". The use of the third person in Abū Bakr's saying implies that the latter not only acknowledged the Prophet in his face, but also that in the latter's absence he valiantly defended him before others.

2. The campaign of Dhāt as-Salāsil took place in the year 7 or 8 A.H. For details see Bkh lii/65, n.

3. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ obviously cherished the idea that the Prophet, who had shown him his favour by appointing him to an important command, would name him first among the persons dear to him. But he was utterly mistaken. In another version of the same Tradition, quoted in Bkh lii/65, 'Amr adds the words: "Then I remained silent out of fear that he would put me at the end of them."

4. The two stories quoted in this Tradition are evidently parables, and probably refer to a time to come, when wrong would be rampant in the world and the natural order of things would be upset.

5. Lit., "whom will it have".

6. Indication of unjust rule, when the enemies of society would be put in charge of it.

7. The word *baqarah* used in the Arabic text is a generic term denoting any kind of bovine cattle; it is commonly used for the female (cow), but here it obviously denotes an ox or a bullock.

The people [who heard this] said: Glory be unto God!¹—Thereupon the Prophet said: Behold, I believe it, and [so do] Abū Bakr and 'Umar.²

- (6) 'Abdān related to us: 'Abd Allāh informed us, on the authority of Yūnus, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Ibn al-Musayyab informed me that he heard Abū Hurayrah say:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whilst asleep, I saw myself at a well on which there was a leathern bucket; and I drew with it as much [water] as God willed. Thereafter Ibn Abī Quḥāfah³ took it and drew a bucketful or two of water, and there was some weakness in his drawing; and God will forgive him his weakness. Thereafter it changed into a huge bucket⁴, and Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb took it; and I never saw any strong man⁵ draw as 'Umar drew—until the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.⁶

1. They were astonished to hear of talking animals (cf. Bkh xlviii/53, No. 6).—This story, of course, is not to be taken literally, but as an indication of a future time, when the established order of life would be upset and confused.

2. As is evident from the same Tradition quoted in Bkh xlviii/53, No. 6, and I/7, No. 13, the two were not present at that time. The Prophet apparently so entirely relied on their implicitly believing his words, that he vouched for their belief in their absence. It might be that he had already mentioned the parable to them, and now he indicated that even people of the discernment of those two accepted the prediction without doubting it. The Prophet's expression, "I believe it", supports our assumption that this parable refers to the future.

3. I.e., Abū Bakr.

4. A *gharb* is a very large leathern bucket used for drawing water from a well by means of a camel or a bullock. When filled, it is generally too heavy to be lifted by a single man.

5. The expression '*abqari*' denotes anything admired for the exceptional skill or strength it exhibits (see Lane V, 1940 f; and also Ibn Jubayr's explanation of this word in Bkh I/7, No. 4). Hence it means, in this context, an exceptionally strong man.

6. The word '*aṭan*', which occurs in the Arabic text, denotes the abiding-place of camels around, or near, the water; and the sentence *خرب الناس بطن* is used in the Arabic idiom as translated in the above Tradition (cf. Lane V, 2064).

This prophetic dream describes in a symbolical way the rôles of the three personalities with regard to Islām. The life of the Muslim community, symbolised by "water", was first drawn to light by the Prophet ("I drew as much water as God willed"). He was succeeded by Abū Bakr, during whose reign the realm of Islām grew in size: this is expressed by the words, "he drew a bucketful or two of water", contrasted with the *dalw* (small leathern bucket) of the Prophet; but Abū Bakr was able to draw only "one or two bucketful", which indicates the shortness of his reign; and "there was some weakness in his drawing": that is, he was not able to complete the conquests which he initiated. But this was mainly due to his early death, and not to any shortcoming in him: therefore, "God will forgive him his weakness". Under the reign of 'Umar, however, the Muslim Empire not only immensely grew in size—which is symbolised by the "huge bucket" (*gharb*) of 'Umar, and the Prophet's admiration of his almost superhuman strength and skill—but was also established on solid administrative foundations, so that the Muslims obtained the largest possible measure of security and well-being and could fully utilise the benefits accruing to them ("the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest").—This dream of the Prophet is extremely well authenticated

- (7) Muḥammad ibn Muqātil related to us: 'Abd Allāh informed us: Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah informed us, on the authority of Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, who said:

THE Apostle of God said: Whoso traileth his garment out of vanity, God will not look toward him on the Day of Resurrection.¹—Thereupon Abū Bakr said: One end of my garment [always] falleth down unless I take care of it.—But the Apostle of God said: Behold, thou doest it not out of vanity.²

Mūsā said: Then I said to Sālim³: Did 'Abd Allāh mention "one who traileth his loincloth"?—He said: I did not hear him mention anything but "his garment".⁴

and occurs in several—almost literally identical—versions in this work as well as in other prominent compilations of Traditions.

1. For an explanation of the (conditional) prohibition of wearing a garment reaching below the ankles, see Bkh lxxv/2.

2. Sc., "—and therefore it does not matter".

3. Both Mūsā and Sālim are among the transmitters of the above Tradition (cf. *isnād*).

4. Mūsā had obviously other variants of the same Tradition in view which mention the word *izār* (loincloth) in this connection.

THE DEVIL'S DELUSION†

By ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

WE HAVE been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a Tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Najjār according to which the latter said: 'Alī b. Bābawayhī was one of the Sūfis; one day, having bought a piece of meat, which he wished to carry home,¹ being ashamed before the people in the street, hung it to his neck, and carried it in that way.

I would observe: One may well be amazed at people who demand of themselves the obliteration of nature's traces, a thing which is neither possible nor the intention of the Code. Now it is implanted in man's nature not to like to be seen otherwise than decently attired, and to be ashamed of being naked or having his head uncovered, and this sentiment is not disapproved by the Code. This man's rendering himself contemptible in men's eyes was a proceeding condemned by both the Code and the reason, and a loss of self-respect rather than an act of self-discipline, like carrying his shoes on his head. There is a saying in the Tradition: "Eating in the street is baseness."² For indeed God has honoured the human being, and provided many people with servants. It is no religious act for a man to humiliate himself in public. Certain of the Sūfis took the title *Malāmatiyyah* (Culpables) and perpetrated offences, asserting that their object was to lower themselves in people's estimation, and so escape the disasters of pride and hypocrisy. They are like a man who misconducted himself with a woman, who became pregnant, and being asked why he had not employed contraception, said he had been told that the practice was disapproved. And have you not been told, he was asked, that fornication is forbidden?—These ignoramuses have forfeited their dignity with God, and forgotten that the Muslims are God's witnesses on earth.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a Tradition going back to Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Khafif, according to which the latter said: I heard Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Madani say: One day I went out of Baghdād to the Yāsiriyyah Canal, at one of the villages on which there was a man who was favourably inclined to our associates. Walking on the bank of the canal I observed a patched cloak lying on the ground with a sandal and a small piece of clothing. I collected these, saying to myself that they must belong to a dervish. Walking on a little I heard a murmuring and a splashing in the

† Selection comprising pp. 390—91 of the Arabic original.

1. The sense seems to require "to have it carried home by a slave".

2. Quoted in *Majma' az-Zawā'id*, Cairo, 1353, v. 24 from Tabarānī.

water. I looked, and there was Abu'l-Ḥasan an-Nūrī who had thrown himself into the muddy water, was plunging about, and doing himself any amount of mischief. Seeing him, I felt sure that the clothes were his, and went down to him. Looking at me he said: Abu'l-Ḥasan, do you not see what is being done to me? Several deaths have befallen me.—He added: All you know about me is the rumour which everyone else has heard.—He then began to sob, saying: You see what is being done to me.—I endeavoured to soothe him, washed the mud off him, clothed him in his patched cloak, and carried him to the house of the man whom I mentioned. There we stayed till the afternoon, then went off to the mosque, and when the time for the first evening prayer arrived I saw people running, locking their doors, and mounting on the roof. We asked what the matter was, and they said that lions come into the village at night. Now round the village there was a vast thicket, where the reeds had been cut, the stumps of which were left standing like knives. When an-Nūrī heard this talked about, he rose up, dashed into the thicket among the stumps of the reeds which had been cut away, and called aloud: Lion, where are you?—We felt sure that either he had been torn to pieces by a lion, or impaled himself on the stumps of the reeds. Shortly before morning he came back, and threw himself on the ground, with his feet in a terrible condition. We extracted as many of the splinters as we could with pincers, but for forty days he was unable to use his feet. I asked him what the meaning of his conduct had been. He replied: When they mentioned the lion, I felt terror in my soul; so I said to my soul "I will hurl you into that of which you are afraid".

I would observe that no sensible person could fail to see that this man "floundered" before he fell into the water and the mud. What right has any man to throw himself into water and mud, and is this the act of any but a madman? Where too is reverence or respect to be found in his complaint: You see what is being done to me? How is such plainness of speech to be justified, when reverence should keep the tongue dry in the mouth. Further, what was he seeking but fame? Moreover he was transgressing the Code by going to face the lion and walking on the stumps of reeds. Has any man a legal right to throw himself to a lion? Are you to suppose that he wanted to change the nature of his soul wherein fear of wild beasts is implanted? This was not in his soul's power neither did the Code demand it therefrom. One of an-Nūrī's associates heard him talk in this style, and gave him an excellent reply. We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb a Tradition going back to Abū Aḥmad al-Maghāzili¹ according to which the latter said: I saw an-Nūrī with his head downwards and his feet upwards, saying: Thou hast alienated me from mankind, and deprived me of self, of wealth, and worldly things. With Thee there is nought save knowledge and fame.—I said to him: If you are satisfied, well and good. If not, knock your head against the wall!

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim a Tradition going back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī as-Sarrāj² according to which he said: I heard Ibn 'Alwān say:

1. Three persons with this *nisbah* are cited in the *Luma'*, two with different *kunya*s, and the third, Ishāq, without one. The text here has al-Mughāzī, which is unlikely to be correct. Probably the person named here is the Abū Aḥmad al-Maghāzili noticed in *Kitāb Baghddād* XIV, 421.

2. The story is from the *Luma'*, p. 193, end.

Three hundred *dinārs* were brought to Abu'l-Husayn an-Nūri, the price of a dwelling house which he had sold. He then sat on a bridge and began to toss the coins one by one into the water, saying: Lord,¹ Thou wouldst fain seduce me from Thee by this sort of thing!—As-Sarrāj proceeds:² Some of the people said: He would have done better to spend the money in God's path.—I [said Ibn 'Alwān] replied: If those *dinārs* distracted him from God for one instant, he should have tossed the whole lot into the water at once, so as to escape their seduction all the more rapidly, as God says (xxxviii, 32), *He started striking them on the legs and necks.*³

I would observe that these people merely reveal their ignorance of the Code and their want of intelligence. We have previously demonstrated that the Code enjoins the conservation of property and that it should only be committed to persons of discretion. The Code regards it as man's sustenance, and reason attests that it was created only for their benefit. If a man throws it away, he destroys what was meant for his welfare, and ignores the wisdom of its maker. The excuse alleged by as-Sarrāj is worse than an-Nūri's act; for if the man was afraid of being seduced by the money, he should have secured himself by tossing it to some indigent man. It is further a specimen of these people's ignorance how they misinterpret the Qur'an according to their perverse ideas. He alleges the "striking of the legs and necks", thinking that this gives permission for the destruction of property; but the Code gives no such permission, for Solomon only *stroked* (not struck) the legs and necks, saying, "You are devoted to God's service." This has been explained above.

Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj records in his *Luma'*⁴ that Abū Ja'far ad-Darrāj said: One day when my master went out to purify himself, I took and examined his wallet, and found therein silver amounting to four *dirhams*. Now at times we ate nothing.⁵ So when he came back I said to him: There are so many *dirhams* in your wallet, and we are starving.—What, he asked, have you taken it? Give it back.—Presently he told me to take it and buy something with it.—I said to him: I adjure you by Him Whom you worship, tell me the story of these pieces.—He replied: They are all that God has bestowed upon me, in the way of worldly goods, and I wanted to order in my will that they should be buried with me, so that on Resurrection-day I could return them to God, saying: Here are the worldly possessions which Thou didst bestow upon me.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a Tradition going back to Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husri according to which he said: Abū Ja'far al-Ḥaddād (the Smith) went on twenty years working for a *dinār* a day, which he would spend on the poor, while fasting himself; in the twilight he would go and beg for some breakfast at the doors.⁶

I would observe that if this man had known that begging is unlawful for one

1. The text of the *Luma'* is here substituted for ours, which has "Thou (feminine) hast come" etc.

2. This with what follows is not in the *Luma'*.

3. The reference is to Solomon's treatment of some horses which he admired.

4. Page 194, line 5 from the end.

5. The text has been corrected from the *Luma'*.

6. Another story of this person's fasting is told in *Luma'*, p. 332.

who is able to earn, he would not have acted in the way described. And even if we were to assume it to be lawful, where does self-respect come into the humiliation of mendicity?

We have been told by Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad a Tradition going back through Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, according to which the last said: The Prophet said: Mendicity will not leave one of you alone till he meets God without a morsel of flesh on his face.¹

Aḥmad also produced another Tradition going back to az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, according to which the Prophet said: It would be better for a man to take a cord and gather fire-wood, bring it to the market, sell it and so render himself independent, expending the proceeds on himself, than to beg of people whether they give or refuse.

I would observe that Bukhārī only has this last Tradition, whereas the two agree in regard to the former one.²

Further, in the Tradition of the Prophet recorded by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr the Prophet is reported to have said: The Alms may not be given to a wealthy person or one in sound condition possessing *mirrah*,—a word meaning strength, being derived from coiling the strands of a rope, and referring in this Tradition to strong build and bodily health enabling a man to endure toil and fatigue.³ Ash-Shāfi'i says: The Alms may not be given to one who has sufficient strength to enable him to earn.

We have been told by 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz a Tradition going back to Yūnus, son of Abū Bakr ash-Shibli, according to which he said: One night my father rose and placed one foot on the roof and the other on the rick, and I heard him say: If you close your eyes I will throw you down into the court.—He remained in this posture till morning, when he said to me: My son, I have heard no-one mentioning God this night, save a cock worth two *dānaq*.

I would observe that this person combined two illegalities: one, endangering his life, since, had he fallen asleep and fallen, he would have been assisting his own ruin; undoubtedly had he thrown himself down he would have perpetrated a serious offence, and his exposing himself to the risk of falling was an offence. A second, his depriving his eyes of their share of sleep; for the Prophet said: Thy body has a claim on thee, and so has thy wife, and so has thine eye.—He said besides: If any one of you feels sleepy, let him sleep.⁴—Passing by a cord which had been stretched by Zaynab, to take hold of when she felt weak, he ordered it to be slackened. He also said: Let one of you pray strenuously, but if he feels lazy or slackens, let him sit down.⁵—These traditions have been cited above.

1. The form in which Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reports this Tradition in the *Musnad* I, 338 etc., is somewhat different.

2. Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, II, 10 has this, but it is repeatedly cited in the *Musnad*.

3. Tradition quoted from Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, and Ibn Ḥanbal (Ibn Taymiyyah, *al-Muntaqa* II, 144).

4. The story is from *Kitāb Baghddād* XIV, 354, whence the text has been corrected.

5. Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, I, 65, where "while praying" is added.

6. Muslim I, 217, where the story of Zaynab is told.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a Tradition going back to Abu'l-'Abbās al-Baghdādī according to which the latter said: In our youth we associated with Abu'l-Ḥasan son of Abu Bakr ash-Shiblī; one night he offered to entertain us, but we stipulated that he should not bring his father into the company. He promised that he would not. We went into his house, and after the repast in comes ash-Shiblī, with a candle between each two of his fingers, eight in all. He sat down in our midst and we were in awe of him. He said: Gentlemen, regard me as your candelabrum.—He then asked where his attendant Abu'l-'Abbās was. When I came forward he said to me: Sing the song which you used to sing:

My camel's driver when he reached al-Ḥirah knew not what to say:

I bade him loose my saddle there, nor mind if others went their way.

I sang it; he changed colour and left the room.

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a Tradition going back to al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Saffār, according to which the latter said: One feast-day ash-Shiblī came out having shaven his eyelashes and eyebrows, with a ribbon round his head, reciting the verse:

Others breakfast and make merry

I alone am solitary.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad a Tradition going back to Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Šabīr ad-Dallāl, according to which the latter said:¹ I stationed myself near ash-Shiblī in the Poets' Dome in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr, where the people were gathered round him; the circle was joined by a handsome lad, named Ibn Muslim, whose beauty was unsurpassed in Baghdād at the time. Ash-Shiblī said to him: Go away,—but he would not move. Again ash-Shiblī said to him: Go away from us, you demon!—But the lad would not move. Then ash-Shiblī said to him for the third time: Go away, else I will tear to pieces all that you have on you.—Now the lad had on him exquisite garments worth a great sum. The lad then moved away, and ash-Shiblī recited:

On Aden's two peaks to the hawks

They threw meat, then the hawks they did chide.

But why, is the question I ask,

Were the leashes that held them untied?

If people had thought of our good,

Thy beautiful face they would hide.

Ibn 'Uqayl observes that the man who says this has missed the path of the Code, for what he means is that God created this person merely to lead us into temptation. But that is not so; the purpose of such a creation is to make us reflect and

1. In *Kitāb Baghdād* XIV, 419, there is an account of a person so named, associate of Bishr al-Hāfi, who died 227. Shiblī's life lasted 247–334. The narrator of the story in the text can scarcely be the same.

2. The story comes from *Kitāb Baghdād* XIII, 95.

examine, just as the sun was created to give light, not to be worshipped.

There is a Tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nahawandī, according to which he said: When a grandson of ash-Shibli died, his mother shorn her head for him. Ash-Shibli had a long beard, and ordered it to be shaven off. Being asked his reason for this, he replied: She has shorn her hair for one who is lost; why should not I shave off my beard for one who is found?

There is also a Tradition going back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī as-Sarrāj according to which he said:¹ At times ash-Shibli used to wear costly raiment then doff it and put it over the fire. It is recorded, too, that he once took a piece of ambergris and fumigated an ass's tail therewith. Further some one stated that he had visited ash-Shibli and seen him with almonds and sugar in front of him which he was burning in the fire. As-Sarrāj asserts that he only burned them because they were distracting him from the remembrance of God. (On which I would observe that as-Sarrāj's excuse is more extraordinary than the act). He goes on to say that ash-Shibli sold a dwelling house and then distributed the proceeds, giving nothing to his own family. Also² that, hearing a Qur'an-reader recite *be silent therein and address me not* [xxiii. 110], he said: Would that I were one of them!³

I would observe that the man thought that the speaker addressing them was God; but God will not address them⁴; moreover if He were to address them contemptuously, why should anyone desire it? As-Sarrāj proceeds to record that one day ash-Shibli said in a discourse: God has servants who could extinguish Hell-fire by spitting on it.

This, I would observe, is similar to what we have related of Abū Yazīd; the two are of a piece.

There is also a Tradition going back to Abū 'Alī ad-Daqqāq according to which he said: I have been informed that ash-Shibli used to rub his eyes with a certain quantity of salt to practise keeping vigil and not falling asleep.—This, I would observe, is an evil practice; no Muslim has a right to inflict pain on himself, and blindness would be the result. Neither is constant sleeplessness permissible, since it is depriving the soul of a right. It is clear that constant sleeplessness and insufficient food were what induced these states and actions.

There is a Tradition going back to Abū 'Abd Allāh ar-Rāzi according to which he said: I had been given a woollen garment by some one, and seeing a cowl on ash-Shibli's head which would suit the woollen garment, I felt a desire to possess it. When ash-Shibli rose to leave his lecture-room he turned towards me—as it was his custom to do when he wanted me to follow him—and I followed him. When he entered his house he bade me doff the woollen garment, which I did; he proceeded to fold it, then flung the cowl upon it, called for fire and burned the two.

I would observe that Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī⁵ narrates how ash-Shibli took

1. From the *Luma'*, p. 400.

2. *Luma'*, p. 406.

3. *I.e.*, the damned.

4. *Sūrah* iii, 71.

5. The reference would seem to be to III. 49, 2 from end, where, however, Shibli is not mentioned.

fifty *dinars* and flung them into the Tigris, saying: No one has ever honoured you but has been humiliated by God.¹

Abū Ḥamid astonishes me more than ash-Shibli, by recording this by way of eulogy instead of disapproval; where is there any sign here of jurisprudence?

There is a Tradition going back to Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh 'al-Qazwīnī according to which he said: I was told by a man who frequented the company of Bunān² that the latter said: One day I had no means of subsistence, and was in great straits. Seeing a piece of gold lying in the road I wanted to take it, but then, saying to myself that it was "a find",³ I left it; presently, recollecting the Tradition, "If all the world were blood freshly shed, the Muslim could lawfully take sustenance therefrom," I picked it up, put it into my mouth, and walking on a short distance, found myself in a group of lads, whom one of them was addressing. He was asked by one of them: When does a man feel the reality of veracity?—He replied: When he throws the morsel from his lips.—Then I took the piece of gold out of my mouth and threw it away.

I would observe that the jurists are all agreed that his throwing it away was unlawful, and it is amazing that he should have done so owing to something said by a lad who did not know what he was saying. Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī⁴ narrates how Shaqīq al-Balkhī⁵ came to the ascetic Abu'l-Qāsim, with something packed into a corner of his garment. Being asked what it was, he replied: Some nuts given me by a brother who said he wanted me to breakfast with them. Abu'l-Qāsim said to him: What, Shaqīq, do you imagine that you will last till tonight? I will never again speak to you.—He went inside and locked the door in the man's face.

I would observe: Consider this legal subtlety—shunning a Muslim for an action that was not only lawful, but commendable, since a man is commanded to prepare for himself food with which to break his fast, and preparation in advance is prudence. Hence God says *Make ready for them all ye can of force* [viii, 62]. The Prophet stored up a year's provisions for his women-folk. 'Umar brought half his wealth and hoarded the remainder without incurring disapproval. Sheer ignorance is what has perverted these ascetics.

There is a Tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-'Umānī according to which he said: I saw in India a shaykh known as "the Patient", aged a hundred years, one of whose eyes was closed. I said to him: Patient one, to what lengths has your patience gone?—He replied: I desired to look on the lustre of the world, but was unwilling to take my fill thereof, so have kept one eye closed for eighty years, never opening it. Of another we have been told that he tarred one of his eyes, saying that to look on the world with two eyes was excess.—I would

1. In *Iḥyā* III, 175, last line, this is quoted as a saying of al-Ḥasan.

2. Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān, died 316; account of him in *Kuṭb Baghdād* VII, 100—102.

3. A find of lost property should be advertised for a year before possession can be taken.

4. *Iḥyā* iv, 356, line 22. The name of the ascetic there is Abū Ḥāshim ar-Rummānī, whose name according to Sam'ānī, p. 258b was Yahyā b. Dīnār.

5. Died 135. Notice of him in *Shajardt al-Dhahab* i. 341 and at length in *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā* i. 196—202.

observe: Apparently his purpose was to look on the world with a single eye! We pray God for sound minds.

Yūsuf b. Ayyūb al-Hamadhāni¹ narrated how his teacher 'Abdallah al-Jawni used to say: I have procured this empire not out of the sanctuary, but out of the privy. I used to look after it as servant, and one day when I was sweeping and cleaning it, my soul said to me: Is it in this that you are spending your life?—Do you, I replied, disdain the service of God's servants?—So I enlarged the top of the pit, jumped into it, and began putting the filth into my mouth. Then people came, drew me out, and washed me.

I would observe: Notice how the poor wretch regarded his followers crowding round him as "empire", and believed that he had procured this "empire" by jumping into filth and putting it into his mouth! Thereby, he supposed, he had acquired virtue for which he was rewarded by a crowd of followers. Yet his action was a transgression meriting punishment. In general we may say that these people through lack of knowledge flounder about.

There is a Tradition going back to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Kattāni² according to which he said: Al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr³ came to Meccah at the beginning of his career, and we strove hard to get hold of his cloak. As-Sūsi⁴ says: we got out of a louse which weighed half a *dīnaq*, so strenuous had he been in his asceticism.—On this I would observe: Notice how ignorant this man was about that cleanliness which the Code recommends. It permits the pilgrim, who is forbidden to shave his head, to do so when troubled with lice, and make up for the breach of the rule by an expiatory act.⁵ Still more ignorant was the man who regarded this as ascetic discipline.

There is a Tradition going back to Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muflīh, according to which he said: There was with us in the mosque a poor Ṣūfī, who at one time was starving, and said, Lord, either give me food, or let a pinnacle of the place of worship fall upon me. Thereupon there came a raven, which posted itself on the pinnacles, and a tile from under its foot fell upon the man, who began to bleed and wipe away the blood, saying: What carest Thou if the world is done to death?—In my opinion God caused this man's death and did not preserve him alive in recompense for this audacity.⁶ Why could he not set about earning or begging?

Among the Ṣūfis there are people called *Malāmatīyyah* (Culpables), who perpetrate crimes, asserting that their purpose is to abase themselves in people's eyes, and so be immune from pride. They have indeed abased their pride in the eyes of the Deity by disobeying the Code. He⁷ adds that some of them make a display of conduct which is worse than the reality, and conceal their best

1. Ascetic and preacher, 440-535. Accounts of him in Ibn Khallikān IV, 412, and *Shajarat adh-Dhahab* IV, 110-111.

2. Died 322. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād* III, 74-76.

3. Generally known as al-Ḥallāj.

4. Yūsuf b. Ḥamdān; there is a notice of him in *Nafahāt al-Uns*, p. 144, without date.

5. Such as fasting or almsgiving; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, I, 453.

6. The text has been corrected.

7. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, from whose *Iḥyā'* (III, 217, line 8) the previous sentence is taken.

proceedings.¹—Now this is most reprehensible, for the Prophet said: Whoso commits any of these abominations let him hide himself with God's veil.²—And concerning Ma'iz he said; My friend, why didst thou not conceal it with thy garment?³—One of the Companions of the Prophet passed by him when he was talking to Safiyyah his wife, and the Prophet said to him. "It is Safiyyah"; and indeed people know how much any act which excites suspicion is disliked, since the Believers are God's witnesses on earth. Hudhayfah on his way to the Friday prayer saw people coming back from it, and concealed himself for fear people might think ill of him. These cases have already been adduced. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq said to a man who told him he had caressed and kissed a woman "Repent unto God and tell no-one about it". A man came to the Prophet and said that he had relations with a strange woman which fell short of fornication. The Prophet said: Did you not pray with us?—The man replied: Yea, O Apostle of God.—The Prophet said: Did you not know that two (successive) prayers atone for anything done between them?⁴

A man said to one of the Companions: Verily I have committed such and such sins.—The Companion said: Verily God has concealed them for you, if only you would conceal them yourself.—Yet these Ṣūfis disobey the Code and wish to eradicate what is innate in the soul.

Further, some antinomians have insinuated themselves into the Ṣūfi community, and aped them, in order to preserve their lives; and of these there are three classes.

Class 1 are unbelievers, some of whom do not acknowledge God, whereas others acknowledge Him, only reject prophethood, holding that the Prophets' utterances are absurd. Wishing, however, to indulge their passions they saw no means of saving their lives, shielding themselves, and compassing their lusts, comparable with the Ṣūfic system; hence they enter it ostensibly, whereas secretly they are unbelievers; for these miscreants there is nothing but the sword.

Class 2 are believers in Islām, and of two subdivisions; one consisting of persons who imitate their shaikhs in their conduct, without following up any evidence or any paralogism; they simply do what their shaikhs tell them and what they see them doing. [*The account of the second subdivision is missing.*]

Class 3 are persons to whom paralogisms⁵ have occurred, and who act in accordance with their implications. The source whence these paralogisms arose is that, busying themselves with the study of religious systems they were deluded by the devil into supposing that paralogisms can oppose [sound] arguments, that it

1. An example given by Ghazālī is that of a man who drinks a lawful beverage in a vessel which makes it look like wine.

2. Qaṣṭalānī on Bukhārī IX, 50, quotes this from al-Ḥākim; it does not appear to be in the Six Books.

3. Mu'izz b. Mālik was stoned by the Prophet's order for immorality; only after he had insisted that he had committed the offence.

4. This doctrine is stated at length in a Tradition quoted in *Majma' az-Zawā'id* I, 297.

5. This word suits the author's argument somewhat better than "false reasoning" of which it is the equivalent.

is hard to distinguish between them, that the object of the inquiry is too sublime to be attained by knowledge, and that its acquisition is a boon bestowed on a human being, not procured by study. Thus the devil closed against them the door of salvation, which is the search after knowledge, and they came to detest the name of knowledge as much as a *Rāfidī* detests that of Abū Bakr or 'Umar. Knowledge, they say, is a screen, and those who possess it are thereby screened from the real object. If a learned man objects to this, they tell their adherents that the man secretly agrees with them, and only makes show of the contrary to their doctrine before the weak-minded populace; if he persists in contradicting them, they assert that he is stupid, fettered by the bonds of the Code, screened from the real object. They proceed then to act according to the paralogsms which have entered their minds, yet, had they understood, they would have known that their acting according to the paralogsms is a case of knowledge.¹ Hence their disapproval of knowledge is futile, and I will now record and expose their paralogsms, God willing.

These are six in number.

1. They assert that if things are predestined, and some persons destined to bliss and others to damnation, so that the former will not be damned, nor the latter saved; further if actions are required not for their own sake, but for the acquisition of bliss and the avoidance of damnation, and the actions have anticipated us in existence: why should we trouble ourselves about action? Let us not restrain ourselves from what gives pleasure, seeing that which is written in destiny will certainly come about.

The reply to this paralogism is to tell them that this is a repudiation of all the codes, an abrogation of all the enactments of the (sacred) books, and a confutation of the messages of all the prophets. For when the Speaker in the Qur'an says "Maintain prayer", some one will ask, Why? If I am destined to bliss, to bliss I shall go, and if I am destined to damnation, to damnation I shall go; what will the maintenance of prayer profit me?—Similarly when the Speaker says: Neither have ought to do with fornication, some one will say: Why should I deny myself a pleasure when bliss and damnation are predestined and settled? So Pharaoh might have talked to Moses when the latter said to him [lxxix, 18] *Hast thou a mind to purify thyself?* Next, such a reasoner will mount to the Creator and ask: What is the use of Thy sending messengers, when that which Thou hast predestined is to befall?—Now any process which leads to the repudiation of the Books and the stultification of the Prophets is sheer absurdity. And this was refuted by the Prophet when his Companions asked, Shall we not rely?, and he answered², Work, for each man is helped to that for which he was created.—You should know that man has the power of "earning", i. e. choosing, and on this choice falls reward or punishment. When a man disobeys, it is clear that God has predestined such disobedience, but punished the man for the disobedience, not for his destiny. For this

1. The meaning must be that any course of action which is not instinctive, but based on reasoning, assumes the possession of knowledge; but the expression is not felicitous.

2. The Tradition occurs in several forms; the citation here comes near the form in which Ahmad b. Hanbal (I, 29) records it.

reason a murderer is executed, and destiny is not accepted as an excuse. The Prophet turned their attention from consideration of destiny to work, only because commands and prohibitions are plain and manifest, whereas what is predestined therein is hidden; and it is not for us to neglect the ordinances which we know on account of something foreordained of which we are ignorant. The Prophet's words, "each man is helped to that for which he was created" are a reference to the predestined causation; when it is foreordained that a man shall know, the search after, the love of, and the understanding of knowledge are made easy for him; when it is ordained that he shall be ignorant, the love of knowledge is withdrawn from his heart. Similarly if a man is destined to have children, marriage is made easy for him; but not if he is destined to be childless.

ON THE MARGIN

MUSLIM LAW AND MODERN TURKEY

THE rise of Turkey is one of the most important events in the political history of modern Europe. Between the years 1919—1922, Mustaffa Kemal Pasha, the leader of the Nationalist Party, made Turkey a nation, abolished the Caliphate, established an elected parliament in the place of the Sultan as the Sovereign, and carried through various social and legal reforms with a view to give new life to "the sick man of Europe". Many changes were effected socially, the most important of which is the emancipation of women. In dress, manners, and even in the details of daily life, "Young Turkey" is building after the model of the West. In the field of law, the same principle of westernisation of the new Turkey is observable.

Before this revolution, Turkey was governed by a Sultan who was both its temporal and spiritual head, something like the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages. The Sultan was the supreme authority in the State. The administration was carried on by his officers whose decisions in the sphere of the domestic law were governed by the *Medjelles*, a sort of Civil Code based upon the Qur'an. In other words, the law in old Turkey was the Muslim Law.

With the passing of the old order, many of the age-long Muslim institutions were swept away and with them the rules of the Muslim Law. I shall briefly indicate first, the nature of the reforms and then, the extent to which modern Turkey has deviated from the Muslim Law.

In the beginning of the year 1926, Muhammad Essad Bey, the minister of Justice, brought before the Grand Turkish National Assembly a new Civil Code of

1,800 articles adopted from the Swiss Civil Code which came into force on October 4th, 1926. The new Code has thrown the principles of the Muslim Law overboard and the changes effected are radical in character. First in the sphere of marriage Polygamy, which is permitted under the old system, within certain well-defined limits, is virtually prohibited under the present rules. In the matter of dower and divorce, the change is even more radical. *Mahr* or dower is dispensed with, and in its place a system of dowry is instituted, whereby the wife may contribute a certain portion of her property towards the maintenance of their household. As to divorce, the husband no longer possesses the right of dissolving the marriage of his own accord, the marriage could be dissolved only on one of six grounds, and by the decree of a court of law. Above all, in allowing marriage between persons irrespective of their religion, a distinct departure from the old law is made. A Turkish woman, for instance, professing the Muslim religion, is not debarred from marrying any Christian, Hindu or a Jew, which under the Muslim Law would be illegal. As in the overthrow of the institution of the Caliphate, so here, it will be observed, the emphasis is more upon nationality than religion.

In other branches of law also, there is little in common between the new Code and the Muslim Law. The one outstanding feature of the former is its simplicity. Let me, for example, take the law of inheritance. To begin with, the statutory heirs are defined, and their shares given. Under the Code, the descendants are the next heirs of a deceased person. Children, *take per capita* i.e. equally. The right of representation to pre-deceased children in all degrees of descent

is recognised. The division among them is *per stirpes*, i.e., according to branches. Secondly, in default of descendants, the inheritance passes to the parents or their descendants, and in default of the latter, to grandparents or their descendants. With the last, the right of inheritance on the ground of blood-relationship ceases. Thirdly, the above rules are subject to the rights of the surviving husband or wife who may choose either to take a quarter of the property of the deceased's estate, or the usufruct in one half, and there is a further clause which defines the estate of the surviving spouse in case the deceased leaves as heirs, parents, or grandparents or their descendants. The salient feature in the rules of inheritance thus laid down, is the equality of shares given to children of either sex and the recognition of the equitable rule of representation which under the Muslim Law does not exist.

The rest may be briefly stated. The law of Guardianship, Wills, and Religious Endowments, have all been changed and a complete break with the past is made. The Code recognises only two guardians; (1) the natural guardians who are the parents, and (2) the guardians appointed by the State. The Muslim Law, on the other hand, recognises three kinds of guardians; (1) the guardians for the purpose of custody; (2) for marriage, and (3) for property. As to the law of Wills, the Code recognises the testamentary capacity of every sane adult, with this limitation, that where the testator leaves descendants, parents, brothers, or sisters, or a spouse, not all the property could be willed away. A certain proportion of the estate, known as their "compulsory portion" was to be reserved by the testator in their favour. These heirs could be disinherited only on one of two grounds specified in the Code. One thing to be noted here is that a testator could bequeath the devisable portion of his estate to any one, and even to an heir, which under the Muslim Law he could not do.

Lastly, even as regards the law of *Waqfs* or Religious Endowments, the traces of the surgeon's knife are plainly visible. The new republic, under the

guidance of its leaders, stripped the Sultan of his palace, his jewels, and all his estate, and made them its own; where once the revered Caliph of the Mussalmans dwelt is now a Casino and a dancing hall where men and women gamble, make merry and dance. Further, all the religious orders and ecclesiastical seminaries were made to part with their property which the new State, wisely enough, has largely used to finance its scheme of compulsory education.

These reforms, given in outline, provoke some reflections. First, do the Turks continue to be Muslims? Second, will these reforms last?

The first is easily answered. The Turks still remain Muslims. The written constitution of Turkey lays it down emphatically "the religion of the Turkish State is Islam". In the words of Count Leon Ostrorog (an authority on Ottoman Law whom I have had the pleasure of meeting), "it has been thought and said that, under the pressure of foreign influences, a tendency to sympathise with State Atheism, Marxism, and Communism has become prevalent with politicians of Republican Turkey. The legal texts printed at Angora and communicated by the Turkish Government testify that this view is completely erroneous. The trend of thought evidenced in these Turkish draft statutes and in the minutes of the Legal Commission sittings denotes that the politicians of Republican Turkey must certainly be qualified as 'modernists' in the sense familiar to those who have followed contemporary religious controversies, but that they remain, and expressly profess that they remain, Mohammedans." In this connection, it is well to point out, that there are many communities in the Muslim world of to-day who do not follow Muslim Law in all its entirety, although professing to be orthodox Muslims. In China, Malasia, India, Egypt and even in Arabia, for instance, one comes across Islamic peoples who follow customary law in preference to the law of their religion. It is due in some cases to ignorance, and others, to social conditions. Whatever may be the reason, the fact remains, that there are at the present day, an

appreciable number of Muslims who do not follow Muslim Law. The Islamic jurist may view such lapses from orthodoxy, as illegal or sinful, but these considerations do not affect the root of the matter. Viewed in this light, the recent reforms in Turkey would be seen in their true perspective: the Turks have abandoned the law of their religion but continue to be Muslims all the same.

Secondly, doubts are raised in certain quarters whether this reformation will outlive the handful of leaders who are shaping the destiny of modern Turkey. It is said that the masses, especially in the interior of Anatolia, are still poor and illiterate, and the zeal of the reformers could hardly be said to have touched even a fringe of their lives. Further,

it is alleged that the experiment of planting in oriental soil the institutions of the West is likely to prove abortive, as the transition is so rapid and the life and traditions of the East so different from the West. Any remarks on this subject would be mere speculation. Suffice it to say that the Turks themselves seem to have no misgivings on the subject and are optimistic as to the future. The old order has been changed with an almost superhuman effort for which the Turkish nation has paid a heavy price. The Turks are not likely to forget the travail through which the nation had to pass before this stage has been reached, and the lessons so dearly learnt in the school of adversity are not easily forgotten.

—Hamid Ali

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET

LA VIE DE MOHAMMAD PROPHETE D'ALLAH. By E. Diné and El Hadj Shuman ben Ibrahim. Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve. 1937.

BIOGRAPHIES of the Prophet are not lacking; besides the original sources we have some in various European languages, some distinctly polemic and composed with the object of providing handbooks for the antagonists of Islam, others written with the sincere aim at unfolding the character, the religious and political outlook and the activities of the Prophet. Apart from works in Arabic and notably the Urdu work by Shibli Nu'mānī, none of the biographies in European languages are written by Muslims, as far as I know. For this reason the present volume is most welcome, and if it stands modern standards of critical judgment, it would deserve translation into other European languages.

The authors, a French convert to Islam and an Algerian Muslim, state that they base their account chiefly upon the *Sirah* of Ibn Hishām, the *Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd and the *Sirah* of Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, which is much later in date than the other works mentioned. They say that "the reader will not find in the work any of the learned paradoxes which modern Orientalists are so fond of in their passion of bringing out new ideas". They say that a study of their innovations discloses a hostility towards Islam difficult to reconcile with science and not worthy of our days. Moreover, the authors of such biographies in spite of considerable erudition appear to be singularly ignorant of Arab customs. The latter the authors claim to know perfectly, one having been born

in the Sahara of North Africa while the other, Diné, had lived there for more than thirty years. They claim to have taken care to omit from their narrative all that is legendary, though legend understands how to paint in vivid colours what a cold matter-of-fact narrative could not adequately express (p. 4). At the end of the work a list of authorities is given which is not very comprehensive. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī is the only book on Traditions mentioned, and of commentaries on the Qur'ān only the *Tafsīrs* of Baydāwī and 'Abduh are named, while some of the French works would hardly yield any valuable and trustworthy help for an authentic biography. Apart from this general list one would like, if only in a brief footnote, to find an indication to show whence the contents of each chapter are derived. For those who have made a study of the subject this presents no difficulty as the number of works used by the authors is not large, but less advanced students certainly would like some such indication to be able to follow up the study. The authors, as stated, both lived in North Africa, and in rendering Arabic names follow the old French method which I consider a serious defect. The spelling and pronunciation of proper names are in accordance with the vernacular of the Maghrib. We find Bit Allāh for Bayt Allāh, Quotila for Qutaylāh, Halima bent Dzouib for Ḥ. bint Dhū'ayb, Khadidja bent Khouilid for Kh. bint Khuwaylid, Misara for Maysarah (p. 30), Laoui for Lu'ay, Rogueia for Ruqayyah, Otsman ben Offan for 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and so on, that English students in many cases will hardly recognise the personalities in their strange guise.

Of course it was not the aim of the authors to represent a scientific study

of the Prophet, the work surely was intended as a popular life-story, and as such it presents pleasant reading, and the authors have dramatised the story by dialogues which in no way represent actual sayings translated from Arabic into French. The book, nicely printed and adorned with pictures taken from the religious life of North-African Muslims, is very useful in giving the general French reading public an idea of the life-story of the Prophet as recorded by Arabic authors, and it deserves, therefore, the attention of a wider circle of the public.

—F Krenkow

THE ARABS BEFORE ISLAM

ASWAQ AL 'ARAB FIL JAHILIYYAH WA L-ISLAM. By Sa'id al-Afghani. Damascus 1356 (1937)

I HAVE frequently found the opinion expressed, especially by Indian authors, that the Arabs in the *jahiliyyah* (the time of Ignorance) were an entirely uncivilised people living by robbery and plunder, and that Islam alone brought a sudden change in their manner of living. It is true that they were generally divided by tribal feuds and Islam succeeded in uniting them for a brief period which enabled them to carry out the phenomenal conquests which led to the firm establishment of Islam over a wide expanse of the civilised world. But there were elements which in spite of the tribal warfare had made them ethnologically a homogeneous race. In the East as well as in the West of the Arabic peninsula there had flourished since time immemorial a great mercantile activity. The inhabitants of Mecca were to a great extent merchants who acted as intermediaries for the exchange of commodities between the Eastern and the Western worlds. The Prophet himself had visited Syria, and 'Amr ibn al-'As, the conqueror of Egypt, had been there as a merchant several times before he ventured upon his invasion, and probably knew Greek or Coptic. The trading caravans alone would have brought

Arabs of various parts of the vast country into contact, but it was especially through the annual fairs that men and women—for these also attended them—from distant parts came into closer contact and this must also have brought about a unification of the language. The earliest account of these annual fairs is found in the *Kitab al-Muhabbar* of the Kufi grammarian, Muhammad ibn Habib (died 245 A.H.), which has not been used by the author of the work under notice, but practically the whole wording of his account has been embodied by al-Marzuqī in his chapter on the fairs in his *Kitab al-Azminah* (ed. Da'irat al-Ma'arif, Hyderabad). Later authors have not been able to add much and have generally drawn from these sources. For a proper understanding we must realise that the Arabic calendar at the time before Islam was solar and the months of Rabi' fell in autumn. It is with the fair at Dumat al-Jandal at the beginning of autumn that both Ibn Habib and Marzuqī begin their account, the winter fair was in Jumada (when the water froze—*jumada*—in the highland) at al-Mushaqqar in the Yamamah, the caravans reached the fairs of 'Uman at the beginning of spring, the time when the pearl-fishery was in full swing, and the circle of fairs ended with those in the vicinity of the *Haram*, the sacred territory of the Arabs, which enabled those who attended these fairs to combine trade with religious observances after the close of the fair.

The author has in the introductory chapter of his work drawn attention to the importance of these fairs in the exchange of ideas as well as merchandise. He also gives as far as it is now possible an account of the various modes of barter, later prohibited by the *Shari'ah*. Of one particular mode practised at 'Ukaz he has not been able to find any explanation in the works at our disposal. It is called *swar*. As 'Ukaz was visited during the holy month, in which all tribal warfare used to cease, by persons who otherwise would have been exposed to retaliation, many came disguised or with their faces veiled. My opinion as

regards this mode of barter is that the seller and purchaser whispered to one another in their transactions (*sarra*).

The last chapter is devoted to the fairs in the Islamic period, especially that of the Mirbad of al-Basrah. It lay at one time at the gates of the city on the Eastern side, which was an approach of the caravans from the interior of Arabia, but its importance faded away during the 'Abbāsi rule and probably ceased to be a fair after the plunder of al-Basrah during the Negro-revolt in 257 A.H. In Yāqūt's time the Mirbad was three miles outside al-Basrah.

A translation of the work would be very useful as the contents are a valuable contribution for understanding Arab life before Islam. It is a very able exposition, and good indices and a sketch-map of Arabia indicating the sites of the fairs add to its value.

—F. Krenkow

MANUSCRIPTS ON ḤADĪTH

ISTANBULER HANDSCHRIFTENSTUDIEN ZUR ARABISCHEN TRADITIONSLITERATUR. By Max Weisweiler. Leipzig: Bibliotheca Islamica No. 10. 1937.

THE libraries of Istanbul, at one time closed to the general public, have of recent years been investigated by a number of competent scholars, foremost among them H. Ritter, and their investigations have revealed that the old catalogues gave no idea of the wealth of valuable manuscripts which are stored in them. The present volume deals with manuscripts concerning Sunni Ḥadīth and the sciences connected with it. The author has not included the manuscripts of the six canonical collections of which numerous ancient copies exist in Istanbul, but among the 150 items registered we find some works which deserve early publication. In other cases works are noted of which no other copy has been found elsewhere so far, while quite a number of works of later periods must remain curiosities of little value. Among those which I

should like to see published is the abbreviated history of Nishāpūr by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad as-Sarfīnī, an abbreviation of the history of 'Abd al-Ghāfir, since this lexicon of the learned men of Nishāpūr as well as that by al-Hākīm appear to have been lost. Another work deserving publication is the Commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī by al-Khaṭṭābī because the commentary on the *Sunan* of Abū Dā'ūd by the same author, recently published at Ḥalab by Muḥammad Rāghib at-Tabbākh, shows him to be able to treat the subject scientifically without overloading it with useless explanations. There are a few errors in the spelling of proper names, but in general the work is well done and the references to the biographies and other copies of the works noticed are both ample and correct. On p. 15, line 2, the Spanish scholar al-Birzālī calls his ancestor in the beautiful manuscript Brit. Mus. Or. 8973 in his own handwriting as Yaddās ياداس with two points and *tashdid*. The author appears not to know the meaning of the title *As-Sab'iyyāt* (p. 113 No. 79). This refers to such Traditions for which there are seven intermediaries between the Prophet and the last recipient. A century later we have *Tis'iyyāt* and *Ashriyyāt*. P. 120, line 4, I believe the title al-Mughnī is correct as the biographies are given briefly ("sufficient"). P. 65, 1, read, ريداه Raydhah (cf. Ibn al-Imād III, 2265; *Tāj al-'Arūs* II. 564, 5). P. 8: the London manuscript of the work of al-Hākīm had the title *Ma'rīfat 'Ulām al-Ḥadīth*. This work is in course of publication by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad. P. 75, No. 50: Khalil Mardam Bey writes to me that this work has recently been published in Damascus also. P. 60 *Maḥfūz* transmitted on the authority of Ibn al-Lattī from whom he heard the work in 627; he must have dictated it to the unnamed scribe six years later, which is quite possible; or did he read it for the second time to Ibn al-Lattī (died 635)? P. 61, No. 45: The learned Yamanite 'Abd ul-Laṭīf brought to Aligarh to show me a volume of the *Musnad* of al-Bazzār in a Yamani recension. Perhaps other portions exist

in India and in the Yaman.

Dr. Weisweiler by the publication of his researches has for the first time revealed in a comprehensive way what we may yet have to publish of the treasures of the past.

—F. Krenkow

ARABIC POETRY

DIWÂN OF AS-SARÎ AR-RAFFA'.
CAIRO. 1355.

ABU'L HASAN as-Sarî b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣilî started life as an embroiderer, but began early to compose poetry. His earliest poems appear to be in praise of members of the Fahd family in Mawṣil, especially Salāmah b. Fahd. Later we find him in touch with various members of the Hamdān family, probably first through those who were in power at Mawṣil, though many poems are addressed to Sayf ad-Dawlah. At the court of the latter he became friendly with the poet Kushājim, whom he took as his model. It was there also that he aroused the envy of the two brothers, Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Khālidi, and, as as-Sarî made a livelihood by making copies of the *Diwān* of Kushājim, which is of small compass only, he enlarged it by including poems of the two Khālidi brothers. This may have been the cause why he had to leave the court of Sayf ad-Dawlah. He went to Baghdād, and as his earliest poems are in praise of Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥallabî, *wazīr* of Mu'izz ad-Dawlah, he must have come to Baghdād after 339 A.H., the year Muḥallabî was appointed. The Khālidi brothers followed him and did all in their power to ruin him. In vain he appeals to Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aṣ-Ṣabî to come to his aid, nor do his poems against the two brothers help him; he is shunned by all, becomes destitute and dies of hunger in 362 A.H., as stated in the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzi.

The poems of as-Sarî are praised by critics for their easy diction and purity of language, and, perhaps inspired by Kushājim, we find in the *Diwān*, in ad-

dition to the usual poems addressed to persons, shorter ones in description of flowers and fruit, of catching fish and hunting birds. The people to whom he addresses his verses were no doubt persons of importance or wealth, but many of them have no record in works of history. *Sic transit gloria mundi*. The edition is well printed, only I should have liked some vowels. I like his poems better than those of Mutanabbî.

TADHKIRA SHU'ARĀ BAGHDĀD WA KUTṬĀBIHA. *Les poètes de Baghdād et ses écrivains sous le Vézirat de Daoud Pacha le Géorgien, 1200-1246 (1780-1830)*. By 'Abd al-Qādir al-Khatibî ash-Shahrābānî. Edited by Père Anastase Marie de St. Elie. Baghdād. 1936.

SINCE Baghdād, after the continual wars between the Osmanli Turks and the Ṣafawî Persians, had finally become part of the Turkish Empire, Arabic intellectual life had fallen to such a low ebb that we should hardly have any information about the people of importance living there were it not for Turkish sources and casual remarks of European travellers. The Pasha in charge of the government of the 'Irāq was semi-independent, and his career ended as a rule with him being killed. So it was with Dā'ūd Pasha, a Georgian Christian, born about 1776 A.C. in Tiflis. Brought as a child-slave to Baghdād, he was bought by the *wālî* Sulaymān Pasha, during whose government he rose to the post of *daftardār*. When after the death of Sulaymān Pasha his son Sa'id Pasha was appointed *wālî*, Dā'ūd Pasha fled from Baghdād in open rebellion, which ended with Sa'id Pasha being killed and Dā'ūd becoming governor. His rule was practically independent of the central government in Constantinople, so much so that Sultan Maḥmūd was compelled to send his *wazīr*, 'Alî Ridā Pasha, with an army to the 'Irāq, which besieged Dā'ūd in Baghdād in 1246 1830. Dā'ūd was made prisoner, pardoned and banished to al-Madinah, where he died in 1267 1857.

The *Tadhkirah* is based upon a MS. discovered by the editor. It begins with

a biography of the supposed author, followed by a very inadequate one of Dâ'ud Pasha. The biographies, altogether 53 in number, are as a rule short and the work hardly deserves the title of biographies of *poets* as none of the persons named were poets, with the exception of one. Most of them were officials or perhaps men of some consideration in a provincial town. The language also gives food for reflection. The editor has not attempted to correct the errors against good grammar and rightly so, as it enhances the deplorable picture

of the depth to which the one time centre of the Muslim world had fallen. The editor suspects that the work most likely is a translation of some lost Turkish original by a man who was in no way an Arabic scholar. Some of the persons mentioned are perhaps the ancestors of some people of note in Baghdad to-day. The work fills in a way the long gap in the history of Baghdad and as such deserved publication. Good indices add to the value of the publication.

—*F. Krenkow*

BOOKS RECEIVED :

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THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM. By Adam Mez. Translated from the German by Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh and D. S. Margoliouth. Patna: The Jubilee Printing & Publishing House.

MUHAMMAD, "A Mercy to All the Nations". By Al-Hajj Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy. With a Foreword by H.H. the Agha Khan. London: Luzac & Co.

SAYINGS OF ALI. By Al-Hajj Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy. Woking: The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust.

MAXIMS OF ALI. Translated by J. A. Chapman. London: Oxford University Press.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. VOL. II—PART VI: PERSIAN BOOKS. By A. J. Arberry, Litt. D. London: Secretary of State for India.

CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. VOL. II. By the late Hermann Ethé, M. A., Ph. D. Revised and completed by Edward Edwards, M. A. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

THE BOOK OF TRUTHFULNESS (*Kitāb al-Sidq*). By Abū Sa'īd al-Kharraz. Edited and Translated from the Istanbul Unicum by Arthur John Arberry, Litt. D. London: Oxford University Press.

STUDIEN ZUR ARABISCHEN MUSIK. By Alfred Berner. Leipzig: Fr. Kistner & C. F. W. Siegel.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF ISLAM. By M. N. Roy. Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd.

RUMI. *Mathnavi Mawlānā Rūm ka Mutāla'ah ek Jadid Zāwiyah-i-Nigāh se*. By Mīr Walī Allāh. Abbottabad: Dar al-Ishā'at Badāh-i-Nāb. 2 vols.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Vol. XII, No. 2

April, 1938

Sir Muhammad Iqbal is dead.

On the morning of the 21st April this news came as a numbing shock to the Muslim world. Everyone who is acquainted with Iqbal's genius—be it through his unbelievably beautiful and thought-pregnant poetical works in Persian and Urdu, or through his epoch-making philosophical discourses, in English, on the intellectual and social structure of Islam—feels the loss of this personality as the greatest blow to Muslim life in India. In mourning him we do not conceive of his death as that of a single man: we realise that something that appears in a nation perhaps once in a century, something that was infinitely precious in, and because of, its uniqueness, has been suddenly taken from our midst. The world of Islam is like a bleeding body from which a vital limb has been cut away at a time when it was needed most. The glory of Iqbal's name and work will shine for ever; but his active presence, his loving spirit to which his nation, our Muslim nation, has been accustomed to turn for guidance as to a light in the midst of darkness, is no more; and there is darkness in our hearts.

Iqbal is dead. May his great soul rest in peace.

إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ

The news of his death reached us at the moment when the present issue of ISLAMIC CULTURE was leaving the press. A full appreciation of his personality and his literary record will appear in the July number.

SYNOPSIS

DR. PAUL KRAUS, at present lecturer at the Egyptian University, Cairo, is one of the most brilliant representatives of the younger generation of European orientalisks. Although still in his thirties, he has to his credit very important researches relating to the works and the person of that mysterious alchemist, Jābir b. Hayyān, and to the great philosopher and Qur'ān-commentator, Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī. Dr. Kraus's article in this issue, *The "Controversies" of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī*, analyses a little-known, but very characteristic, autobiographical treatise by ar-Rāzī, and explains an important period in the latter's intellectual development.

IN his illuminating essay, *Bibliophilism in Mediaeval Islam*, our friend, Dr. Sh. Inayatullah—already well-known to our readers through his learned reviews of orientalist works—unrolls before our eyes the picture of a glorious epoch of Muslim culture. Love of books was always a peculiar trait of that culture, and the enormous literary productivity of the Middle Ages of Islam cannot be fully understood without an appreciation of the response which the labours of the learned men evoked among the educated laymen.

WE are bringing in this issue the con-

cluding portion of Prof. Rev. H. Heras's essay on *Durrani Influence in Northern India*. Written in a vivid language, and based on a careful study of contemporary records, this essay traces the growth and decay of Afghan influence in India in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. 170-185

A YOUNG and gifted research scholar, Miss Iqbal Shafi, Lahore, gives us in her *Fresh Light on the Ghaznavids* the analysis and annotated translation of an old Persian collection of stories and anecdotes relating to the Ghaznavi dynasty. In view of the fact that there are not many authentic records dealing with the period under consideration, Miss Shafi's work is a welcome contribution to our knowledge.

PROF. MARGOLIOUTH'S translation of Ibn al-Jawzi's *The Devil's Delusion* does not require any introduction to our readers. In the present issue we publish a further instalment of this valuable work.

BARON Sylvestre de Sacy is the title of an article, in the department PERSONALIA, by Dr. Sh. Inayatullah. It reviews the work of the great orientalist, the centenary of whose death falls in this year.

THE "CONTROVERSIES" OF FAKHR AL-DÎN RÂZÎ*

By PAUL KRAUS

THE FOLLOWING REMARKS do not pretend to give an exhaustive exposition of the thought of a great Muslim theologian. They only aim at presenting a curious document which may contribute to throw light on certain traits of his character.

Abû 'Abd Allâh Muhammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Râzî, surnamed Fakhr al-Dîn (Glory of Religion), is among the most striking figures of post-Ghazâlîan Islam. A subtle dialectician, possessor of a vast philosophical and theological culture as well as of an intellectual courage rare in his time, he is among the leading representatives of Sunnite Islam.

Though a large part of his works are preserved, even edited, there has not been enough research done in modern times to do justice to Râzî. Goldziher has written a penetrating article on Râzî,¹ but it dealt only with a restricted part of Râzî's thought—that is, the influence of Mu'tazilite theology on his mind. As to the two studies by M. Horten,² they are only abridged translations of the *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal* of Râzî, and their value is diminished or rendered doubtful because of the great number of errors in translation and arbitrary interpretations. That Râzî's personality is still considered as a negligible quantity is evident from the fact that he has been excluded from the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

The oriental biographers and historians such as Ibn Abî Uṣaibi'a³, Ibn al-Qiftî⁴, Ibn Khallikân⁵, Ṣafadî⁶, Dhahabî⁷, Subkî⁸, Ibn al-Sâ'î⁹ and others¹⁰ are the only authors who until now have furnished us with some

* I wish to thank Madame Khalîde Edib who generously undertook the task of translating the main part of this article from the French manuscript

1. *Aus der Theologie des Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî*, in *Der Islam* III (1912), pp. 213—47.

2. *Die philosophischen Ansichten von Râzî und Tusî*, Bonn 1910; *Die spekulative und positive Theologie des Islam nach Râzî und ihre Kritik durch Tusî*, Leipzig 1912.

3. *Uyûn al-Anbâ'* II, 23—30.

4. *Târîkh al-Hukamâ'* (Cairo 1326) 190—92.

5. *K. Wafayât al-A'yân* (Cairo 1299), I, 600—602.

6. *K. al-Wâfi bi'l-Wafayât*, MS. Taymûr, *Târîkh* 948, p. 1011 ff.

7. *Târîkh al-Islâm*, MS. Paris 1582, f. 153b—156a.

8. *Ṭabaqât al-Shaf'iyya al-Kubrâ* (Cairo 1324), V, 33—40.

9. *Al-Jâmi' al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. IX (ed. Muṣṭafa Jawâd, Baghdâd 1353), pp. 4—6, 171-72, 306—8.

10. Cf. especially Ibn al-Îbrî, *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, p. 419; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisân al-Mizân*, IV 426—29;

information concerning Rāzi's life. Born at Rayy from a Shāfi'ite and Ash'arite family in 543 or 544 H. (1149-50 A.C.), he was educated by his father, Diyā' al-Dīn, the then famous preacher of that town¹. This is nearly all we know about his youth. When our sources take up his biography they already present him as a theologian and apologist of note. From Rayy he goes to Khwārazm for the purpose of converting the Mu'tazilites who up to that time were in the majority there.² After bitter controversies he had to leave for Transoxiana (*mā warā'l-nahr*) without giving up his original aim. A little later he established himself at Herāt where he enjoyed the protection of the Sultans Shihāb al-Dīn and Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ghōri, as well as that of Khwārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn. A *madrasa* was especially founded for him, and his reputation as *Shaykh al-Islām* attracted a large number of disciples. We are told that he never moved about at this period without a following of 300 disciples. But in spite of this, his life was rendered difficult by the intrigues and hostilities of his opponents. His own brother, Rukn al-Dīn, did everything in his power to rouse the fury of the populace against him.³ In 595 H., during his stay at Fērōzkūh, a serious riot, led by the ultra-orthodox sect of the Karrāmiyya, broke out, accusing him of treason to true Islam in favour of Aristotle, of Ibn Sīnā and of Fārābi.⁴ The Sultan saved his life not without some difficulty.⁵ He returned to Herāt and died there 606 H. (1209 A.C.), a little before the Tartar invasion.

The doctrine of Fakhr al-Dīn represents a curious and original attempt to reconcile philosophy with religious tradition. Though an avowed Ash'arite, he was not afraid to contradict the essential points of the doctrine of the founder of this school.⁶ His rationalism, which

Tāsh-köprü-Zādeh, K. *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* (Hyderabad 1328), I. 445-51; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-Jannat* (lith. Teheran. 1333), 729-31. See also Ibn Dā'i, K. *Tabnrat al-'Awdamm* (ed. Abbās Eghbāl, Teheran 1333), p. 120 *infra*; Abu'l-Falāḥ 'Abd al-Hayy al-Hanbali, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (Cairo 1351) V. 21-22.

1. See his biography in Subki IV, 285. Fakhr al-Dīn in his works refers frequently to his authority; cf. e.g., *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* (Cairo 1307), I. 54; K. *Lawāmi' al-Bayyinat* (Cairo 1323), p. 240.

2. Cf. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 222. In the K. *Mandqib al-Imām al-Shāfi'i* (lith. Cairo 1279), p. 75, Rāzi relates his discussions with the Mu'tazilites of Khwārazm (جمع من المعتزلة خوارزم) about free will and determinism. Some anecdotes concerning his preaching in Khwārazm are related by Qazwini, *Āthār al-Bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld, Goettingen 1848), p. 253.

3. Cf. Ibn Abi Uṣāibi'a II, 25.

4. According to Dhahabi, *Tārikh*, f. 154a, he was charged of having driven his rationalism so far as to oppose his proper authority to the authority of the Prophet. And the following really heretical sentence was ascribed to him: قال محمد النازي وقال محمد الرازي

5. Cf. Ibn al-Sa'i, p. 5; Ibn al-Athir XII, 63; Dhahabi, *Tārikh*, s. α. 595.

6. At least in his early writings, Rāzi had forsaken the atomism of Ash'ari (cf. K. *al-Mabdhūth al-Mashriqiyya* II, 11), but he corrected himself later (cf. *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* I, 5, and K. *Lawāmi' al-Bayyinat*, p. 229) regarding his too stern judgement. He is criticising the atomism in his K. *al-Jawhar al-Fard* (cf. Ibn Abi Uṣāibi'a II, 30), of which we find a short outline in Tūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, Stambul, p. 4.

led him to accept all the dictates of reason, gave him the courage to venture where none of his precursors had dared. In his "Commentary of *Ishârât*"¹ and in his "Oriental Researches" (*Al-Mabâḥiṭh al-Mashriqiyya*)² he appears not only as the criticiser, but moreover as the interpreter and continuator of Avicenna's work. The reconciliation of philosophy with theology established itself for Râzi on a Platonic system, derived lastly from the interpretation of Timæus. Thus, Râzi is one of the most striking representatives of a philosophical tradition, the stages of which have not yet been clearly outlined.³ In physics, Râzi frequently quotes his teacher of physics, the Jewish philosopher, Abu'l-Barakât Hibatullâh b. Malkâ al-Baghdâdî⁴, whose principal work entitled *K. al-Mu'tabar*, if edited, might give rise to new and surprising views on medieval philosophy⁵. More than any other Muslim philosopher, he takes into account the doctrines of his great compatriot, the philosopher and physician, Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakkariyyâ al-Râzî.⁶ Among his other works of importance we must mention his voluminous commentary of the Qur'ân, which is not merely, as it is frequently supposed, an Ash'arite answer to Mu'tazilite theological commentaries such as the *Kashshâf* of Zamakhsharî.⁷ Looking through this commentary one perceives that its author, under the pretence of having adopted the thesis that the Qur'ân contains every science,⁸ discusses the most difficult problems of his philosophy. His curious preference for the philosopher-poet Abu'l-'Alâ al-Ma'arri, who scarcely can be considered as orthodox, shows itself not only in Râzi's commentary of Abu'l-'Alâ's *Diwân*⁹, but also in the frequent quotations from this poet throughout Râzi's works.¹⁰ His *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal*, a sort of *Summa* of the problems of the Ash'arite *kalâm*

According to Khwānṣārî. p. 730 *infra*, he attacked also the Ash'arite doctrine of the divine attributes.

1. The Sambul and Cairo editions of the commentaries of Râzi and Tûsî contain only the interpretation of the physical and metaphysical part of the *Ishârât*, the logical part being left out. According to a note in Ibn al-Qiftî, *Târîkh al-Hukamâ'*, Cairo 1326, p. 161, the Shâfi'ite 'Alî b. Abî 'Alî al-Âmidî (died after 631 H. cf. also Subkî, V, 129) has written a *K. al-Ma'dkhidh 'alâ Fakhr al-Dîn fi Sharḥ al-Ishârât* (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 454, and *Suppl.* I, 816).

2. Printed in Hyderabad. 1343. 2 vols.

3. Cf. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre* (Berlin 1936), p. 81 ff; the same, in *Islamic Culture* XI (1937), p. 66 ff.

4. Cf. e.g., *K. al-Mabâḥiṭh al-Mashriqiyya* II, 286, 392, 396, 398, 475 etc.; *K. al-Maṭâlib al-'Âliya* (MS. Cairo, *Tawḥîd*, 45 M, f. 213b.); and especially the long fragment about the *ism a'zam* quoted in the *K. Lawâmî* al-Bayyindî, p. 71—3. See also Khwānṣārî. p. 730

5. Cf. the preliminary notes of Pines, *Beiträge*, p. 82 ff.

6. *Al-Mabâḥiṭh al-Mashriqiyya* I, 246, II, 297; *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal* (Cairo 1323), 57 (see the commentary of Tûsî); *K. al-Maṭâlib al-'Âliya*, f. 208b; cf. *infra* p. 145.

7. Cf. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranlegung* (Leiden 1920), p. 123.

8. *Mafâtîḥ al-Ghayb* I, Introduction.

9. The *Sharḥ Suṭ al-Zand*, which is unfinished, is quoted by most of the biographers

10. Cf. especially *Mafâtîḥ* I, 4.

expounded in the light of philosophy, has become nearly classical for the posterity. Considering the close relation between the problems of *kalām* and the principles (*uṣūl*) of Islamic jurisprudence, one is not surprised to see Rāzi treat them in quite a number of his works.

The new document which I propose to present in the following pages, a document which is capable to throw some light on the personality of Fakhr al-Dīn, is extant in a unique manuscript from the collection of the late Aḥad Taymūr Pāshā (now in the Egyptian Library).¹ It is a very short autobiography, consisting of no more than fifty pages. Its title which seems to have been added by later hand, runs as follows: مناظرات العلامة الفخر الرازي في سياحته الى سمرقند ثم جبة الهند "The Controversies of Fakhr [al-Dīn] al-Rāzi which took place during his travel to Samarqand and later on his way to India".

The manuscript begins thus: "Our lord and master *Fakhr al-Milla wa'l-Din* Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzi—may Allah be merciful to him—said: Praise to Allah... While on my way to Transoxiana, I first reached the town of Bukhārā, then Samarqand; then I left for Khojand and Banākit², and at last I reached Ghazna and India (Punjab). At each of these places I had discussions and con-

1. MS. *Khizāna Taymūriyya. Ma'ālīm*, 130.—The manuscript is late (dated 1302 H.) and quite faulty (cf. the numerous corrections in the chapter published as an appendix); but it can be traced back lastly to an archetype written 27 years after the death of Fakhr al-Dīn. The following is the text of the Post-Scriptum (p. 57):

وجدت في آخر النسخة التي استنسخت هذه منها وقع الفراغ من إتمامه في أواسط جمادى الآخر سنة ثمان وأربعين وتسعمائة هجرية ووقع نقله عن نسخة كتبت في سلخ محرم الحرام (سنة) إحدى وثلاثين وتسعمائة وتلك النسخة قد نقلت عن نسخة سودت في شوال سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وثمانمائة وتلك النسخة قد نقلت عن نسخة كتبت في سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وتسعمائة وكانت كتابتها بعد وفاة الإمام غفر الدين الرازي جامع هذه الرسالة بسبعة (١) وعشرين سنة لأن الإمام غفر الدين محمد بن عمر بن حسين الرازي المشهور بابن الخطيب جاء في المائة الخامسة وتوفي في يوم عيد الفطر سنة ست وتسعمائة ودفن بهراة المحروسة رضوان الله تعالى عليه وعلى أئمة الدين اجمعين آمين.—وكان الفراغ من هذه النسخة المباركة عصرية الاربعاء الخامس عشر من شهر صفر الخير سنة ١٢٠٢ بقلم الفقير محمد بن العربي بن محمد عاشور غفر الله له ولوالديه آمين.

Since 1920 M. Massignon, looking through the papers of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī of Damascus, had noticed a fragment belonging to the 10th Controversy (see Appendix, p. 151); cf. L. Massignon, *Esquisse d'une bibliographie Qarmate*, in *Oriental Studies Presented to E. G. Browne* (Cambridge 1922), p. 332. Considering that the mistakes of this fragment are exactly the same as those of our manuscript, we must suppose that the Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn had used either the very same manuscript or a copy closely related to it.

2. Town in Transoxiana; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, s.v.

troversies with celebrities and distinguished scholars, who lived there".¹

Although this treatise is not mentioned in any of our biographical sources², internal evidence puts its authenticity above suspicion. As a matter of fact, one comes across numerous topics entered upon in the "Controversies" as well as in the other works of Râzi, especially in his *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal*.

As to the biography of Râzi, the treatise teaches us quite a number of new facts. The other sources, so far, have given us only the last ten years of his life, with a vague hint at his travels in Transoxiana, but without any date.³ The work gives us unexpected data on this point. The date 582 H. mentioned in one of the "Controversies" specifies that these travels took place when the author was between 35 and 40 years of age. Also until now we knew nothing about his visit to Ghazna and India.

Thanks to our treatise, certain essential points of Râzi's bibliography are also made clear. In the last chapter of the treatise, Fakhr al-Din tells that during his stay at Samarqand, he met a learned man called al-Farid (or Farid al-Din) al-Ghaylânî who enjoyed the reputation of being a

قال مولانا واستاذنا فخر الملة والدين ابو عبدالله محمد بن عمر بن حسين الرازي رحمه الله
الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة على محمد وآله اجمعين. فاني لما دخلت بلاد ماوراء النهر وصلت اولاً
الى بلدة بخارى ثم الى سمرقند ثم انتقلت منها الى خجند ثم الى البلدة (المعروفة) ببنائك ثم الى
غزنة وبلاد الهند. وافقت لي في كل واحدة من هذه البلاد مناظرات ومجادلات مع من كان فيها من
الافاضل والاعيان.

2. It could, however, be identified with the *K. Ajwibat al-Mas'ûl al-Bukhârîyya* (so and not *al-Najjârîyya* is the correct reading of Dhahabî) quoted by Ibn Khallikân, Dhahabî and in the *K. Firaq al-Muslimin* (MS. Taymûr, 'Aqd'id 178, p. 32) by Râzi himself. This is so much the more probable as the chapters of our treatise are entitled *Mas'ûl*.

3. Cf. Subkî, *Ṭabaqât* V. 35, 8 quoted by Goldziher, *Der Islam* III, 222, note 4. A confirmation of the notions given in our book is indicated by Qazwîni, *Âthar al-Bilād* (ed. Wuestenfeld, Goettingen 1848), p. 252-53, who relates a couple of anecdotes about Fakhr al-Din's stay in Bukhârâ. He particularly marks the controversies in the learned society of Râqî al-Din al-Nayshabûrî who is repeatedly referred to in the "Controversies" (cf. *infra*) — M. Muḥammad Qazwîni was good enough to draw my attention on the interesting notice given by Ibn al-'Ibrî, *Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, p. 419, according to which Râzi being in 580 H. at Sarakhs went afterwards to Bukhârâ.

We read there:

وفي مسيره الى ماوراء النهر بقصد بخارى في حدود سنة ثمانين وخمسائة اجتاز بعيد الرحمن بن
عبد الكريم السرخسى الطيب ونزل عليه فأكرمه وقام بحقه مدة مقامه بسرخس فأراد ان يفيده
بما لديه فشرع له في الكلام على كليات القانون وشرح المستغلق من الفاظ هذا الكتاب وورسمه
باسمه وذكره في مقدمته و وصفه وأثنى عليه.

great philosopher among his townsmen. In speaking about him Rāzī says: "He studied with his disciples a certain number of my works, such as the *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, the *Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyya* and the *Mulakhkhaṣ*".¹ But for this we know the said works to belong to his early literary activities and that on account of them he had become one of the outstanding authorities on philosophy and theology in his time, and that before he was forty. On the other hand, internal evidence permits us to establish by positive indications that his *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal*, and the commentary of the Qur'ān, entitled *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, belong to the later period of his life. Therefore, our treatise, besides enabling us to make an exact classification of his works, also becomes a key to his intellectual evolution. We will give only a single characteristic example of this state of things here. In the earlier philosophical works of Rāzī, especially in the *Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyya*, he had discussed and refuted at some length the doctrine of the infinity of space and void,² as well as the possibility of the plurality of worlds. On the other hand, his commentary of the Qur'ān which we have said to belong to a later date than the "Controversies", that is, to the last period of his life, contains a detailed exposition of the opposite doctrine, that is, the world is infinite in space, the void exists, a plurality of worlds, successive or simultaneous, is not only possible, but philosophically and theologically probable.³ Such a contradiction as this has not been explained so far.⁴ We will discuss another example of this later.

The "Controversies" constitute an illuminating document for the study of Rāzī's character. The vigour of his spirit, his aggressiveness towards his opponents, the theologian's enthusiasm not broken by an intellectual crisis (we are alluding to Ghazālī),⁵ indicate a man in his

1. وقد كنت سمعت أن الناس يقرؤون عليه تصانيفي كالمخلص وشرح الاشارات والمباحث المشرقية

2. *Mabāḥith* I, 228 ff.

3. *Mafātīḥ* I, 4; IV, 7.

4. Pinez, *Beiträge*, 84, 1, has noticed a rather profound doctrinal difference between the *Mabāḥith* and the *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Ḥikma* of Rāzī (MS. Paris 5802). There is an even greater difference between the *Mabāḥith* and the *K. al-Maḥālib al-Āḥya*, which according to the biographers (cf. Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, II, 29 *infra* and especially the detailed notice of Ibn Hajar, IV, 427-28), is the latest philosophical work written by Fakhr al-Din.

5. In his later writings, Rāzī often refers to mystical doctrines, but only on behalf of their moral and aesthetic value. In his Qur'ān-commentary, I, 54, he quotes a sentence of Ibn Abi'l-Khayr which might be brought together with the "monist" interpretation of a sentence of Ḥallāj (cf. *Akhbār al-Ḥallāj*, publ. Massignon-Kraus, Paris 1936, p. 37). In the same way he explains in his *K. Lawḥ al-Bayyinat* (p. 101) the six stages of mystical life (*ṣaḥīb al-mukāshafāt*) which agree with Suhrawardī Maqṭūl's classification stated in his *Ṣafir-i-Simurgh* (cf. O. Spiess and S. K. Khatak, *Tree Treatises on Mysticism* by Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī, *Bonner Orientalische Studien*, ed. P. Kahle and W. Kiefel, No. 12, Bonn 1935, p. 13 ff.; see also OLZ, 1936, 539-41). Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 74, the three formulas of the *shahāda* (*lā ʾilaha illā Hū—illā Anta—illā And*) and p. 233, the three formulas of the *tawḥīd* (*fi al-ḥaqq*

maturity who is fully conscious of his powers. He shows himself a dialectician who knows how to prove a point, and possesses convincing arguments against every possible position.

On the other hand, he is not yet the great preacher who touches the deepest feelings of his auditors. Neither is he yet the sage who finally will renounce futile theological argumentation of *kalām*. As a human document the treatise has a great interest. The stories forming the background of the "Controversies", which are full of irony with regard to his opponents, and where the author shows himself not for a single moment doubting the exactness of his own assertions, make us sometimes smile. And all that is so far away from his later attitude which struck all those who met him, and which his biographers have frequently pointed out. One cannot yet imagine him capable of the imposing gesture of a later date when he addressed his protector Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ghōri from the pulpit, saying: "Thou king of this world, nothing will remain of thy kingdom, nothing will remain either from the fascination of Rāzī's [words]!" (يا سلطان العالم لاسطانتك يقي ولا تليس الرازي يقي)¹

Neither does one foresee the sincere conviction which inspired the following lines of his will: "I have tried all the methods of *kalām* and made use of all the ways of philosophy; I found in neither the satisfaction and peace which equals the satisfaction and peace which I found in the reading of the Qur'ān."² And the modest resignation expressed in the following verses at a later period is so different from the proud self-confidence he shows in his "Controversies": "وأكثر سعى العالمين ضلال: نهاية أقدام المغرور عقاب." ("The forward march of our intelligence is beset with traps, and nearly all the efforts of the learned are nothing but errors!")³

The *Munāẓarāt* (Controversies) of Fakhr al-Dīn contain 16 chapters of different length called *Masā'il* (problems). They take place during his wanderings from one place to another. As to the reason of this wandering nothing is known.

The *dramatis personæ* are Shāfi'ite or Ḥanafite, Ash'arite or Māturīdī doctors, partly known to the biographers. Rāzī likes to throw light on the character of these men, often by humorous touches. Al-Raḍī al-Nayshābūrī⁴, the Ḥanafite jurist of Bukhārā, is essentially good and

li'l-ḥaqq; t. al-ḥaqq li'l-khalq. t. al-khalq li'l-ḥaqq, which recall to mind the analogous doctrines of Suhrawardī. Qazwīnī's notice, *Athār al-Bilād*, p. 264, shows clearly that Rāzī had knowledge of the works of Suhrawardī (executed in 587 A.H.). About the legendary exchange of letters between Ibn al-'Arabī and Fakhr al-Dīn, cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 347.

1. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* V, 36 *infra*.

2. Ibn Abi Uṣayb'a II, 27, 16.

3. Cf. my statements in ZDMG, N. S. XIV (1935), p. 135.

4. Cf. his biography in Qazwīnī, *Athār*, p. 317 and *ibid.*, 252, 22. Ibn Abī'l-Wafā al-Qurashī, *K. Jawāthir al-Muḍī'a fi Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya* (Hyderabad 1332), II, 370; Muḥammad 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-Aḥbāb* (ed. E. G. Browne-M. Qazwīnī, London-Leyden 1906), I, 219, and the note p. 347. I am very much indebted to M. 'Abbās Eghbāl who drew my attention on this work. In none of these works the real name of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Nayshābūrī is pointed out.

honest, but he is slow in reasoning and heavy in intelligence¹. The Qādi of Ghazna is a jealous and ignorant man who is concerned only with his own popularity.² Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-Mas'ūdī³, the renowned philosopher of Bukhārā, gets irritated at the least objection and shows a childish and blind confidence in all the sayings and writings of Ghazālī. Farid al-Ghaylānī⁴, a theologian of Samarqand, who has the reputation of a modest person, is in reality a boor and knows nothing about the courtesy due to a guest, in brief a man whose insolences must be punished in public.⁵ I will produce here an extract containing Rāzī's characterisation of a learned theologian called al-Nūr (or Nūr al-Dīn) al-Ṣābūnī who is undoubtedly the same as the Ḥanafite

1. Beginning of the first chapter:

اما بلدة بخارى فاني لما وصلت اليها تكلمت مع جماعة فالمرء الاولى تكلمت مع الرضى النيسابورى رحمه الله وكان رجلا مستقيم الخاطر بعيداً عن الاعوجاج الا انه كان ثقیل الفهم كليل الخاطر محتاجاً الى التفكير الكثير في تحصيل الكلام القليل.

2. 4th chapter:

واتفق بعد هذه الواقعة بسنين متطاولة انى انتقلت الى بلدة غزنة وكان قاضى هذه البلدة رجلا حسوداً قليل العلم كثير التصنع. ثم اتفق انا حضرننا في بعض المجالس وكان ذلك القاضى قد حبا بجمع عظيم من عوام غزنة وامرهم بأن يشغبوا عنه عند خوضى في الكلام.

3. Quoted by 'Awfi. *Lubāb al-Albab* II (London-Leyden 1903). p. 163. — According to Tūstī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (Sтамбул 1290), p. 29, Rāzī has taken from him his criticism of Avicenna (comm. S. Pines). This Sharaf al-Dīn is most probably no other than the author of the same name mentioned by Brockelmann, *GAL* I. 474. For the moment, unfortunately, I am not in the position to examine the apparently erroneous statements of Rieu. *Suppl. Pers. Br. Mus.* No. 154.

4. Mentioned in a verse by the poet Rūhī Walwālayī, in 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-Albab*, II, 167, 16.

5. Chapter 16:

لما ذهبت الى سمرقند وكان قد وصل الى الصيت العظيم من الفريد الغيلاني ولعمري لقد كان رجلا مستقيم الخاطر حسن القريحة الا انه كان قليل الحاصل وكان بعيداً عن النظر ورسوم الجدل. فلما دخلت سمرقند ذهبت الى داره في الحال وكنت قد سمعت انه رجل عظيم التواضع فلما دخلت داره وجلست مع اصحابي بقيت زماناً طويلاً في انتظاره وترك الطريقة المشهورة في التواضع وحسن الخلق فتأذيت بسبب إبطائه في الخروج وتأثرت جدا لهذا السبب. ولما خرج وجلس ما اكرمه إكراماً كثيراً بل كنت آتى بأفعال وأقوال تدل على اماته وذلك ان المكافاة في الطبيعة واجبة. فلما تسارعنا الى داره على ظن انه كريم النفس بعيد عن الاخلاق الذميمة ثم انه لما قابل ذلك الاحسان بالاساءة وقع في خاطري مقابلة إساءته بما يليق بها جرياً على مقتضى قوله تعالى (وجزاء سيئة سيئة مثلها) آخ.

doctor Nûr al-Dîn Abû Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Maḥmûd al-Ṣābûnî al-Bukhârî who died in 580 H.¹

From the 2nd chapter:

"In the town of Bukhârâ there lived a man called al-Nûr al-Ṣābûnî (may God be merciful to him) who pretended to be a great *mutakallim* and dogmatician. This man had made the pilgrimage and on his return had ascended the pulpit and declared: 'I had left this town in order to go to Mekka and I came back. During my voyage I met no one who deserved to be called a man. All of them were devoid of intelligence and reason.' This proclamation, made from the top of the *minbar* and in the presence of 'Irâqians and Khurâsânians, offended the audience. And they came to see me and informed me that the man (Nûr) had treated all the Khu-râsânians and 'Irâqians as idiots and ignorant people. While they were telling me about this matter I was told that Nûr al-Ṣābûnî himself had come to pay me a visit. I rose and received him with all the deference demanded by good manners. During our interview I asked him questions concerning his travels. And he answered me repeating literally the same words which had already been reported to me. He said: 'From the moment I left Bukhârâ until I came home I saw no one who possessed any knowledge of the principles of theology or was able to discuss any question.'"—When asked by what standards he judged the ignorance of men, Nûr al-Dîn Ṣābûnî answers naively that everywhere he went, he asked people to come to his public lectures but none of them had dared ask him a question. Râzî then proves to him the weakness of his assertion by saying that the learned men in those audiences might have abstained from questioning him by pure courtesy: "Their abstention from asking questions proves in no way their lack of competence in those questions." And Râzî says: "Having confounded Nûr al-Ṣābûnî by my demonstration, I asked him to tell us the subject of those public lectures . . ."

Then Râzî starts to refute Nûr's assertion point by point and arrives at the conclusion that Nûr is an utterly ignorant person. "Beaten by my words, this strong man became entirely incapable to answer me. He stammered only and then became silent. After that he left my house and the assembly dispersed."

From the 3rd chapter:

1. Cf. *al-Fawâ'id al-Bahiyya fi Tarâḥim al-Ḥanafīyya* (lith. Bombay), p. 50, G. Fluegel, *Die Klassen der Hanafiten* (Abh. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges. II, 3, Leipzig 1862), p. 136 *infra*; 'Alî al-Qarî, *K. al-Aṭhmâr al-Janīyya fi Asmâ' al-Ḥanafīyya* (MS. Taymûr, *Târîkh*, 1040, p. 90); Ibn Kamâl Pâsha, *K. Ṭabaqât Fuqahâ' al-Ḥanafīyya* (MS. Taymûr, *Târîkh*, 1512, p. 50); Qanâlî Zâdeh, *K. Ṭabaqât al-Ḥanafīyya* (MS. Taymûr, *Târîkh*, 235, p. 72); Ibn Abî'l-Wafâ al-Qurashî, *K. al-Jawâhir al-Muḥî'a fi Ṭabaqât al-Ḥanafīyya* I, 124. Brockelmann, *Suppl.* I. 643 — All our sources agree in Nûr al-Dîn al-Ṣābûnî having died in 580/1184 and being buried in the *Maqbarat al-Qudât al-Sab'a* in Bukhârâ, which also agrees with the chronology of the controversies. According to 'Alî Qarî, he has had a discussion, which became famous afterwards, about the problem *al-ma'dûm laysa bi mar'iy* with the *shaykh* Rashid al-Dîn; we find the same problem discussed in the 2nd controversy.

"A few days after this incident some one told me that I should pay Nûr a visit in order to conciliate him. I went to see him and found a big assembly in his house. When he perceived my presence he started to discuss in a declamatory style the problem of creation in order to re-instate himself in public opinion after his previous defeat."

A hard discussion between Râzi and Nûr follows in which Râzi demolishes all the arguments of Nûr. Seeing himself caught by his own contradictory assertions, and furious at this new defeat, he addresses the assembly saying: "I say that God is the Creator and in His Book He declares himself as such. This man, however, pretends that it is not so." Presently Râzi answers him quietly saying that it is contrary to the rules of scientific discussion to excite the passions of the populace against one's opponent. Besides, Nûr could not succeed in any way for they were in a town of learned and intelligent men who would not get excited by Nûr's words. Then Râzi adds these words which throw some light on the composition of our treatise:

"As to myself, I will not neglect to make a written account of our controversy and submit it to men of competence. If they conclude that I have denied the contents of the Divine Book, let them make me submit to the punishment which the law subscribes for such an offence. If, on the other hand, they see that you have been incapable of answering me, and that therefore you have attempted to rouse the passions of the populace against me, let them treat you as you deserve! And after this I began to write our controversy. Then getting frightened he begged me not to say anything about him, and he admitted that he was carried away by anger. And this did not make the audience favourable to him."¹

The subject of the fifth chapter is another discussion between Râzi and Nûr. Râzi is invited to a feast given by Nûr's brother where he tries with all that is in his power to reconcile Nûr. But the arrogance of the man obliges him to refute Nûr once more in public and make him confess his incompetence in theological matters.

One looks in vain for such autobiographical and personal notes in the other writings of Fakhr al-Din.² Usually, Râzi discusses the argu-

1. P. 15:

فنحن نكتب هذه المناظرة التي ذكرناها على الوجه الذي مر ثم نرسلها الى الاذكياء والعقلاء فان قضوا فيها بأني انكرت كتاب الله عاملوني بما يليق بهذا الكلام فان قضوا بانك عجزت عن الكلام وانتقلت من البحث والنظر الى الشعب والسفه عاملوك بما يليق بك فلما شرعت في كتابة المناظرة تضرع غاية التضرع إلخ.

2. Among the autobiographical notes in Fakhr al-Din's writings there has to be mentioned one at the end of *K. Firaq al-Muslimin wa'l-Mushrikîn* (MS. Taymûr, 'Aqd'id 178, p. 32), where he defends himself vehemently against the imputations of his enemies (Qarrâmites):

ments for or against an assertion, without ever speaking about himself or attacking the character of his interlocutor. Comparing the "Controversies" with other autobiographical works in Arabic literature we may discover Rāzī's reason for their publication. Let us take as an example of this the case of Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq whose autobiography has been partly preserved by Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a.¹ Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, a first-class scholar, devoted his life to the translation of Greek scientific works into Arabic, thus making them accessible to the Arabic world. In his autobiography he undertakes to defend himself with courage and sincerity against his rivals among the Christian physicians of the court who had brought about his downfall. In the same way Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, in his short treatise entitled *Al-Sirat al-Falsafiyya* ("The Conduct of the Philosopher"),² gives us his autobiography both as an apology of his life and as means of defending himself against his enemies who deny him the title of philosopher and belittle his high moral standard. The voluminous autobiography (*Sira*) of the Ismā'īlian *dā'i* al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn Hibatullāh al-Shirāzī, who died in 470 H., is the third example of this same attitude.³ Having failed in his mission to Persia, and caught by the intrigues of the Fātimid Court in Cairo, he was forced to justify himself by writing and explaining his obvious failure in order to regain the confidence of the leading class.⁴ I am inclined to think that an analogous want induced Fakhr al-Dīn to compose this treatise. The necessity to leave Transoxiana, because of the trouble which the propagation of his ideas gave rise to, could have been one of the reasons which led him to write his "Controversies" with the purpose of justifying himself both in the eyes of his contemporaries and in his own eyes for the positions he had taken in his different discussions and which finally had led to his expulsion.

The contents of the 16th Controversy are most varied.⁵ Nearly half

... ومع هذا فان الاعداء والحساد لا يزالون يطعنون فينا وفي ديننا مع ما بذلنا من الجد والاجتهاد في نصرة اعتقاد اهل السنة والجماعة ويعتقدون اني لست على مذهب اهل السنة والجماعة وقد علم العالمون ان ليس مذهبي ولا مذهب اسلافي الا مذهب اهل السنة والجماعة ولم يزل تلامذتي ولا تلامذة والى في سائر اطراف العالم يدعون الخلق الى الدين الحق والمذهب الحق آخ.

[I owe this notice to Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq Bey who prepares an edition of the work]

1. *Uyūn al-Anbā'* I, 191 ff.

2. Edited in *Raziana* I, in *Orientalia*, N.S., IV (1935), p. 300-34.

3. Cf. Husayn F. Hamdānī, *The History of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat and its Literature During the Last Phase of the Fātimid Empire*, in *JRAS*, 1932, p. 126 ff; W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933, p. 48.

4. The case of Ghazālī—which however, is much more complicated—may also be mentioned here.

5. The chapters seem to be arranged chronologically. The following are the discussed subjects:

(a) The rights and the obligations of an agent in a mercantile transaction (الوكيل بالبيع المطلق لا) (بملك البيع بالنين الفاضل); discussion with al-Raḍī al-Nayshābūrī in Bukhārā.

of the chapters deal with the subtleties of the principles of Islāmic Law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and the divergencies existing between the different schools of jurisprudence. Though a Shāfi'ite, Rāzi is not afraid to attack the highest Shāfi'ite authorities and even dare at times to make a solution of the Ḥanafite school prevail. He never ceases to ridicule Ghazālī's authority, whose work on jurisprudence was considered classical at Rāzi's time.¹

The other half of the "Controversies" deal with questions concerning Islamic philosophy and theology, and it is those chapters which constitute the real value of the treatise. Four of these discussions are about the problems of divine attributes which have never ceased to occupy the minds of theologians. The question as to whether *takwīn* (the power to produce, to create) is or is not an eternal attribute of God is directed against the doctrine of certain Ḥanafite doctors of theology.² The question as to whether *baqā* (eternal existence) should be considered as a divine attribute³ or not is directed in the first place against the *K. Tabṣīrat al-Adilla* of Abū Mu'in al-Nasafi.⁴ The discussion as to

(b) On the problem of sight, with al-Nūr al-Ṣābūnī in Bukhārā.

(c) Is *takwīn* a divine attribute, with Nūr al-Ṣābūnī some days after the second controversy.

(d) In this place is intercalated a discussion on the preceding subject (*takwīn*) with a *qāḍī* of Ghazna years after the above mentioned.

(e) Return to the controversies with Nūr al-Ṣābūnī in Bukhārā; whether eternal existence is an attribute of God or not?

(f) Discussion on the juridical *qiyās* with al-Rukn al-Qazwīnī, a Ḥanafite doctor and disciple of Raḍī al-Nayshābūrī in Bukhārā. (This Rukn al-Dīn must probably be identified with one of the four disciples of al-Raḍī who are called by this name; cf. Ibn Abī'l-Wafā al-Qurashī, *loc cit.*, II, 370; Qazwīnī, *Āthār*, 252, 361.)

(g) Another discussion on the *qiyās* in Bukhārā.

(h) On the *qiyās*; discussion in Bukhārā with Sharaf al-Dīn M. b. Mas'ūd al-Mas'ūdi.

(i) On astrology, with Sharaf al-Mas'ūdi and Raḍī al-Nayshābūrī.

(j) On the *K. al-Mīlāl* of Shahrastānī and the *Furūḥ al-Arba'a* of Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāh; discussion with Sharaf al-Mas'ūdi.

(k) Discussion with Sharaf al-Mas'ūdi on the competence of Ghazālī's juridical works.

(l) Juridical controversy about the heritage of the brother, in Bukhārā.

(m) Controversy in Bukhārā about responsibility of man (تكليف مالا يطاق).

(n) Controversy about the Divine Word.

(o) After a stay of several years in Samarqand, Rāzi returning to Bukhārā سمرقند الى بخارى has again a juridical discussion on the contract of exchange with Raḍī al-Nayshābūrī.

(p) Discussion in Samarqand with Farīd al-Ghaylānī.

1. Cf. also *infra*.

2. Cf. *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 135, as well as *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* I, 71, and *Sharḥ al-Mawḍi'at*, III, 93-94. The analogous problem, whether *khalq* is an eternal *nifa* opposed to the *makhḥāq*, is discussed in the *K. Lawā'īm al-Bayyīnāt*, 26-27.

3. Cf. *Muḥaṣṣal*, 126.

4. Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 426.

whether the Divine Word should be considered eternal raises anew some differences existing between the doctrine of al-Ash'ari and that of Abû Manşûr Mâturîdî, who at the time of Râzî had considerable following in Transoxiana.¹

The subject of one of the "Controversies" is the origin of our sensations, specially that of sight, a question which has occupied the *mutakallimûn* of all times. This chapter confirms the results of Goldziher's² researches by proving to us the influence of the later Mu'tazilite theories on Râzî's mind. Râzî invokes against his opponent al-Nûr al-Şâbûnî—whom we have already mentioned—the theory of *ahwâl* or modes which we know to be particular to the Mu'tazilite Abû Hâshim ibn al-Jubbâ'î, who died in 321 H.³ This is all the more interesting for us as Râzî refutes the same theory in a later work, namely, *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal*.⁴

The 9th chapter has for subject the refutation of Astrology:

"One day," says Râzî, "finding myself not very well I went to see Sharaf al-Din al-Mas'ûdî. It was in the year 582, the year in which the astrologers predicted the end of the world by a storm⁵. Everybody was in fear of this event"⁶

In Sharaf al-Din al-Mas'ûdî's⁷ house, Râzî meets a number of learned men of Bukhârâ occupied with heated discussions on astrological questions. Râzî tells them that all the great philosophers had agreed in rejecting this pseudo-science and that the false predictions of astrologers provided no reason for fear.⁸ Mas'ûdî, furiously asks him

1. Cf. Goldziher. *Vorlesungen* 2, p. 112 ff

2. Cf. *supra*, p. 131.

3. Cf. Horten. *Die Modustheorie des Abû Hâshim*. in ZDMG LXIII, 308 ff The theory of the *ahwâl* is most minutely dealt with by Shahrastâni. *Nihâyat al-Aqdâm*, ch 6

4. *Muḥaṣṣal*, 38 ff; cf. also *Mabâḥith* I. 42; *Lawâmî*. 25

5. *Tūfân riḥî*, literally, "a deluge of storm". The word *tūfân*, which originally means deluge, is used here in the sense of cataclysm. Very curiously, Fakhr al-Din, according to the *Mabâḥith al-Mashriqyya* (II, 218 ff), believes in the possibility of catastrophes and finds an explication in the fact that one element outweighs the others. He agrees that such an event happens as a result of the constellation of the stars without admitting the decisive value of astrological arguments. He no more denies the possibility of all animals and vegetables being completely destroyed, but he also believes that in a new period they could come up again by autogenesis. Even the spontaneous generation of man is taken into account.

6. ضاق قلبي في بعض الايام جدا فدخلت على الشرف المسعودي وكان ذلك سنة اثنتين وثمانين وخمسمائة وهي السنة التي حكم المنجمون بوقوع الطوفان الرمي فيها و عظم خوف العالم من وقوع تلك الواقعة

7. Cf. *supra*, p. 138, note 3.

8. In spite of his dislike of astrology which is evident from his treatise, Râzî has written some astrological works (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 507, *infra*). The *K. al-Sirr al-Makṭûm fî Mukhtalabat al-*

on what he (Rāzī) based his doubt of a science which had given positive results, and which was confirmed by experience. Rāzī in answer quotes Fārābī first, who is considered by Avicenna as the greatest philosopher of the past.¹ Fārābī had refuted in a special treatise the assertions of astrologers². In the same way Abū Sahl al-Masihi³ and Avicenna⁴ had come to analogous results. Compared to these illustrious authors, "our contemporaries are nothing but a drop of water in the sea."⁵ affirms Rāzī. This is followed by a refutation of the principles of astrology,

Nujūm, which is often ascribed to him and which roused the indignation of Dhahabī, is, according to Subki, *Ṭabaqāt* V. 35-36, a forgery. Generally, his attitude towards the occult sciences is less rigorous than Avicenna's. Thus, he defends in his *Mabdhith* II, 214, the principles of alchemy against Ibn Sina's attacks. M. Yūsuf Murad prepares an edition of his physiognomy (*K. al-Firās*).

1 We find the quoted passage in the beginning of the *Mubdhithāt* of Avicenna (Ms. Cairo. *Hikma*,

b. M. t. 69b supra): اما ابو نصر الفارابي فيجب ان يعظم فيه الاعتقاد ولا يجرى مع القوم في
ميدان فيكاد ان يكون افضل من سلف من السلف

2. The question is without doubt about the *Risāla fīmā yaṣiḥḥ wa mā lā yaṣiḥḥ min Aḥkām al-Nujūm*, ed. F. Dieterici, *Alfārābī's Philosophische Abhandlungen* (Leiden 1890), p. 104 ff; this treatise has also been edited in Hyderabad 1340 H. and is entitled *R. fi Faḥṣat al-'Ulūm wa'l-Ṣinādāt*.

3. On Abū Sahl (died 401/1010) cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* I. 238 and *Suppl.* I. 424. In none of our sources a treatise against astrology is ascribed to him. In his *Risāla fi Fihrist Kutub Muḥ.* b. *Zak. al-Rāzī* (ed. Kraus, Paris 1936, p. 45), Bērūnī quotes, among the works of Abū Sahl 'Isā b. Yaḥya al-Masihi written in his name (*tawallā . . . bi'smī*), a *Risāla fi 'Illat al-Tirāsa allatī tusta'mal fi Aḥkām al-Nujūm*. This treatise deals certainly with astrology, but as the lecture is quite uncertain, we can draw no conclusion about its content. Besides, it cannot be made clear whether it is written by Abū Sahl or by Bērūnī. The expression *bi'smī* (cf. also Bērūnī, *ibid.*, 44, 1) is at least ambiguous. We find the same expression in the article "Abū Sahl" in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I 327, l. 16, where he deals with the writings which Ibn Sina had published "in the name" of Abū Sahl al-Masihi. Cf. also *supra*, p. 135, note 3.

4. According to our passage, Avicenna had dedicated a whole chapter of the *Shifā'* and of the *Najāt* respectively to refute astrology. Such chapters are not to be found in both of the books. Rāzī most certainly had in his mind the *Risāla fi Ibtāl Aḥkām al-Nujūm*, which has been analysed by F. Mehren in *Muséon*, 1884.

5. P. 28: فقلت: الذى يدل عليه وجهان الاول النقل عن اكابر الحكماء فان ابا نصر الفارابي هو
رئيس الحكماء على الاطلاق ولهذا مدحه الشيخ ابو علي بن سينا قال في حقه يكاد ان يكون افضل من
كل السلف وله تصنيف مشهور في ابطال علم الاحكام. وايضا الشيخ ابو سهل المسيحي كان من
افاضل الحكماء وله تصنيف في ابطاله. والشيخ ابو علي بن سينا ذكر في كتاب الشفاء وكتاب النجاة
فضلا طويلا في ابطال علم الاحكام. فيؤلاه اصناف الفلاسفة واكابر الحكماء وكلهم اطبقوا على
القدح في هذه الصناعة. واهل زماننا وان بلغوا الدرجات العالية بالنسبة اليهم كالقطرة بالنسبة الى
البحر والشعلة بالنسبة الى البدر.

specially the conception that the planets had the power to conjoin in the different signs of the Zodiac. At Mas'ūdi's arrogant reply, Rāzī declares that rather than to hear such argumentation it would have been better for him not to have come to Transoxiana.¹

Mas'ūdi having quoted Ghazālī in favour of his opinion, Rāzī demolishes piece by piece a central chapter of *K.al-Tahāfut*² which deals with the movements of spheres and planets. One would naturally believe that the final assertion of Rāzī *سؤال الغزالي ليس بشيء. وكلامه في هذا البحث ضعيف جداً* did not fail to have some effect on his interlocutor.

The last controversy is directed against Farid al-Ghaylānī, the famous philosopher of Samarqand,³ who had the pretention of having refuted in a treatise, written by himself, all the arguments in favour of the theory of the eternity of the world. Rāzī asks him whether he had considered only the arguments of Avicenna and Aristotle who pretended that the world (meaning matter) had been always in movement; or whether he had also studied the arguments of the philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, according to whom matter, though eternal, was primarily in repose, and moved only after the soul of the world intervened. To this Farid al-Ghaylānī has no answer to give.⁴

The mentioning of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's theory of physics, inspired by Timæus of Plato,⁵ proves once more that Fakhr al-Din had studied this system with care⁶ and had considered it as an antipode of Avicenna's system.

وليتي ما دخلت بلاد ماوراءالنهر حتى لا أسمع أمثال هذه الكلمات العجيبة.

2. The title of Ghazālī's book is not indicated; but the quoted passage *مارتا متينين دون سائر النقط* آخ refers to the *K. al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges), p. 43.

3. Cf. *supra*, p. 138, n. 4.

4. ققلت: يا سبحان الله القول بان الجسم قديم يحتمل وجهين الاول ان يقال الجسم في الازل كان متحركا وهو قول ارسطاطاليس واتباعه والثاني ان يقال الجسم كان ساكنا ثم تحرك. فب انك ابطلت القسم الاول كما هو مذهب ارسطاطاليس وابي علي بمجرد ابطال ذلك القسم لاثبات حدوث الجسم فما الدليل على جواب القسم الثاني وهو القول بان تلك الاجسام كانت ساكنة. فقال الفريد الغيلاني: اني لا اتكلم في هذه المسألة الا مع ابي علي. فلما ابطلت قوله بالحركات الازلية كفاني ذلك في اثبات حدوث الاجسام. ققلت له: فاذا جاءك محمد بن ذكرى الرازي فقال اشهدوا عليّ بان لا اعتقد كون الاجسام متحركة في الازل بل اعتقد انها كانت ساكنة في الازل ثم انها تحركت فيها لايزال فكيف يبطل قوله وبأى طريق يدفع مذهب؟ فأصر الغيلاني على قوله آخ.

5. Cf. S. Pines, *Beitraege zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, p. 69.

6. Cf. *supra*.

The most interesting "Controversy" without any doubt is the tenth¹. One day al-Mas'ûdî comes to see Râzi and tells him with childish enthusiasm of his acquisition of several valuable philosophical works among which there is the *K. al-Milal wa'l-Nihâl* by Shahrastâni. Râzi declares disdainfully, saying that the work of Shahrastâni did not have a great value and was in parts a shameless plagiarism. To prove this he begins to analyse the work and to enumerate Shahrastâni's sources.

According to Râzi, Shahrastâni's exposition of Muslim sects is taken from the *K. al-Farq bayn al-Firaq* by Abû Manşûr al-Baghdâdî, and is not exact for the very reason that this author was a slave to his fanaticism, and did not care to reproduce faithfully the doctrines of his adversaries. As to the notes on the philosophical doctrines, the most complete and competent work on the subject is *K. Şiwân al-Hikma* which, as a matter of fact, has been the source of Shahrastâni's meagre extracts. The exposition on the religion of the ancient Arabs is taken from a book of Jâhîz on this subject. The only worthwhile passage in Shahrastâni's book is the one which deals with Ḥasan al-Şabbâḥ. Only in that Shahrastâni has utilised an authentic document, and that by merely translating it from Persian into Arabic.

Studied carefully, this analysis of the *K. al-Milal wa'l-Nihâl*, appears very wise. Though incomplete and inspired by a desire to belittle the author, its value is undeniable. As a matter of fact, the *K. al-Farq bayn al-Firaq* is the source of at least of one part of Shahrastâni's exposition of Muslim sects. If one can rely on Râzi's assertion—and there is no reason why one should not—our controversy permits us to restore Jâhîz's lost work, the traces of which we see in other places.² As to the *K. Şiwân al-Hikma* cited as the source of the chapter dealing with Greek philosophy, it is the well known bio- an doxographical work written by the philosopher Abû Şulaymân Muḥammad ibn Ṭâhir al-Manṭiqî al-Sijistâni who died after 370 H.³ The work is found in several manuscripts of Istanbul. It would answer a great need if it were edited.⁴ Without having seen Râzi's statement on the subject, M. Pless-

1. Published in the Appendix.

2. The chapter in question is without doubt the one which is entitled *Arâ' al-'Arab fi'l-Jâhiliyya* and which we find in the *K. al-Milal wa'l-Nihâl* (on the margin of *K. al-Faṣl* by Ibn Ḥazm, ed. Cairo 1347), vol. IV, p. 98—134. Among the works of Jâhîz, there is only one which could be its source. According to the analysis made in the beginning of *K. al-Ḥayawân* (I, 3, 15—14), the *K. al-Aṣṇâm* (The Book of the Idols) by Jâhîz had dealt with idolatry amongst the ancient Arabs and Hindus and had underlined the relationship between both religions. Now, the same idea is widely discussed in the above mentioned chapter of *K. al-Milal*, which allows us to consider it as an extract of Jâhîz's book. The idols (*aṣṇâm*, *ḥaykûl*, *buyûṭ al-aṣṇâm*, etc.) constitute of course the main topic of this extract.

3. Cf. M. Khân Qazwini, *Abû Sulaymân Manṭiqî Sijistânî, savant du I^{er} siècle de l'hégire* (Publications de la Société des Etudes iraniennes et de l'Art persan, no. 5. Chalons-sur-Saône 1933); republished in the *Bist Maqâla* (Teheran 1934) by the same author, p. 94 ff.

4. The manuscripts of *K. Şiwân al-Hikma* have been described by M. Plessner in *Islamica* IV, 534 ff.

ner, in a communication he made to the 18th International Congress of Orientalists¹, spoke of the interest of the *K. Šiwān al-Hikma* incorporated by Shahrastānī in his work² for the study of the doxographical tradition.

Rāzī's remark on the article on Ḥasan al-Šabbāḥ in Shahrastānī's book coincides again with the results of modern research.³ He shows himself indeed very well acquainted with the doctrine of the great Master of the Assassins and the founder of neo-Ismā'īlian sect.⁴ The document, Shahrastānī presents in his book⁵ is nothing but the programme of Ḥasan al-Šabbāḥ, entitled "The four Points" (*Al-Fuṣūl al-Arba'a*) which summarises Ḥasan al-Šabbāḥ's politico-religious doctrine. Rāzī does not only tell us that this document is translated from the Persian by Shahrastānī,⁶ but he also quotes, in the latter part of his work, at least one phrase from the original, and compares it with Shahrastānī's paraphrase.⁷

Let us return to our "Controversy". When al-Mas'ūdī hears about *Al-Fuṣūl al-Arba'a* he wants to show his erudition by saying that Ghazālī, in one of his books, had refuted Ḥasan al-Šabbāḥ's programme.

Lately, Muḥammad Shafī' has edited the supplement (*Tatmima*) of the *Šiwān al-Hikma* by 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī (*Panjab University Oriental Publications*, Series No. 20), Lahore 1935

1. Cf. the review in *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 7—10 Sept. 1931 (Leyden 1932), p. 234.

2. It must however be mentioned that most of the remarks concerning the pre-Socratic philosophers can be found in a more ancient work, the *K. A'lam al-Nubuwwa* by the Ismā'īlian Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī (cf. on the author and the work the remarks in *Orientalia*, N.S., V, 35 ff; according to Ibn Ḥajar. *Lisān al-Mizān*, he died in 322 H.; see also Brockelmann, *Suppl.* I, 323). Abū Sulaymān and Abū Ḥātim had therefore used the same source.

3. The passage referred to is found in *K. al-Milal* (ed. Cairo, on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm. *Faṣl*), II, 28 ff; (ed. Cureton, p. 150—52). We may keep in analogous value the extracts of the Gnostic Aḥmad al-Kayyāl which Shahrastānī makes known in his *K. al-Milal* II, 17 ff, and which are unknown otherwise.

4. On Shahrastānī having been charged of Ismā'īli tendencies, cf. A. Guillaume, in the introduction of his edition of the *K. Nihāyat al-Iqdām (al-Aqdām) fi 'Ilm al-Kalām*, Oxford 1934, p. IX.

5. *Loc. cit.*, II, 29 ff

6. We cannot discuss here the general importance of this document and the connections of the neo-Ismā'īlian (Nizārian) doctrine with the ancient Fāṭimid (Musta'lian) *da'wa*, see the remarks of Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*, Leyden 1916, p. 12 ff.

7. Cf. also the assertion of Shahrastānī (II, 29 *supra*):

ونحن نقل ما كتبه بالعجمية الى العربية... فلنبداً بالفصول الاربعة التي ابتدأ الدعوة بها وكتبها عجمية وعربها.

According to Ivanow, *A Guide to Isma'ili Literature* (London 1933), p. 101, the Sayyid Munir, a Nizari Ismā'īli, has recently translated into Persian the text of Shahrastānī under the title *Chahār Faṣl Bāb Sayyidnā*. Cf. also L. Massignon, *Esquisse d'une bibliographie Qarmate*, in *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne* (Cambridge 1922), p. 332—I can not accept the supposition of M. Ivanow (*l.c.*, note) that the *Fuṣūl Arba'a* do not constitute "one single work, but a collection of four short treatises". The four *fuṣūl* enumerated by Shahrastānī form a literary unity.

In spite of Rāzī's protestation, he brings Ghazālī's book on the question. And in order to prove the force of Ghazālī's argumentation he quotes the first proposition of the Ismā'īlian, and then reads the refutation of the Sunnite theologian. Then Rāzī exposes the weakness of Ghazālī's criticism and calls him a bad apologist and accuses him of having misunderstood the heretical thesis.

Here is in brief the discussion under consideration, the text of which we give in the appendix: Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāh, in order to prove the insufficiency of human intelligence and to establish the necessity of referring to the decision of the infallible Imām—the only source of certain knowledge—had proposed the following antithesis: Of the two one: either human reason in the pursuit of truth suffices to itself, or it does not. If it does suffice we must allow every one to act according to his own reasoning, (which would mean the acceptance of intellectual anarchy). If, on the other hand, human reason does not suffice to itself, one must always in search for truth, refer to the infallible master who dispenses it. Ghazālī, though imitating his opponent's dialectic form of assertion, opposed it by the following thesis: Of the two things one: either a pretention¹ suffices to itself or it does not. If the pretention suffices to itself, it is better to stick to a single pretention rather than to several.² If, on the contrary, a pretention does not suffice to itself, we have always the means to refer to well-informed reason (which will solve the dilemma of two different pretentions).

It is easy for Rāzī to show that Ghazālī's argumentation could not

1. Here are both texts facing each other:

Rāzī (Ghazālī)

Shahraṣṭānī

المفتى في معرفة الباري تعالى احد قولين اما ان : عقل بسنده است در معرفة حق يا بسنده
يقول اعرف الباري تعالى بمجرد العقل والنظر : ليست . اكر بسنده است بس هر كس را
من غير احتياج الى تعليم معلم واما ان يقول لا : بعقل خویش باز باید گذاشت (اكر بسنده
طريق الى المعرفة مع العقل والنظر الا بتعليم نیست بس هر آینه در معرفة حق معلم
معلم صادق. قال: ومن اقبى بالاول فليس له (ياید)
الانكار على عقل غيره ونظره الخ

I am very much indebted to M. Muḥammad Qazwini for having made known to me the following passage of his edition of Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushay* (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. XVI, 1937), III. p. 196, l. 9—14, where we find also an analysis of the *Arba'a Fuṣūl* without the title of the document being mentioned: ومعاني یکی آنست که از معترضان مذهب خود سؤال می کرد که خرد بس یا

نه بس یعنی اگر خرد در خدا شناسی کافی است هر کس که خردی دارد معترض برو انکار نمی رسد و اگر معترض می گوید خرد کافی نیست با نظر عقل هر آینه معلی باید

2. It means the pretention of the Imām to be the only source of truth.

stand on its feet. Ghazālī proved that intelligence is necessary for distinguishing between the true and the false. But the Ismā'īlian thesis never denied it. Intelligence is surely indispensable, but as it is not infallible, it is insufficient for the knowledge of truth, therefore it must be led by the Imām, the hereditary holder of divine wisdom. Rāzī could have exposed the Ismā'īlian thesis in affirming that human intelligence was nothing but an instrument of knowledge, and its function depended on something which is above itself. He prefers to use an image which the Ismā'īlian authors of Fātimide period often used, and by that Rāzī proves his intimate knowledge of the doctrine.¹ Intelligence (he makes his opponent say) is comparable to the organ of sight which makes us see visible objects. But the organ of sight is not sufficient unto itself, its functioning depends on the light which lightens up the visible object. Just as the organ of sight cannot see without the material light, in the same way human intelligence cannot reach knowledge without the spiritual light dispensed by the Imām.

According to Rāzī, one cannot refute the Ismā'īlian theory of the insufficiency of intelligence by merely declaring—such as Ghazālī has done²—that intelligence is indispensable for knowledge. One must prove that intelligence is sufficient unto itself and possesses priority in all judgement. To this Rāzī arrives by a dialectic device. The antithesis of Hasan al-Ṣabāḥ aimed to prove the necessity of the infallible Imām. And the declaration of this antithesis, which preceded the acceptance of such an Imām, rested on an intellectual operation, formulated before the help of the Imām is called. Intelligence, therefore, possesses priority over the pretended spiritual light which the Imām dispenses, it is independent and sufficient unto itself.

It must be noted that Ghazālī's answer is quoted by Rāzī, or rather by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mas'ūdi in the Persian language, and is apparently taken from one of Ghazālī's Persian works.³ It is known that Ghazālī

1. It means that the pretention of one Imām or of his followers does not exclude the possibility of other Imāms pretending in the same way to be the source of truth. Thus, every man has to make his choice amongst these different pretentions.

2. Cf. the *Maṭālib* by the Ismā'īlian ḏā'i Hibatullah al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shirāzī, published in RSO XIV (1934), p. 98 *supra*. We find the same idea in the first *urjāza* of the *Divān* of Mu'ayyad:

ونظر المرء له شرائط	تاركها في الظلمات خابط
وتلك ان يوجد شمس او قمر	او شعل او لا فلا يغني النظر
كذلك العقل لدى التبصر	بذاته في حيز التحير
الابنور عاضد من خارج	فمنده يعرج في المعارج

An edition of this *Divān* is prepared by M. Kāmil Husayn of the Egyptian University.

3. In the *Munqidh min al-Dalāl* (Damascus, 1353/1934), p. 114, Ghazālī's position against the Ismā'īlian dogma is different. He admits the insufficiency of reason and the necessity of an infallible Imām. But this Imām is no other than the Prophet and his teaching is to be found in the Qur'an and

wrote a considerable number of works in order to refute Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ's neo-Isma'īlian sect. The list of those works is given in the *Munqidh*.¹ Only two of them are preserved, namely, the *K. al-Mustazhiri*, analysed by Goldziher,² and the *K. al-Qiṣṣas al-Mustaḥqim*³; and both of them are written in Arabic.

The most astonishing fact in the controversy is the violent diatribe of Rāzi against Ghazālī. One must add that this is not limited to a single instance. In the 9th chapter, Rāzi attacks the *K. al-Tahāfut*,⁴ and in the 11th chapter he goes as far as being irreverent to the memory of his great precursor.⁵ After criticising certain doctrines in the *K. Shifā' al-'Ālil*, by Ghazālī,⁶ he scandalises his interlocutor al-Mas'ūdi by disparaging Ghazālī's *Summa* on jurisprudence, the *K. al-Mustaṣfa*.⁷ And he tells the story that during his stay at Ṭūs—Ghazālī's native town—he was received in Ghazālī's cell, which was preserved by the inhabitants of the town. And in that very cell Rāzi had tried to undermine the pious admiration of the people for their compatriot.⁸ Such an attitude as this, undoubtedly inspired by young Rāzi's jealousy of Ghazālī, is not seen in any other work of his.

It seems to me that this brief analysis which I have given of the "Controversies" of Fakhr al-Dīn, is enough to show the great interest of this treatise for the history of Islamic thought and the necessity of making it integrally accessible to readers.

the Sunna. The same point of view is equally prevailing in the *K. al-Qiṣṣas al-Mustaḥqim*.

1. M. O. Pretzl has lately published a Persian treatise by Ghazālī against the libertinism of the Ṣūfis: *Die Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Ibdālīja* (Sitzungsber. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Abt., 1933, 7).

2. P. 118 of the cited edition.

3. *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*, Leiden 1916

4. Ed. Qabbānī, Cairo 1318/1900.

5. Qazwīnī, *Athār al-Bilād*, p. 252, in a list of the great theologians who, according to the tradition, appear in the end of each century in order to reform the corrupted Islām, looks on Ghazālī as the reformer of the fifth and on Fakhr al-Dīn as the reformer of the sixth century.

6. جرى ذكر كتاب شفاء العليل للغزالي على لسان الشرف المسعودي فاطن في الثناء عليه
وفي تعظيمه فقلت طالعه الى آخره؟ فتوقف فيه فقلت ان فيه اشياء كثيرة يجب البحث عنها آخ

On the *K. Shifā' al-'Ālil* not yet recovered. cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 29.

7. Printed Cairo 1325 H.

8. فقلت ان في بعض الاوقات حضرت بطوس فانزلوني في صومعة الغزالي واجتمعوا عندي فقلت
انكم افنيت اعماركم في قراءة كتاب المستصفى فكل من قدر على ان يذكر دليلا من الدلائل التي ذكرها
الغزالي من اول كتاب المستصفى الى آخره وتقريره عندي بعين تقريره من غير ان يضم اليه كلاما
آخر اجنياً عن ذلك الكلام اعطيته مائة دينار آخ.

APPENDIX

The words enclosed in parentheses are omitted in the manuscript.

المسألة العاشرة

دخل المسعودى على يوماً آخر وكان في غاية الفرح والسرور فسأله عن سبب ذلك الفرح فقال وجدت كتاباً نفيسة فاشتريتها فحصل هذا الفرح بهذا السبب. فقلت وما تلك الكتب؟ فقد ذكر كثيراً منها الى ان ذكر كتاب الملل والنحل للشهرستاني. فقلت نعم انه كتاب حكى فيه مذاهب اهل العالم بزعمه الا انه غير معتمد عليه لانه نقل المذاهب الاسلامية من الكتاب المسمى بالفرق بين الفرق من تصانيف الاستاذ (ابى) منصور البغدادي وهذا الاستاذ كان شديد التعصب على المخالفين فلا يكاد ينقل مذهبهم على الوجه (الصحيح) ثم ان الشهرستاني نقل مذاهب الفرق الاسلامية من ذلك الكتاب فلهذا السبب وقع الخلل في نقل هذه المذاهب. واما حكايات احوال الفلاسفة فالكتاب الوافى بها¹ هو الكتاب المسمى بصوان² الحكمة والشهرستاني نقل شيئاً قليلاً منه³. اما اديان العرب. فنقوله⁴ من⁵ كتاب (فى) الاديان للعرب⁶ للجاحظ. (اما) الذى هو من خواص كتاب الملل والنحل للشهرستاني (فقله) فى الفصول الاربعة (التي) رتبها الحسن بن محمد الصباح بالفارسية نقلها⁷ الى العربية وتكلم⁸ فى هذيانا⁹ تلك الفصول. فلما سمع المسعودى هذا قال: ان تلك الفصول الاربعة

1. MS. به.

2. MS. بصنوان.

3. MS. منها.

4. MS. فنقول.

5. MS. فى.

6. Read اديان العرب؟

7. [فان الشهرستاني] هلها Read

8. MS. ويتكلم.

9. MS. ديانا.

نقضها الشيخ الغزالي وبين فسادها بوجوه واضحة ظاهرة جليلة، فهل رأيت كلام الغزالي في هذا الباب؟ وكنت قد رأيت ذلك الكلام وما استحسنته فقلت نعم رأيت. فقال: ذلك الكتاب معي فأجىء به لتطالعه وترى قوة كلام الغزالي؟ فقلت: لا حاجة الى ذلك الكتاب. فأصر ان لا بد من المجيء به ومن مطالعته. ثم ذهب الى بيت¹ كتبه وطلب ذلك الكتاب وجاء به فنقل أولاً عن الحسن الصباح انه قال بالفارسية: «عقل بسنده است در معرفة حق يا بسنده نیست. اگر بسنده است بس هر کس را بعقل خویش باز باید گذاشت. اگر بسنده نیست بس هر آینه در معرفة حق معلم بیاید». ثم إن الغزالي لما حكي عنه هذا الكلام في كتابه أراد ان يعارضه فقال: «دعوى بسنده است یا نیست. (اگر دعوى بسنده است) بس² قبول يك دعوى اولتر از قبول چندان. واگر³ دعوى بسنده نیست بس² هر آینه عقل ماهر». ثم لما قرأ المسعودي هذا الكلام تهلل وجهه وظهر أثر الفرح والسرور وقال: ما أحسن هذا الكلام وما أدقه. فبقيت ساكتاً فقال: ماذا تقول فيه؟ قلت إن كلام الحسن الصباح فاسد باطل إلا أن الوجه الذي ذكره الغزالي ليس بشيء. فغضب المسعودي وتغير لونه وقال: لم قلت انه ليس بشيء؟ قلت لأن الملحد المخالف لم يقل انه لا حاجة الى حصول العقل (بل قال لا بد مع العقل) الماهر⁴ من المعلم المرشد، والمسلم يدعى ان العقل كاف ولا حاجة الى المعلم. والغزالي بين ان المعلم غير كاف بل لا بد معه من العقل. ولا بد للخصم ان يقول إني لم اقل انه لا حاجة الى حصول العقل بل قلت ان العقل غير كاف وانت ما بينت أن العقل وحده كاف بل بينت أن لا بد من العقل، فانت ما بطلت مذهبي وقولي البتة فكان سؤالك ساقطاً. وتقديره أن المخالف يقول إن العقل يجري مجرى (الجدقة وإن تعليم المعلم المعصوم يجري مجرى) طلوع نور الشمس او النار، فالجدقة السليمة وحدها غير كافية في حصول الابصار بل لا بد من سلامة الجدقة ومن طلوع نور الشمس فكذا ههنا العقل وحده غير كاف بل لا بد من العقل ومن تعليم المعلم المعصوم.

1. MS. البيت.

2. MS. بیش.

3. MS. داکتر.

فالحاصل ان الخصم لا يدعى انه لا حاجة الى العقل بل يدعى انه لا بد معه من تعليم المعلم. والغزالي ظن أن الخصم يدعى ان العقل معزول بالكلية فثبت ان سؤال الغزالي ليس بشيء. ولما سمع المسعودي هذا قوى غضبه وخاصم فيما يقرب من السفاهة. فقلت العجب العجب منك انك تنسب الناس الى الميل الى اعداء الدين ولا تعرف ان إبطال شبهات الملحدین بالأجوبة الخسيسة الضعيفة معى¹ فى تقوية شبهاتهم. بل الجواب الصحيح عن تلك الشبهة أن تقول إن العقل وحده يستقل بمعرفة كل واحدة من المقدمات ويستقل بالجمع بينهما ومتى اجتمعت تلك المقدمات فى العقل حصلت النتيجة لا محالة فثبت أن العقل مستقل بمعرفة المطالب من غير حضور الامام المعصوم. ولما انتهى الكلام الى هذا المقام كثر القيل والقال من غير فائدة دينية وعلمية.

1. MS. معنى. على on the margin. The context requires الى يؤدي or some similar meaning.

BIBLIOPHILISM IN MEDIÆVAL ISLAM*

By SH. INAYATULLAH

I HAVE used the term "bibliophilism" or love of books in a rather wide sense; for I propose to discuss the various ways in which the Muslims' love of books manifested itself in the Middle Ages,—such as the establishment of public and private libraries throughout the realm of Islam, the feverish activity of book-lovers and book-collectors, the multiplication and circulation of books on an unprecedented scale and, finally, a flourishing book-trade. The enthusiasm of book-lovers of that age is also evidenced by the care which they lavished on the beautiful and tasteful binding of their literary treasures and on their illustration and illumination. Before we go into the subject, it is necessary to characterise, however briefly, the period with which we are here concerned, so as to provide a sort of historical back-ground for the subject under survey.

The Arab conquests of the seventh century are among those military cataclysms, which have changed the course of world-history on the largest scale. Leaving the inmost recesses of their deserts, the Arab invaders smashed in a few years the ancient Sasanian kingdom of Persia; tore Syria, Egypt and Africa from the East-Roman Empire; and even after their first rush was over, they pushed their conquests as far as India on the one flank and Spain on the other. Unlike the Goths and Huns of earlier times, who wrought such a havoc in the European world, and unlike the Tartars of a later age, they did not give everything they encountered to the fire and sword, but left the subject peoples, who came under their sway, in the complete enjoyment of their life, property and religion. Most of the Arab invaders never returned to their home-land, but settled down in the newly-conquered territories side by side with other races with whom they intermarried. The existence of the Muslim State provided an atmosphere which was decidedly favourable for the spread of Islam, so that the faith of Islam as well as the Arabic language began to make headway steadily against other religions and vernaculars.

The early period of Islam was an age of great cultural contacts, which proved of infinite significance for the later history of a large part of the

*An address delivered before the Panjab Library Association, Lahore, on January 20, 1938. Footnotes have been added for publication in this Journal.

civilised world. That age witnessed the surprisingly rapid growth of a composite culture, which has been variously designated as the Arabian Civilisation or Islamic Culture. Various peoples and nations brought in their characteristic contributions towards its development. The Arabs contributed their religion and their incomparable language—incomparable, because of the marvellous success with which it satisfied the heavy demands made by the learned world on its vocabulary for the expression of all kinds of philosophical and scientific ideas. The Persians contributed their keen intellect for speculation of all kinds and their talents for the cultivation of arts and sciences; while the Turks brought in their administrative ability, their aptitude for practical affairs and their military vigour to the service of Islam.

I need not go further into the character and development of Islamic Civilisation. Suffice it to say that the invading Arabs, by sheer force of impact, helped to bring in a new order of things out of the old. Their rule, which extended over many lands and peoples, broke down the barriers of sterile isolation, and the resulting exchange of ideas and ideals weakened the forces of unthinking conservatism. Their influence, on the whole, operated on the side of liberal change, with the result that the minds of most men, of whatever nationality they might be, were set free from their bondage, and were encouraged to strike out fresh lines of thought and action. In the Golden Age of Islam, thus ushered in, material prosperity and a keen and brisk intellectual activity went hand in hand; for the Arabs became heirs not only to the riches of Cæsars, Chosroes and Khaqans, but also to the wisdom of Greece, Persia and India. Enthusiasm for learning was so great and universal that "it seemed as if all the world from the Caliph down to the humblest citizen suddenly became students, or at least patrons of literature. In quest of knowledge, men travelled over three continents and returned home, like bees laden with honey, to impart the precious stores which they had accumulated to crowds of eager disciples, and to compile with incredible industry those works of encyclopædic range and erudition from which modern Science, in the widest sense of the word, has derived far more than is generally supposed."¹

The accession of the Abbāsids, with their capital at Baghdād, gave a great impulse to all kinds of studies, literary, scientific and philosophical, which found enlightened patrons in the Caliphs of that illustrious house. The splendid reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn marks the full vigour of this Oriental renaissance. He caused the works of the ancients to be sought out, and sent a special deputation to the contemporary Roman

1. Prof. R. A. Nicholson in his *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 281. The debt which European civilisation owes to the Arabs as pioneers of learning and bringers of light to Mediaeval Europe is generally ignored or belittled or only grudgingly acknowledged. The most spirited and eloquent presentation of the Arab case, that I have come across in recent literature, is that by the well-known sociologist Briffault in his *Making of Humanity* (London: Allen & Unwin).

Emperor to obtain scientific and philosophical books for translation into Arabic. In addition to their own specifically indigenous literature, the Arabic-reading world was, within a comparatively short space of time, in possession of the translations of the chief philosophical works of Aristotle, of the leading neo-Platonic commentators and most of the medical writings of Galen, as well as of many Persian and Indian literary and scientific works. Al-Ma'mûn founded at Baghdad the *Bayt al-Hikmah* or the House of Wisdom, where he installed the men of science and letters, who were associated with his court. The institution comprised an observatory and a well-stocked library. This is the first instance of an organised and comprehensive collection of books in Mediæval Islam. After this there arose in the capital, as well as in other centres, many similar institutions, which gained world-wide fame and of some of which I shall have occasion to speak presently¹.

So far as I know, apart from the Egyptian writer Maqrizî's description, in his *Khūṭaṭ*, of the libraries that existed in his country and another Arabic work on libraries in Muslim Spain mentioned by Casiri, no systematic or satisfactory treatise on the numerous libraries that arose in the Muslim world has come down to us. It is only from occasional notices in works on biography, history and belle-lettres that we learn of their existence and a few details about them. The sources of our information on this subject are scarce and scattered; and it is often the case that we learn of a library or collection of books only when we come upon a report how it came to a regrettable end, either by dispersion or destruction by accidental fire or through an act of vandalism. We learn, for example, of the fine and extensive library which the ruling family of Banû 'Ammâr had collected in Tripoli in Syria in the course of many generations, from the lament of Ibn al-Furât and other historians over its destruction by the Crusaders, who in their blind zeal consigned it to the flames. Such stray notices, however, make it abundantly clear that the intellectual and literary movement of the palmy days of Islam brought in its train, as a necessary corollary, a veritable passion for books. As repositories of knowledge and a potent means of general culture, books were written, preserved, copied and embellished with a restless industry. There arose a host of skilful scribes, who made it their business to multiply by transcriptions those literary treasures, which are the glory of the age that produced them. Literary history has preserved the names of many remarkable men, who contributed in this way to the progress of letters and whose works were much sought after by connoisseurs as well as rich amateurs.² By the side of these brilliant

1. It is very likely that libraries of this kind gave to Louis XI of France, when he was in Eastern lands, the idea of imitating them and starting at Paris a collection of his own, which under later kings grew in dimensions and ultimately became the National Library of France.

2. The specimens of the penmanship of Ibn al-Bawwâb, Yâqût al-Musta'simî and other celebrated calligraphists of yore can still be seen in the principal libraries of the East and West. On the subject

calligraphists, there were also humbler copyists, who applied themselves to works of a practical utility and produced copies at moderate prices so as to place them within the reach of the modest purse of the average scholar. In this way copies of books were rapidly multiplied and it was possible to form large or small collections of them. The Caliphs and kings set the example, which was followed by cultured nobles, the directors of colleges, founders of academies and other votaries of knowledge. Libraries arose everywhere; and along with mosques, madrasas, hospitals, hospices and other institutions of a similar character, they came to occupy an important place in the cultural life of the Muslim society.¹

Before giving some details regarding a few celebrated libraries and famous Muslim bibliophiles of the Middle Ages, we must make a digression on the introduction of the art of paper-making in the Muslim East, because it was the availability of a comparatively cheap writing-material such as paper which made that feverish literary activity possible, which has been referred to above. Reference to the history of this useful art is so material and essential to the subject in hand that an apology for this digression is hardly necessary.

The principal writing-material used by the ancients was papyrus, made from the stem of a plant of the same name; and, at a later date, parchment prepared from the skins of sheep and goats. The Muslims made use of both these materials in the earlier period of their history. A considerable number of Arabic papyri have in the last sixty years been unearthed in the dry soil of Egypt, which throw a flood of light on the early Arab administration of that country.² Parchment or prepared leather was also used; but its high price limited its use to official documents or copies of the Qur'an.

Paper—in the form familiar to us—we owe to the genius of the Chinese. The art of making paper from silk and silk-waste was

in general see Clément Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1908; and B. Moritz's article on "Arabic Writing" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* I, p. 381, which deals with the artistic growth of the Arabic character also. For the development of the Arabic character through the centuries, see the excellent plates in B. Moritz, *Arabic Palæography* (Cairo 1905).

1. On libraries in the Muslim world, see art. "Kutubkhāna" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* II. To the bibliographical references given there may be added Olga Pinto, *Le Biblioteche degli Arabi nell'Era degli Abbasidi* (*Bibliotheca* XXX, Rome 1918), the English translation of which essay appeared in *Islamic Culture*, vol. III.

2. The Arabic word for papyrus is *barḍī*. The first Orientalist of note to specialise in the history of paper-making among the Arabs and to study Arabic papyri was J. Karabacek, whose *Das Arabische Papier* appeared in 1887 at Vienna. His writings on the subject of Arabic papyri must, however, be read along with the more critical studies of C.H. Becker. The present-day authority on Arabic papyrology is Prof. Adolf Grohmann of the Prague University, who has studied and partly edited the Arabic papyri, preserved in Vienna, Cairo and elsewhere. Particularly valuable are his "Probleme der arabischen Papyrusforschung" in *Archiv Orientalni* (Prague), vols. III, V, & VI.

discovered and practised by them from early times. About a hundred years after the birth of Christ, a Chinese official, Tsai Lun by name, gave a great impetus to the industry by employing hemp, rags and even China-grass in its manufacture; and thus brought down the cost of production to a very considerable extent. The Chinese paper was imported by the Arab traders engaged in maritime trade with the Far East; but the introduction of the art of paper-making itself into the Muslim world is due to an accident of war. The first town in the Arab empire to be connected with paper-industry was Samarqand, which was conquered by the Arabs in 704 A.C. Two Arabic writers, Tha'ālibī¹ and Qazwini², drawing upon still older sources, tell us that the paper-industry of Samarqand, which ultimately displaced the papyrus and parchment, was planted there by Chinese prisoners of war, who had been captured by the Arab commander Ziyād b. Ṣālih. We further learn from Arabic, as well as Chinese, sources that Ziyād won a signal victory over Turkish princes and their Chinese allies on the banks of the river Ṭarāz in July, 751 A.C. These several reports taken together point to the conclusion that the Chinese captives in question must have been taken on this occasion. Qazwini relates: "The author of *K. al-Mamālik wa'l-Masālik* reports that captives of war were brought from China to Samarqand; and among them there were some who knew the art of paper-making and chose to ply this art"—presumably, in order to make sufficient money to buy their freedom. Their enterprise succeeded, with the result that the paper-industry became a permanent and valuable acquisition for Samarqand.

From Samarqand the industry soon passed to the central provinces of the Arab empire. Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, the famous Barmecide vizier, who had been governor of the Eastern provinces in 794 A.C. and must have known of the paper-industry of Samarqand, was instrumental in planting the first paper factory in Baghdād. The new industry flourished so well that a few years later his brother and successor in the vizierate, Ja'far b. Yaḥyā was able to replace parchment by paper in the government offices. From 'Irāq the industry passed to Syria and Egypt, and from there it made its way to Morocco and Spain, where the town of Shātibah acquired a great fame for the excellence of its product. The comparative cheapness of paper created such a heavy demand for it that paper factories arose in almost every city of the Muslim world. The Arabs introduced the use of cotton and other vegetable fibres in the manufacture of paper, so that local variations of the raw material gave rise to different kinds and qualities of the stuff. An old Arab bibliographer, Ibn an-Nadīm, already knows six kinds of paper.

By importing paper industry into their Empire, the Arabs not only facilitated the rapid development of their own literature and the

1. *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. by De Jong, p. 126.

2. *Aḥdā al-Bilād*, ed. by Wüstenfeld, p. 360.

phenomenal spread of education in their midst on democratic lines; but they also rendered a great service to European civilization in general and the Greek and Roman Classical literature in particular, by first exporting paper to Europe and then introducing paper-manufacture itself through Spain and Sicily. The Europeans of the Middle Ages wrote for a long time on parchment only. Its high price was, however, a serious obstacle to the multiplication of books. It was generally so costly and rare that the Christian monks and clerics in their monasteries and cloisters, whose ignorance and religious obscurantism made them insensible to the beauties of Classical literature, were in the habit of erasing the writings of the great authors of antiquity and replacing them with their own hymns and homilies. Thousands of such palimpsests are still preserved in the libraries of Europe. This process of erasing original classical texts went on for centuries; and only Heaven knows what priceless treasures were thus sacrificed at the altar of ignorance. The serious loss, which the classical literature suffered by the ravages of time and the indifference of man, is to some extent indicated by the fact that there is a number of Classical writers, whose works are preserved in Arabic translations only, while their Greek originals have been lost beyond all hope of recovery. I may mention, for example, three books of the *Conics* of Apollonius, the *Spherics* of Menelaus, the *Mechanics* of Hero of Byzantium, a short book on the balance attributed to Euclid, a short work on the clepsydra attributed to Archimedes, a treatise on agriculture by Anatolius of Berytos and a number of the medical writings of Galen. But for the timely introduction of paper by the Arabs, it is certain that a still larger number of the literary and scientific works of the ancients would have been lost.¹

The introduction of paper and paper-making into Europe at the hands of the Arabs is a well-known historical fact, of which there is a philological reminder in the English word "ream", which is derived through Old French from the Spanish *rezma*, which is nothing else but the Arabic word *rizmah*, meaning a bundle.²

As I have already said, the principal material used by the Chinese in the manufacture of paper was silk or silk-waste. Even if this precious

1. It is a curious and highly interesting phenomenon in the history of human culture how works belonging to one literature are, sometimes, lost in their original language, but are preserved in another. Corresponding to the instance cited above, there are a number of Arabic works, which have been preserved in Latin translations only. Not much of Kindi's work, for instance, has survived in its original language, but a good deal is still extant in Latin translations made by Gerard of Cremona and others. So is the case with the writings ascribed to Jābir bin Hayyān. India also provides a parallel case. There are some religious books relating to Buddhism, which are lost in their original Indian languages but are still preserved in Chinese translations, which were made at the time when Buddhism was introduced from India into China.

2. On the origin of paper and the spread of paper-industry in the various countries of Europe, see André Blum, *Les Origines du Papier* (Paris 1932).

discovery had come to the knowledge of Europe, it could not have been utilised there, because the culture of silk was as yet unknown in Europe.¹ The Arabs not only brought paper to Europe, but they also introduced in Spain the cultivation of cotton, which made paper-industry possible in the West. The cotton plant was till then unknown in Europe; and an interesting philological side-light is thrown on this historical fact by the Spanish *algodon*, French *coton*, and the English "cotton", which are all variants of one and the same Arabic word, *al-qutn*.²

From the darkness of Medieval Europe let us come back into the light of the Muslim East, where the sun of learning and science was then shining in all its glory and shedding its life-giving rays far and wide. I have already mentioned the *Bayt al-Hikmah* or Academy, founded by the Caliph al-Ma'mun at Baghdad, which combined a translation bureau, a library and an astronomical observatory all in one. This state library contained books in all branches of knowledge cultivated by the Arabs, and continued to flourish till the city of Baghdad was taken and sacked by the Mongols in 1258 A.C.

The example set by the Caliph was eagerly followed by many public-spirited nobles and wealthy individuals, who founded academies and libraries at Baghdad and elsewhere at their private expense. 'Ali bin Yahya, known as al-Munajjim (d. 275 A.H.) collected a large library in his castle in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and called it *Khizanat al-Hikmah* or the Treasure-house of Wisdom. Many people travelled from distant countries in order to study various sciences there. The books were completely at the disposal of the visiting students and scholars, who were entertained during their stay at the sole expense of the founder. This library, which was particularly rich in the science of astronomy, attracted men in quest of knowledge from far and near. Abū Ma'shar, the well-known astronomer of Khurasan, who was on the way to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, decided to stop for a while and see this library for himself. He was so charmed by its rare treasures that he forgot his pious journey altogether.

Another notable instance is that of the vizier Abū Naṣr Sabūr b. Ardshir, who founded a Dār al-'Ilm in Baghdad in 383 A.H., and attached a large library to it for the use of scholars. It has been praised by many writers for its splendour and vast extent, for it is reported to have contained more than 100,000 volumes, some of which were written by the most celebrated calligraphists of the day. Almost every college (madrasa) in Baghdad had a large or small library of its own. Those attached to the Nizamiya College, founded by the famous vizier Nizām al-Mulk, and to

1. Sericulture was not introduced in Europe till the sixteenth century.

2. The Germans have to this day no single word for cotton; they call the cotton plant "baumwolle", which literally means wool-tree, that is the tree that yields wool. This philological curiosity is explained by the fact that down to the Middle Ages the only fibre, with which they were familiar for purposes of cloth-making, was wool.

the Mustanşiriyyah College founded by the Caliph Mustanşir, were particularly remarkable for their large size, as well as for the precious character of their books. The number of libraries thus increased, till in the seventh century of the Hijra era, there were at least thirty-six public libraries in Baghdād alone, quite apart from the private collections of individual scholars, too numerous to mention.

Libraries, public and private, were however not confined to the capital of Baghdād, but in course of time they made their appearance in almost every important cultural centre of Islam. When the 'Abbāsid empire was split up into many independent and semi-independent kingdoms and principalities, it undoubtedly meant a weakening of the central power of the Muslim state; but the cultural life of the people as a whole did not slow down as a result of political dismemberment. On the contrary, it received a fresh impulse at the hands of different rulers, who each vied with another in the patronage of learning and the promotion of arts and sciences. We thus find that the Umayyads of Spain, the Fātimids of Egypt, the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo, the Buwayhids of Persia, the Sāmānids of Bukhārā, and the Ghaznavid rulers, all collected and established libraries in their respective seats of government. I have no time to make a survey of them all; but I will just mention a few of them, which would show that libraries occupied as important a place in the intellectual life of those times as they do now.

Almost equal in importance and fame to the Academy of al-Ma'mūn, was that of the Fātimid rulers of Egypt, who collected priceless literary treasures in their newly-founded capital of Cairo. In 1005 A.C., the Caliph al-Ḥākim founded an academy, called *Dār al-'Ilm*, primarily for the propagation of their characteristic Shi'ite doctrines. The building of the academy was connected with the royal palace, and contained a well-stocked library and rooms for meetings. The founder had made provision for the yearly expenditure of 257 *dinārs* on the copying and repair of books and the general maintenance of the library. This was apart from the royal private library, which was housed in the interior of the palace. At one time, the latter is said to have contained two million volumes.¹ However incredibly fabulous this number may appear, it is certain that the vast resources of the Fātimids had enabled them to amass prodigious number of books, some of which were available in scores of copies. The Qur'an alone accounted for 2,400 illuminated copies. While there was a number of rare manuscripts in the hand of Ibn Muqlah and other famous calligraphers, the library also contained autograph copies of the works of some of the most renowned figures in Arabic literature, e.g., *Kitāb al-*

1. The Western libraries of this period appear extremely insignificant in comparison. In the ninth century, the cathedral library of Constance (in Baden, Germany) possessed only 356 volumes, the Benedictbeuren library (in Bavaria) in 1032 a little over 100, and the Cathedral library of Bamberg in 1130 only 96 volumes. Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 165. For a further comparison with the western libraries, comp. Milkau, *Die Bibliotheken in Kultur der Gegenwart* I/i.

'*Ayn* by Khalil b. Aḥmad and the *History* of aṭ-Ṭabari. Of the latter work, there were altogether thirty copies.¹ In the troublous times of the feeble Caliph al-Mustanṣir, the royal library sustained serious losses. The vizier Abu'l-Faraj al-Maghribi alone is reported to have carried off twenty-five camel-loads of books, in lieu of certain sums of money due to him, which the depleted State treasury could not pay. New collections were evidently built up by the successors of al-Mustanṣir; for, when a century later, Sultan Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn put an end to the Fāṭimid dynasty, the library in the royal palace still contained about a million volumes. Most of these were sold by auction,² so that they passed into private hands. The vizier Qādi al-Fāḍil managed to appropriate a good number of them, which he deposited in the library of the Fāḍiliyyah college, which he founded at Cairo.³

The third great royal library of Mediæval Islam was that collected by the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam II (961—976) at his capital, the far-famed Cordova. This Caliph was an enthusiastic bibliophile; his agents ransacked the book-shops of Alexandria, Cairo and Baghdād for rare volumes for their master's library. When the book was not to be bought at any price, he would have it copied; and sometimes he would even hear of a book, which was yet only in the author's brain and would send him a handsome present with the request to send the first copy to Cordova. In order to secure the first copy of *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, which Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni was then composing in 'Irāq, the Caliph sent him the gift of a thousand *dinārs*. By such means, he is said to have collected no fewer than 400,000 books, and this at a time, when printing was unknown and every copy had to be laboriously transcribed by hand. The catalogue of his extensive library ran into forty-four volumes. Not only did he possess all these books, but unlike many collectors he is said to have read many of them and even to have annotated them. Al-Ḥakam was probably the most learned among the Caliphs; and his marginal notes were highly prized by scholars of later times.⁴

1. Some idea of the losses, which the Fāṭimid and other libraries of Islam suffered through destruction or dispersion, may be gained from the fact that when in the latter half of the nineteenth century the Dutch Arabist De Goeje and his collaborators prepared a critical edition of the *History* of aṭ-Ṭabari, no complete copy of this celebrated work could be found in any of libraries accessible to them.

2. A contemporary historian, Imād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahāni, a secretary of Sultan Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, has left us circumstantial details regarding this auction. The unscrupulous dealings of the callous officials concerned with the affair make a disgusting reading.

3. Interesting details about the public and private libraries of the Fāṭimids have been collected by Quatremère in his works, e.g., in his *Memoire sur le gout des livres chez les orientaux*, originally published in *Journal Asiatique* (1838), and reprinted in the same scholar's *Melanges d'histoire et de philologie orientale*, Paris.

4. "Where once seventy public libraries had fed the minds of scholars, and half a million books had been gathered together at Cordova for the benefit of the world, such indifference to learning after-

Coming nearer home, we find that the taste for books was also cultivated by the Muslim kings of India. Leaving aside Maḥmūd of Ghazna, whose court was in his age the chief resort of poets and men of letters, Sultan Nāṣir ad-Dīn of the slave dynasty was the first notable scholar, bibliophile and patron of learning among the indigenous Muslim kings of India. During the twenty years of his reign, he found ample opportunities for advancing the cause of education and scholarship. Even as a sovereign, he lived the life of a student and a saint—a rare combination of traits in a king—and was in the habit of living on the proceeds of his penmanship. Ibn Baṭūṭah, the Moroccan traveller, who visited India about a century later, mentions having seen a copy of the Qurʾān, transcribed by this sovereign in a beautiful hand.

The literary taste of the Mughal Emperors of India and their patronage of learning are better known to us. Bābar's charming autobiographical memoirs are not only a valuable source of historical information, but also constitute a document of deep human interest. His son Humāyūn, too, was a man of scientific tastes, being interested in astronomy in particular. He loved his books so well that he carried them with him even in his wanderings, when he was leading the unsettled life of an exile. Abu'l-Faḍl, speaking in his *Akbar-Nāmah* of an encounter in which the baggage of this ill-starred monarch was plundered by the soldiers of Gujrāt, says: "In these circumstances, the king lost the greater part of his books, which were his veritable companions and which he always carried with him. Among these was a copy of the *Taymūr-Nāmah*, transcribed by Sultan 'Alī and adorned with paintings by the celebrated Bihzād." His son Akbar too, though illiterate, had a well-stocked library; and he had books read out to him in the evenings. By his special command, many books were translated from Sanskrit and other Indian languages into Persian. Jahāngir, Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb, besides many other princes of house of Taymūr, were all well-educated men and great lovers of books. Hundreds of volumes, bearing their seals and autographs, can still be seen in the public and private libraries of India and Europe.

From these royal book-lovers and patrons of learning, let us turn our attention to their subjects, among whom we find many who treasured their books above everything else and found their greatest delight in their serene company. The literary sources at our disposal are all strewn over with notices and instances of innumerable cultivated persons, who had a passion for books and who in the course of their literary pursuits had made fine collections of them. In the annals of Islam, there is no age, however decadent, and no country, however unpromising, which was entirely without this class of people. Even the little-known Sudan

wards prevailed, that the new capital, Madrid, possessed no public library in the eighteenth century, and even the manuscripts of the Escorial were denied in our own days to the first scholarly historian of the Moors, though himself a Spaniard." S. Lane-Poole in his *Moors of Spain*, (London, 1890), p. ix.

and Senegal have preserved to this day their libraries and their attendant book-worms.

Among the book-lovers of the third century of the Hijra era, we may mention the polygraph al-Jāhiz, Fath b. Khāqān who was a courtier of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, and the Judge Ismā'il b. Ishāq.¹

Al-Jāhiz, one of the most prominent literary figures of the third century, was a most voracious reader. Never did a book, whatever its subject-matter, ever fall into his hands, but he read it from cover to cover. In addition to the books which he could buy and assimilate, he borrowed books from book-dealers on hire and devoured them as fast as he could. There is ample evidence of his vast and multifarious reading in the numerous writings that have come down to us from his facile pen. A later authority even reports that he met a true bibliophile's death, because the books, that he loved so well, are said to have brought his life to a tragic end. One day, while he was sitting surrounded by high piles of books in his study, a heap of books fell down upon him and killed him, since he was already suffering from partial paralysis in his advanced age.

Al-Fath b. Khāqān, a favourite of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, also had made a magnificent collection, which was famous for the large number and rare beauty of its books, and was open to the scholars, who desired to benefit by it. He always had a book with him, which he carried tucked up in his sleeve; and whenever he found a spare moment, he would take it out and begin to read it. (I may mention, *en passant*, that the Arabs wear long sleeves as a protection against heat and dust; and since their garments are deficient in pockets, they carry their purses and other small articles in their wrapped-up sleeves, which thus serve them as wallets).

Another book-lover, who too was in the habit of carrying a book in the sleeve, was Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistāni, the author of the well-known *Kitāb as-Sunan*, a collection of Traditions. In order to be able to carry books of bigger size, he used to order garments with extra-large sleeves.

Abu'l-Fadl, the vizier of the Buwayhids, was another distinguished lover of books. In 355 A.H., his house in ar-Rayy was so thoroughly plundered by a horde of undisciplined Khurāsānians that it was almost completely denuded of everything that it contained. The historian Ibn Miskawayh, who was then his librarian, thus proceeds in his narrative: The Alide Ibn Hamzah sent him carpets and utensils; but his heart was troubled about his books, which were dearer to him than everything else in the world. He had plenty of them, dealing with all the sciences and all branches of philosophy and literature—more than a hundred camel-loads. When he saw me, he inquired about them; and when I informed him that they were safe as before and that no hand had touched them, he was delighted and said, 'You are a lucky chap! Everything else can be replaced, but not these books'. And I saw how his face lit up with

1. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 165.

joy and he said: 'Bring them to me tomorrow at such and such a place'. I did so and of all his possessions the books alone were saved.

To take the last example from Muslim Spain. The Qāḍī Abu'l-Muṭrif of Cordova (d. 420 A.H.) was a great book-collector. He had six copyists in his employ, who were constantly working for him. Wherever he heard of a beautiful book, he sought to purchase it, making extravagant offers for it. He never lent a book; but he would gladly get it copied and make a present of it, without being concerned about it any longer. After his death his books were sold for a whole year in his mosque, fetching 40,000 *dinārs* for the collection.

It will be tedious to follow the interminable succession of book-lovers, whose names and favourite pursuits receive mention all over our literary sources. Suffice it to say that the vogue of the library became so universal that no self-respecting man of means or person of rank could afford to be without a collection of his own. The spirit of the times is clearly reflected in the amusing and instructive anecdote of the scholar al-Ḥaḍramī, who tells of his experience in Cordova in the following words.

"When living in Cordova, I frequented its book market looking for a book, in which I was especially interested. At last a copy of good calligraphy and handsome binding fell into my hands. Full of joy, I began to bid for it; but was time after time outbid by another, until the price offered far exceeded the proper limit. I then said to the auctioneer: 'Show me this rival bidder, who has raised the price beyond the worth of the book.' Accordingly, he took me to a man attired in distinguished garb. Approaching him I said: 'May Allah keep our lord the *faqīh* strong! If you have a special object in acquiring this book, I will let it go, for the bidding has already exceeded the limit.' His answer was: 'I am not a *faqīh* (scholar), nor am I aware of the contents of the book. But I have just established a library and made much of it in order to pride myself among the notables of my town. There is still an empty space there which this book will just fill up. Seeing that it was in elegant hand and good cover, I liked it and cared not how much I paid for it, for, thanks to Allah, I am a man of means.'"¹

That book-lovers of this type have by no means become extinct in the world, is well illustrated by the anecdote of an American millionaire, told by Mr. Bernard Quaritch, the well-known antiquarian book-seller of London. Mr. Quaritch once received an order for books from a rich American, who had recently furnished a house in a fashionable quarter of New York. The order contained minute details regarding the style of binding, the size of volumes and the space they would occupy when placed on shelves; but as for the titles of books there was no mention, their subject-matter being left entirely to the choice of the book-seller.

The Arabs have always spoken of books with affection and respect

1. Maqḡarī, vol. I, p. 302. The translation is that of Prof. Philip Hitti in his *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 563.

and looked upon them as faithful friends. They did not regard them merely as repositories of useful information and means of instruction, but as something endowed with human personality and pulsating with the warmth of life. There is hardly an anthology in the Arabic language, which does not contain pieces of poetry in praise and appreciation of books. A book-lover refers to his books in the following words:

لنا جلساء ما نملُ حديثهم الباء مامونون غيباً ومشهدا
يفيدونا من علمهم ماضى وعقلاً وتأديا ورأيا مستدا
فلا فتنة نخشى ولا سوء عشرة ولا تنقى منهم لساناً ولا يدا
فإن قلت اموات فإنت كاذب وإن قلت احياء فليست مفتدا

"We have companions, of whose conversation we are never tired. They are intelligent and trustworthy, whether they be present or absent.

"They give us the benefit of their knowledge—the knowledge of past times—and the benefit of their wisdom, their instruction and their sound judgement.

"We do not fear any disorder or ill treatment on their part; nor have we to guard ourselves against their tongue or hand.

"If you said that they were dead, you would not be wrong; and if you were to say that they are alive, even then you could not be contradicted."

Another book-lover has said:

"What a good companion a book is, when you happen to be alone with it! You can find consolation in its company, even if those whom you loved, have betrayed you."

Another says: "The book is a companion, who does not betray, does not annoy, nor make reproaches, when treated with indifference."

Al-Mutanabbî, according to some, the greatest Arabic poet of the Islamic times, has said:

اعزُّ مكان في الدُّنْيَى سرج ساج وخير جليس في الزمان كتاب

"The most honourable place in the world is the saddle of a fleet horse; and the best companion in life is a book."

Al-Muhallabi, the vizier of the Buwayhid Mu'izz al-Dawlah, gave a piece of advice to his sons, which is worthy of record here. "My sons!" he said, "When you are in the market place, stop only before such a shop, where either weapons are sold or books".

The book-trade of a country is also a good index to the intellectual life of its people. The historian Ya'qûbi tells us that in his time, that is to say in the third century, there were at least one hundred book-sellers in Baghdad alone. Their shops were congregated in a particular street, called *Sûq al-Warrâqîn*. The book-selling gentry often included remarkable calligraphers and literary men of no mean standing. Their shops

were not merely book-stores, but also literary centres, being the rendezvous of students and scholars, who examined and discussed the value of books, offered for sale.

The book-lovers' greatest joy consisted in possessing manuscripts, written by famous calligraphists. The brisk literary activity of the early centuries of Islam was attended by the artistic development of the Arabic script; so that the art of calligraphy, which contributed towards the preservation of the Word of God, became one of the most highly prized and characteristic arts of Islam. In fact, it was a channel through which the Muslims' æsthetic sense found an outlet. The calligrapher held an honourable position in Muslim society; and even sovereigns, sometimes, occupied their time with preparing copies of the Qur'an with their own hand, which was regarded as a pious and meritorious religious exercise.

Our literary sources have preserved the names of many calligraphists, who from time to time either reformed, improved or beautified the Arabic script. I must rest content with mentioning just a few of them. 'Alī b. 'Ubaydah ar-Rayḥānī, who flourished in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, may be mentioned as a founder of Arabic calligraphy. At a later period, the vizier Ibn Muqlah and his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan achieved great fame in this art. The last notable calligraphist of the 'Abbāsid period was Yāqūt al-Musta'simī, the court calligraphist of al-Musta'sim, the last 'Abbāsid Caliph, genuine specimens of whose penmanship are still preserved in the shape of two copies of the Qur'an. The round and well-proportioned type of writing later reached its highest point of development in Egypt, which after the fall of the 'Abbāsids, became the centre of Muslim civilisation. The Ottoman Turks also paid great attention to calligraphy, which enjoyed high esteem and generous patronage among them.

The other arts associated with book-production are colour decoration, illumination, illustration, and the craft of book-binding. The earliest Arabic manuscripts illustrated with miniature paintings, that have so far been studied, date from the thirteenth century. These manuscripts are those of the well-known classics, *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* and the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri. Other illustrated books include works on medicine, astronomy and mechanical science. It is, however, Persia with its ancient traditions of the pictorial art, that produced many painters of great distinction. Since the representation of living objects was forbidden by legists, the Qur'an could not be illustrated like profane literature.¹ Infinite pains were, however, taken in illuminating the sacred text, and much skill was displayed in the arrangement of colours and the elabo-

1. There is only one solitary instance of an illustrated copy of the Qur'an that has come to our knowledge. Prof. Gottheil of the Columbia University made such a copy the subject of his communication to the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Leiden in September, 1931. For a summary of his paper, see the Proceedings of the said Congress (Leiden, Brill et Cie).

ration of decorative designs. Qur'an—illumination reached its highest development under the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultans, whose fine collection of illuminated Qur'āns can now be seen in the National Library at Cairo.

The exterior of the book did not receive less attention. Books were tastefully bound in leather. The earliest known Islamic book-bindings are the work of Egyptian craftsmen, and may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century. When the art of book-binding developed, stamping and tooling (both blind and gold tooling), became the most common techniques of the Muslim book-binder. The use of the gold leaf in the decoration of bindings—technically known as gold tooling—was introduced into Venice from the Muslim East about the end of the fifteenth century. Morocco leather was also introduced into Europe about the same time.¹

After hearing so much of Arabs' love of books and book-learning, one might well ask: How about the library of Alexandria, which the Arabs are said to have burned by command of the Caliph 'Umar, when they conquered Egypt? In clearing this point, I must say in brief that reference to the contemporary historical sources as well as a critical examination of later works, containing the allegation, has almost conclusively shown that the report is without any foundation in fact. The story that for six long months the numerous bath-furnaces of the city were fed with the volumes of the library is one of those picturesque tales that make good fiction but bad history. The great library, founded by the Ptolemies, had for the most part been burned as early as 48 B.C. during the wars waged by Julius Cæsar in Egypt. A later one, referred to as the "Daughter Library", was destroyed by order of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius I about 389 A.C., when he converted the Serapeum (where the library was housed) into a Christian church. At the time of

1. On the art and history of book-production and book-decoration in Islam in general, see T.W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (Paris, The Pegasus Press, 1929). In part I, which embraces the early period from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, Prof. Grohmann deals with miniatures, pen-drawings, book-ornamentation and bindings. In part II, the late Dr. Arnold has dealt with the later period, from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, and traced the history of book-illumination, beginning with the remnants of Persian Painting through the Mughal and Taymurid period up to the work of Bihzād and his school and to Rīdā Abbāsi and the decay of Persian painting. The last three chapters of this excellent work deal with Islāmic painting in India and Turkey, as well as with the craft of book making in recent times. In this connection, the reader's attention is also invited to Fr. Sarre, *Islāmic Book-bindings* (London, 1924), in which that eminent German historian of art has described the national and technical characteristics of Egyptian, Persian and Turkish bindings from the ninth to the nineteenth century, and detailed the methods of tooling, varieties of decorative motifs, groundwork and the use of polychrome painting. This handsome volume contains about forty exquisite facsimiles of Arabic and Persian bindings, which have been reproduced in colour and gold with such a remarkable exactness and verisimilitude that one is almost obliged to finger the plate to convince oneself if it is not real.

the Arab conquest, therefore, no library of importance existed in Alexandria, and no contemporary writer ever brought the charge against them. Neither John, the Christian bishop of Nikious (in Egypt), who is a contemporary authority on the Arab conquest of Egypt,¹ nor the Arab writer Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, who gives us the earliest surviving account in Arabic of the conquest of that country, makes any mention of it.

'Abd al-Laṭīf, a physician of Baghdad (d. 629 A.H.), who in the seventh century, visited Egypt and later wrote a description of the country, was so far as we know the first writer to make a brief and casual reference (which is anomalous on other counts as well) to the alleged burning of the library, about six hundred years after the Arab conquest of Alexandria. Why and on what authority he did it, we do not exactly know. It may be that he relied upon the folk memory and local tradition of the destruction of the library in ancient times, which was very likely confused as to the real authors of the incident, and that he erroneously ascribed it to the Arabs, who had no doubt taken rather drastic retaliatory measures after the second capture of the city. The first Oriental author to relate the tale *in extenso* is Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-'Ibri, otherwise known as Barhebraeus (1226—86 A.C.), a Christian writer and ecclesiastic of considerable renown, who gives it in its current form in the Arabic version of his Universal History, entitled *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh ad-Duwal*. It was through the publication and Latin translation of this History by Pococke at Oxford in 1663 that the tale came to the knowledge of Europe, and was eagerly seized upon by Western writers, who repeated it again and again and gave it wide publicity as a well-ascertained historical fact—some, no doubt, did so for propagandist purposes. Edward Gibbon, the great English historian and author of the monumental and immortal *Decline and Fall*, (d. 1794), was the first notable writer who refused to give credence to the tale and held it to be insufficiently substantiated by evidence and extremely improbable for other reasons. Since the time of Gibbon, a long succession of orientalist and historians, such as Draper, Krehl, Le Bon, Butler, Caetani, Casanova and others, have all shown in their own way the unhistorical character of the tale and relegated it to the scrap-heap of legends.

1. The Chronicle of John of Nikious (Yūhanna Naqyūṣī) is lost in its original form, but has been preserved in an Aethiopic version, which was edited and translated into French by Zotenberg. There is also an English translation by the Rev. Dr. R. H. Charles.

DURRÂNĪ INFLUENCE IN NORTHERN INDIA

By H. HERAS

(Concluded from last issue)

SIR JAMES H. CRAIG, at a very considerable expense, made elaborate arrangements for procuring intelligence "immediately from the Shah's camp".¹ The latest piece of news communicated to the Governor-General about the middle of December was that the "Shah was in the intention of establishing in the Panjab (sic), before he prosecutes his further objects".² Therefore he was said to be "using his endeavours to conciliate the Seik Chiefs".³ Sir James H. Craig, while communicating this news to Mornington pointedly makes the following comments: "If this should really be the case, it will necessarily occasion his remaining at Lahore some time. It appears, indeed, that it would be an act of extreme temerity in him to advance, until he has secured these people, either by conquest or conciliation, but at the same time must it be confessed, that their resistance both on this and on the last occasion, has been so inconsiderable—the opportunity offered by the divisions in the Mahratta Government is so favourable, and the Shah's wants with respect to money, seem to be so pressing, that it is far from improbable, that he might determine to encounter all the hazards of the step, to reach Delhi, where alone he can look for any possible supply, though perhaps he may be sensible, that he must proceed further to render it any wise efficient."⁴

In a postscript to this letter Sir James adds a piece of news which shows that things were not so quite bright for the Afghan monarch. "Since writing the above, Colonel Collins has communicated some intelligence which he has just received from Delhi, by which it would appear that the Seiks are actually assembled in some numbers at Amritsir (sic), that skirmishes have taken place between them and the Shah's troops, but there is nothing yet that can lead me to alter my opinion as to what is to be expected from these people. Without support, I am convinced they will do little that is effectual."⁵

1. From Sir James H. Craig to the Earl of Mornington, Camp at Fathgar, Dec. 13th. 1798; Martin *op. cit.*, I. 366.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 367.

Yet a minute of the Governor-General, written only nine days after, informs us that "Zamaun Shah . . . appears determined to prosecute his design of proceeding at least as far as Delhi".¹

Sir James H. Craig went on sending first-rate information about the Durrânî Shâh to the Governor-General. On the 12th of June, 1799, he wrote as follows: "Zemaun Shah was still in Lahore as late as the 31st of December. We had a report in all our intelligence that he had quitted it on his return to his own dominions the 27th. I confess I considered it as probable, though the report did not appear to me to be sufficiently authenticated to merit entire confidence, and accordingly it has since turned out to have been false. It would seem from all the intelligence we get, that he has been employed in repairing both the works and the dwelling part of the fort at Lahore, whilst he has restrained his army from the usual exercise of the right they claim of plundering the country, and has been anxious to conciliate the people to his government. This carries with it the appearance of an intention to establish himself there, but his unvaried declarations have always been, that he would soon advance to Delhi."²

The surmise of Sir James H. Craig was quite correct. Zamân Shâh had seriously thought of the transference of his capital from Kabul to Lahore, an idea which, if realized, would have changed the course of modern history in Northern India. Yet his plans could not be carried out, on account of the opposition of his Sirdars, who disliked the idea of abandoning the beautiful valley of Kabul.³

"On the other hand", continues Sir James H. Craig, "the Seiks are assembled in considerable numbers at Amrutsir (*sic*), some skirmishes have taken place, but nothing that can have any influence on the real state of the contest. They, however, impede the supplies to the Shah's army much, and there is no doubt that he has been very much distressed in that respect. Notwithstanding the state of hostility with a common enemy, the chiefs of these people appear to be as much disunited, and to entertain as strong a jealousy of each other as ever; and there is no doubt that they are all negotiating with the Shah. He has sent a Vakeel to them in common, who is returned with general answers and nuzzirs from them all; but besides this, each has sent a separate Vakeel with him to negotiate for himself."⁴

In fact, when Zamân Shâh sent his Vakeel to the Sikhs, it was to claim homage from their chiefs. Some refused, but several came and

1. Minute of the Governor-General in the Secret Department, Fort William, December 22nd, 1798; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 384.

2. From Sir James H. Craig to the Earl of Mornington, Camp of Anopshir, January 12th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 405.

3. Masson, *Narrative*, I, 427.

4. From Sir James H. Craig to the Earl of Mornington, Camp of Anopshir, January 12th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 404-405.

acknowledged Zamân Shâh as their sovereign. Amongst them was Ranjit Singh who had not as yet taken possession of Lahore.¹

A day after the date of Craig's letter, the Governor-General, who received information from many quarters, wrote to the Court of Directors: "The intelligence which I have received to-day from Lucknow and from the Resident with Scindiah, induces me to believe that the Shah will not venture to advance beyond Lahore during the present season. The Seiks have collected their forces at Amratsir, as well as on other points of his proposed march, and have obtained some partial advantages over detachments of his army. And although they do not appear to possess a force sufficient to cope with his whole army in the field, he seems to dread the effects which might be produced by the embarrassments which they might bring upon the line of his march, if he should attempt to advance towards Delhi. Both the Mahrattas and Seiks on the north-western frontier of Hindostan have manifested the most anxious desire to cooperate with our forces in opposing the progress of the Shah, I trust that this disposition may hereafter become the source of increased security to the Company's possessions on that side of India. In the meanwhile I have the satisfaction to assure you, that the army under the command of Sir James Craig is in the highest condition in point of discipline and equipment, and that the zeal, alacrity and talents of that able officer, as well as those who command under his orders, leave no doubt that any attack, which the Shah's imprudence might hazard, must terminate to the honour of the British arms."²

Three weeks of uncertainty followed, but nothing about Zamân Shâh's movements during this time is found in the letters either of Mornington or of his subordinates. And then, on February 5th, the Governor-General exultantly gives this piece of news to the Governor of Bombay: "Zemaun Shah commenced his retreat from Lahore on the 4th of January".³ So it was. The Shâh's retreat from Lahore was so hurried that, when he arrived at the Jhelum, which was swollen with heavy rains in the north, he could not delay the transport of his heavy cannon. Amidst great apprehension the carriages entered the roaring currents, and twelve guns sank in mid-river. The Shâh, who could not wait to retrieve them, wrote to Ranjit Singh to do so and dispatch them to him at Kabul. Complying readily with this request, the Sikh chief raised eight of the twelve pieces of ordnance from the bed of the river⁴; and, as a reward for this service Zamân Shâh issued a *farmân*

1. Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 427.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Fort St. George, January 13th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 410.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort St. George, February 5th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 428.

4. The other four pieces were removed in 1823, and were in the arsenal of Lahore in 1846.

by which he granted him the city of Lahore.¹ This action was equivalent to signing the definite cession of the Panjab to the Sikh chief. Zamān Shāh was the last king of Afghanistan who claimed the possession of Lahore.

The hurried retreat of the Durrānī King was, nevertheless, not so sudden as not to give him time to fulfil the duties of civility and politeness towards the Mughal Emperor, whom he wanted to help in his obscurity and distress. So we find Zamān Shāh's *wazīr* writing to the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam that his master "has finally relinquished his project of invading Hindostan in the present year, but has engaged to return in the next season".² Mornington, who gives this piece of news to the Court of Directors, says that he saw a copy of the *wazīr*'s letter.

What was at the back of this hurried departure of Zamān Shāh? The Governor-General also gives this very interesting information, which is confirmed by the history of Afghanistan.³ "The principal cause assigned for his [Zaman Shah's] retreat", says he, "is the appearance of Mahmūd, the Shah's brother in Balkh".⁴ A few days later he seems to be better informed when he writes to the Court of Directors: "The immediate cause of Zemaun Shah's precipitate retreat is stated in all the papers of intelligence to be the sudden appearance of his brother at the head of a military force in the neighbourhood of Herat".⁵

Was this rising of Maḥmūd Shāh the effect of the machinations of the Earl of Mornington and Jonathan Duncan? So was it understood by the Governor-General: "From a comparison of dates", says he, "I think the movement of this Prince (Mahmud) may possibly be the work of your agent, Mehedy Ali; which, if it should be proved, will establish his utility. If you should be satisfied of Mehedy Ali's real efficiency, I think two lacs [and] 10,000 rupees a sum not greater than the value of the service; and I authorise you to use your discretion on the subject accordingly. The plan of subsidizing the whole army of Persia is more extended and expensive than circumstances require. But I should hope that, by the judicious application of moderate sums of money, from time to time, not only the brothers of Zamaun Shah might be maintained in such a state as to occupy the Shah's attention at home, but the Court

1. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 428; *History of the Punjab*, I, 258-9.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors, Fort St. George, February 13th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 438.

3. Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary—Schefer, *Histoire de L'Asie Centrale*, 56.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort St. George, February 5th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 428.

5. From the Earl of Mornington to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Fort St. George, February 13th, Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 438. Both assertions of the Governor-General, though apparently contradictory are correct. Mahmūd, who had been for some time at Bokhara, first appeared in Balkh, and then at Herat.

of Persia might be induced to keep him in perpetual check without any decided act of hostility. This system, well executed, would save us a large portion of the expense of drawing our armies to the frontier of Oude, whenever the Shah chooses to cross the Attock. I, therefore, recommend the subject to your constant attention, and I shall willingly provide for a small annual expense in Persia, which promises to save enormous contingent charges in Oude."¹

With consummate craft the Governor-General ordered the activities of Mehedy Ali Khan to continue in Persia. So he writes to the Governor of Bombay: "My letter of the 5th instant will have furnished you with sufficient authority to continue every encouragement to Mehedy Ali on the limited scale from two to three lacs of rupees. I cannot express to you my satisfaction at the able manner in which you have executed my ideas with respect to the recall of Zemaun Shah. A comparison of dates, combined with the whole tenor of my intelligence from Lucknow and Anopsheer, leaves little doubt on my mind that the Shah's sudden retreat was occasioned by the news of his brother's appearance at Balkh, and that the latter event was the fruit of your agent's activity. I beg you will provide, or order Mahedy Ali to provide, all the khelaats and presents which he desires, and let them be presented in my name. You shall be furnished with letters required in a few days."²

Encouraged by the success of this first attempt, Mornington wanted to launch a new scheme to help the interests of the British at the Persian Court against the military activity of Zamán Sháh. His new plans are set forth in another letter to Jonathan Duncan. It reads thus: "The annual menace of Zemaun Shah's invasion of Hindostan having recently been renewed. I think it necessary to take immediate measures, with a view to impose an effectual check upon the designs of that Prince. Although the zeal and ability which Mehdi Alli Khan has shewn in conducting the negotiations committed to his charge merit commendation, yet he manifested so much indiscretion throughout his conduct, that I cannot think him a proper person to be entrusted with the sole management of measures of so important and delicate a nature, as those which I have in contemplation to adopt at present at the Court of Persia or eventually at that of Kabul. At the same time, I am far from wishing to subject Mehdi Alli Khan to any disgrace, or even to withhold from him a suitable reward for the services he has rendered; but I think it necessary to apprise you, that with a view to the object before adverted to, I have determined to send a gentleman on an embassy to Baba Khan, and eventually to Zemaun Shah. Mehdi Alli Khan's local knowledge and address may render him useful, and, therefore, I think

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort St. George, February 5th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 428.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort St. George, February 13th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 432-3.

it advisable that he should be directed to consider himself under the orders of the gentleman who may be deputed. The gentleman whom I have selected for this duty, is Captain John Malcolm, Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad, in whose abilities, knowledge, activity and integrity I repose the utmost confidence. He will be directed to receive a considerable part of his instructions from you, and will make all his equipments at Bombay, whether he will proceed in the course of a few days. As I expect the best effects from the mere promulgation of this measure, I have resolved to make the embassy quite public."¹

Before sketching the history of Malcolm's Embassy to Persia, it is necessary to explain the genesis of this second and more important diplomatic mission to that country. In the above-mentioned letter of February 13th to Jonathan Duncan, in which he bade him reward Mehdi 'Alī Khān, the Governor-General had further propounded his views about their relations with Persia: "I am desirous of extending and improving our relations with Persia to the utmost practicable degree; and I wish to receive your opinion with respect to such commercial or political objects as appear to you desirable and attainable under any treaty with the Court of Persia. The great political objects appear to me to be, the exclusion of the French, especially if they should make any attempt to penetrate through Persia to Hindostan, and the establishment of such a continual source of anxiety and apprehension to Zemaun Shah on the borders of his own dominions, as shall effectually preclude his future projects of advancing towards Hindostan."²

Mornington saw the probability of having also a French invasion through Persia. The eastern ambitions of Napoleon against the British are well-known. Just then he had marched on Egypt, whence, if victorious, he was expected to carry his arms to Hindustan, accepting the repeated invitations of Tipū Sultan. When the British Government heard of Napoleon's naval preparations they did not know in the beginning that his object was Egypt and ordered Admiral Horatio (afterwards Lord) Nelson to proceed into the Mediterranean with a squadron of St. Vincent's fleet to stop the advance of the French fleet. This, however, cleverly escaped the Admiral's search several times and finally succeeded in landing in Alexandria. But on August 1st, 1798, Nelson found the French fleet in Aboukir Bay and completely destroyed it. This is the battle usually called the Battle of the Nile, after which Bonaparte was left with his army in Egypt, cut off from France, and without the means either of proceeding or of retreating.

The ambitions of Napoleon were by this defeat checked for the time being, but he could easily have made up for the loss and renew his

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort St. George, August 5th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 110-111.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Jonathan Duncan, Fort St. George, February 13th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 433.

eastern aspiration. It is with this situation (possibility) in view that Henry Dundas wrote to the Earl of Mornington as follows: "It was some time ago the fashion, in my opinion, too much to undervalue the menaces of Zemaun Shah respecting India, but I think that opinion is gradually wearing away as it ought to do. You are more in the way of collecting accurate information than I am; but if the French were ever to obtain such a footing as to enable them seriously to distress us, I have long thought that it would be material point of the plan to obtain the cooperation of Zamaun Shah. And even if Tipoo himself, from any misguided ambition, should be induced to undertake any extensive project against us, I must always believe that his best endeavours would be used to obtain the assistance of Zemaun Shah. I take it for granted, Mr. Jones, at Bagdad, transmits regularly to India the information his situation there enables him to collect; but in case, by any accident it should not have reached you, I herewith send you a copy of the information recently received from him in the subject of Zemaun Shah, and comparing it with others, it strongly confirms me in the belief of his hostile intentions, and that we should keep a very watchful eye upon the motions of that Prince, whose talents, military force, and pecuniary resources, afford to him the means of being a formidable opponent. It would be too strong for me to state, that under no given circumstances our own forces were to go beyond our own provinces and the territories of the Vizier; but the temptation must be very great, and the advantage very evident, to induce us to do so. The means of resisting any intended aggression on the part of Zemaun Shah appear to be the following. First, to encourage and keep up those distractions and animosities within his own territories, the apprehensions of which must always, to a certain degree, keep him in a state of alarm, and which obliged him to return rapidly from his last attempt to invade Hindostan. Secondly, every encouragement should be given to the Seiks and Rajpoot tribes to harass and distress him in his progress. But lastly, what of all others appears most material is, upon the ground of his own danger, to engage Scindia cordially in that defensive system of alliance, which it is our interest, by every means, to strengthen and confirm, with a view to the security of our Indian Empire. It is perfectly obvious, that if ever Zemaun Shah gains a material footing in Hindostan, Scindia and his power must fall the first sacrifice to his ambition. Under these circumstances I do not think your Lordship can do a more essential service to the interests of your country in India than by using your best endeavours to soothe and heal those jarring animosities which annihilate the force of the Government of Poona, and render them an easy prey to the restless ambition either of Tipoo Suldaun or of Zemaun Shah. Nothing can more effectually tend to secure this object than persuading Scindia to abandon that system of wickedness, perfidy and intrigue, which he is now pursuing at Poonah (sic), and engaging him to return to the care and protection of his own territories which require his best attention, and must ulti-

mately tend to gratify his ambition, and consolidate his power, more than any advantages he can hope to attain by aiming at more remote or distant objects of ambition. I cannot more strongly convey to your Lordship the importance I attach to the suggestions that I have laid before you, than by stating it as my opinion, that if you are able to consolidate in one defensive system the Nizam's power, the Mahratta power, and the power of Great Britain in India, we have nothing to fear in that quarter of the globe from any combinations that can be formed against us. Upon the subject of Tippoo Suldaun I have little to say in this letter, further than to express my approbation of the line of conduct you have pursued relative to that restless Prince."¹

This letter of Dundas was probably not yet received by the Earl of Mornington when the latter in a long letter to the Court of Directors, expressed, strikingly, the self same views: "But the apprehension of the designs and movements of the power of Mysore had never, perhaps, been more anxiously or more justly entertained, than between the months of June and September, 1798" says he. "It cannot be denied that during that period, your interests were menaced by a combination of the most serious dangers. The anxiety and fears hitherto entertained with regard to the designs of Tipoo Suldaun, were now confirmed by a certain knowledge of his having actually proposed to the French in the Mediterranean, by the apparently desperate state of our alliances in the Deccan; by the peculiar situation of the Court of Hyderabad, subjected to the will of a powerful French army of Fort. St. George; and above all, by the general persuasion, that an early attempt to assemble or to move that army would serve only as a provocation to the enemy to invade and desolate the Carnatic, without furnishing the means of repelling the invader."²

In the meantime, considering the seriousness of the situation, Mornington had gone down to Madras towards the close of 1798 from where he wrote the last despatches we have quoted.³ Mornington requested Tipû to explain some of his late activities in connection with France. Tipû gave an evasive reply. So Seringpatam was stormed on May 4th, 1799. Tipû perished in the defence of his capital; and Zamân Shâh's friend and ally in Southern India was no more.

1. From Henry Dundas to the Earl of Mornington, Wimbledon, March 18th, 1799; Martin, *op cit.*, I, 610-11.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors Fort St. George, August 3rd, 1799; Martin, *op cit.*, II, 89. Cf. Futer, *Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville*, pp. 119-21. (Oxford, 1931) Matheson, *The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville*, 251-253, (London, 1933).

3. "During my absence from Bengal, I committed the arduous charge of this Government to his Excellency's (the Oudh Nawab's) hands under a strong apprehension that the difficulties of the impending contest with Tippoo Sultan would be aggravated by the approach of Zemaun Shah to the frontier of Oude" -From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors, Fort William, January 27th, 1800; Martin, *op cit.*, II, 201.

As regards the north, there remained always the fear of the French making an alliance with Zamān Shāh. That this fear was not without foundation is shown by the fact that a French general in the service of Scindhia, Monsieur Du Perron, was still expecting the arrival of the French by the north at the end of 1798. On the 12th of January 1799, Sir James H. Craig reported to the Governor-General that according to an account of Delhi "it has been mentioned at the king's (Shah Alam's) Durbar by Monsieur Perron Duvan that *he had heard* that the French had penetrated through some islands and had approached Herat and the Holy Mushed [Mashhad]".¹

In order to remove for ever all possibility of a French invasion of India by the North-Western Frontier, Lieut.-Col. John Malcolm was sent to Persia by the Earl of Mornington. The purpose of this Embassy was to make a defensive alliance with the Shah of Persia by which no Frenchman, soldiers or civilians, would be allowed to cross Persia, and the activities of Zemaun Shah in Hindustan would be for ever stopped. Malcolm himself tells us that "the Embassy deputed to the Court of Teheraun (sic) was in a style of splendour corresponding to the character of the monarch and the manners of the nation to whom it was sent, and to the wealth and power of that State, from whom it proceeded".² And about the result of his own efforts with the Shah, Malcolm with a just pride says: "It was completely successful in all its objects. The King of Persia was not only induced by the British Envoy [*i.e.*, himself] to renew his attack upon Khorassan, which had the effect of withdrawing Zemaun Shah from his designs upon India; but entered into treaties of political and commercial alliance with the British Government; which, while they completely excluded the French from Persia, gave the English every benefit which they could derive from this connection".³

The documents obtained by Malcolm from the Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, the then reigning sovereign of Persia, were four; but only two have a bearing on our purpose. One is the *farmān* of the Shāh by which in a florid oriental style it was "proclaimed that you, high in rank, do cheerfully comply and execute the clear sense and meaning of what has been established, and should ever any person of the French nation attempt to pass your ports or your boundaries, or desire to establish themselves either on the shores or frontiers you are to take means to expel and extirpate them, and never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place, and you are at full liberty to and authorized to disgrace and slay them". This *farmān* was issued in the month of January 1801, furnished with the royal seal, and signed by eight ministers of the Shāh.⁴

1. From Sir James H. Craig to the Earl of Mornington, Camp of Anopsheer, January 12th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, I. 405.

2. Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of India*, p. 317

3. *Ibid.*

4. Martin, *op. cit.*, II. 715.

The other document was a "Treaty annexed" of which three articles refer to the king of Afghanistan. They read as follows:

"Art. 2. If the King of Afghanistan should ever show a resolution to invade India, which is subject to the government of the monarch (above mentioned), the prince of high rank, the King of England, an army overthrowing mountains furnished with all warlike stores, shall be appointed from the state of the conspicuous and exalted, high and fixed in power, (the King of Persia), to lay waste and desolate the Afghan dominions, and every exertion shall be employed to ruin and humble the above mentioned nation.

"Art. 3. Should it happen that the King of Afghaun nation ever becomes desirous of opening the gates of peace and friendship with the Government of the King (of Persia), who is in rank like Solomon, in dignity like Jumsheed, the shade of God! who has bestowed his mercy and kindness on the earth, when negotiations are opened for an amicable adjustment, it shall be stipulated, in the peace concluded, that the King of Afghauns or his armies shall abandon all designs of attack on the territories subject to the government of the King above mentioned, who is worthy of royalty, the King of England.

"Art. 4. Should ever any King of Afghauns, or any person of the French nation commence war and hostilities with the powerful King of the ever enduring state (the King of Persia), the rulers of the government of the King (of England), whose court is like heaven, and who has been before mentioned, shall (on such event) send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants, and inspectors, and such supply shall be delivered over at one of the ports of Persia, whose boundaries are conspicuous to the officers of the high in dignity, the King of Persia."¹

The Marquis of Wellesley writing to the Court of Directors about Malcolm's work in Persia, says: "The engagements which Captain Malcolm has lately contracted with the Court of Persia, relative to the Afghans, afford abundant reason to believe, that the provinces of Hindostan will for a long course of years be effectually relieved from the apprehension of an Afghan incursion".²

And he candidly confesses to the Earl of Elgin a few days later: "To the success of the negotiations in Persia, I chiefly ascribe the fall of Zemaun Shah and the actual confusion of the Afghaun Government,

1 Martin. *op. cit.*, II, 716-17. On April 5th, 1801, the Governor-General communicated to the Nawab of Oudh that, since the Embassy of Malcolm to Persia was as beneficial to him as to the British authorities, it was just that the expenses of the Embassy should be proportionately distributed between the Nawab and the British Government. (Martin. *op. cit.*, 409, 504). The Nawab strongly protested against this proposal, as he had never been consulted about or informed of such a diplomatic mission (*ibid.*, pp. 504, 528.).

2. From the Marquis of Wellesley to the Court of Directors, Monghyr, September 28th, 1801; Martin. *op. cit.*, II, 582.

events which will probably repress for many years the revival of the annual project of invading Hindostan from Kabul".¹

Meanwhile the emissaries of Zamān Shāh in Northern India were not inactive. Mornington, writing to the Resident at Lucknow on June 18th, 1799, says: "I wish to call your particular attention to an evil which I consider to be of the first magnitude. I mean the number of real or pretended emissaries of Zemaun Shah who have spread themselves over the provinces of Oude and Benares for the last two or three years, exciting general alarm, and weakening the respect due to the British Government by inculcating exaggerated reports of the force of the Shah,"² and not to give the wrong impression that this was only a thing of the past, he adds somewhat later: "I wish you to understand and to declare that I shall hereafter consider every person as a traitor who shall assert the royal authority of Zemaun Shah over any part of the dominions, either of the Nabob Vizier, or of the Company".³

The Governor-General did not consider it impossible that Zamān Shāh might again invade Northern India; but his chances had greatly diminished after the disappearance of Tipū Sultān from the political scene of India and the settlement of the Persian treaty. Thus he expounds the state of affairs to the Court of Directors: "Although we have nothing to apprehend from the Nizam or from the Mahrattas, danger may still perhaps be apprehended from an invasion of Oude by Zemaun Shah. I am not disposed to undervalue this danger, but I am satisfied that it is less formidable now, than it has been at any other former occasion. The loss of such an ally as Tippoo Sultaun, must materially affect the hopes of Zemaun Shah; and it is obvious, that although he should persist in his threatened invasion, our means of repelling it are generally increased; since the army of Fort St. George, in a case of exigency, might now cooperate against Zemaun Shah with that of Bengal. Even during the late alarm of invasion from Zemaun Shah (although war with Tippoo Sultaun was apprehended, and 3,000 native volunteers with a considerable force of artillery had been detached to the coast of Coromandel) we still were able to maintain an army of at least 20,000 men on the frontier of Oude."⁴

Yet, not being over-confident, in order to strengthen the British position more and more, he decided to reform the army of Oude. "You are already apprized" he writes from Madras to the Resident at the Court of the Nawab, "that my principal object is to effect a reform of

1. From the Marquis of Wellesley to the Earl of Elgin, Parna, October 17th, 1801; Martin, *op. cit.*, II. 588.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to Lieut.-Col. W. Scott, Fort St. George, June 18th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, II. 55.

3. *Ibid.*

4. From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors, Fort St. George, August 3rd, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, II. 97-98.

the Nabob Vizier's army; and it would be a happy circumstance if any steps towards that most desirable end could be made during the present season before the alarm of Zemaun Shah's return to the frontier of Hindostan can be renewed. I have, therefore, thought it advisable to relax my injunction to you, not to take any step towards the accomplishment of the proposed military arrangements before you shall have received further instructions from me; I leave it to your discretion to act in this matter as you shall deem most expedient."¹ This question of the reform of the Oudh army he touched on again in another communication to the Court of Directors towards the close of November of the same year; and he added; "With this view it was my intention to establish a considerable augmentation of our troops in Oude without delay, and to induce the Vizier to disband, under certain regulations a proportional part of his own useless and dangerous force. I had accordingly given orders to the Resident at Lucknow to commence negotiations with his Excellency for this desirable purpose, and had also directed the movements of several bodies of troops in the provinces to be so arranged as to enable me, before the expiration of the cold season, to increase our force in Oude considerably."² There are besides two letters of the Governor-General to the Nawab of Oudh himself inviting him to co-operate to the reform of his army.³

Yet, the new invasion of Zamān Shāh, announced long before, was apparently not to be for the season was much advanced, and there were no signs of it in the frontier. Thus Mornington wrote to the Court of Directors: "No probability existing that Zemaun Shah will be able in the course of the present season to renew his hostile attempts against Hindostan".⁴ In the beginning of 1800, Mornington seems to have heard that the intestine troubles of Afghanistan were going on for in the month of March he wrote to Henry Dundas: "For some time to come, I trust that Zemaun Shah will be too much occupied at home, to admit of turning his arms against Hindostan; and I am inclined to think that the encouragement of divisions in his own government, and of hostility between the contiguous State of Persia and his dominions, is the system of defence against Zemaun Shah on which it is most safe to rely under the present circumstances of affairs in India".⁵ This

1. From the Earl of Mornington to Lieut.-Col. W. Scott, Fort St. George, June 18th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 54.

2. From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors, Fort William, November 28th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 155.

3. From the Earl of Mornington to the Nawab of Oudh, Fort William, November 5th, 1799, February 9th, 1800; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 132-135; 208-219.

4. From the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors, Fort William, November 28th, 1799; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 154.

5. From the Earl of Mornington to Henry Dundas, Fort William, March 5th, 1800; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 226.

information was once more confirmed in the month of June:—"My latest accounts of Zemaun Shah are perfectly favourable to the prosecution of my views in Oude. He continues at Candahar; menaced on the one hand by the preparations which Baba Khan has made for advancing to Khorasan, and embarrassed on the other hand by domestic troubles, which appear to have amounted to formidable disturbances of his government. Under these circumstances it seems impossible that Zemaun Shah should be enabled to disturb the tranquillity of Hindostan in the course of the ensuing winter."¹

There follows a period of absolute silence in the letters of the Governor-General about Zamān Shāh and the state of affairs in Afghanistan, till at last on September 28th, 1801, in a letter of the then already Marquis of Wellesley to the Court of Directors the final and decisive piece of news of this tragical history is found. It runs as follows: "The active measures adopted by the Court of Persia against Zemaun Shah, which were instigated in the first instance by Mehdi Ali Khan, and subsequently encouraged by Captain Malcolm, produced the salutary effect of diverting the attention of Zaman Shah from his long projected invasion of Hindostan during three successive seasons. The hostility of Baba Khan unquestionably proved the ruin of Zemaun Shah's power. The assistance afforded by Mehdi Ali Khan under my orders, to the Prince Mahomed Shah, originally enabled that Prince to excite those commotions, which have recently terminated in the defeat of Zemaun Shah, in his deposition from the throne, and in the entire extinction of his power; to the consolidated and active government of Zemaun Shah, has succeeded a state of confusion in the country of the Afghans highly favourable to our security in that quarter. Since the fall of Zemaun Shah, several competitors for the throne have opposed the establishment of Mahomed Shah, and the Afghan power is broken down by their mutual contentions, while the vicinity if the King of Persia's force now connected with our interests, operates as an additional cause of weakness to the empire formerly held by Zemaun Shah. The relation which that Prince had formed with Tippoo Sultaun, and the probability of his concurrence in the hostile views, either of Russia, or of France, render the actual state of affairs in Candahar a most favourable contrast with that which existed in the year 1798."²

The unbounded ambition of Zamān Shāh to resuscitate the glory of his grandfather ended very tragically, for he was not only defeated, but captured by his brother Mahmud, who ordered his eyes to be put out. Imprisoned in the Bala Hisar, at Kabul, the unfortunate deposed monarch succeeded in making his escape and, after wandering for

1. From the Marquis of Wellesley to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Fort William, June 9th, 1800; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 274.

2. From the Marquis of Wellesley to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Monghyr, Sept. 28th, 1801; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 581-82.

some time in Bokhara and in Herat, which was then governed by his half-brother Hājī Ferōz ad-Dīn, he finally retired to Ludhiana, to spend the last years of his life under the protection of the British Government.

IV. MAHMŪD SHĀH

(First reign 1801—1803)

DURING MAHMŪD SHĀH's first reign of one year, there was no occasion to extend the influence of the Afghan ruling dynasty over Northern India. Intestine dissensions fill up this short period. During it the Durrānī Governor left at Lahore by ZAMĀN SHĀH was defeated and slain by three Sikh Chiefs, Ranjit Singh having had no hand in the affair.¹ The Marquis of Wellesley wrote to the Court of Directors on January 1st, 1802: "The danger of invasion from Candahar is entirely removed by the destruction of the power of Zemaun Shah, and by the actual state of his dominions".²

V. SHĀH SHUJĀ'

(First reign 1803—1809)

SHĀH SHUJĀ' seems to have been the cleverest among the sons of Taymūr Shāh. He had, besides, a predilection for military life. Hence, shortly after his accession he set out for Sind at the head of an army of 30,000 men, ready to enforce his rights upon the Mīrs of that country. As soon as ZAMĀN SHĀH entered the country, the chief of the Talpuras despatched his minister Wālī MUHAMMAD KHĀN to him offering to pay £320,000, which were arrears of tribute. Shāh Shujā' accepted the offer, for at the same time he received intelligence of the rebellious state of the tribes north of Kabul, which forced him to retreat immediately.

Some time later, in the beginning of 1809, one of the growing powers of Northern India began to influence the destinies of Afghanistan. Very early, Lord Minto had realized the importance of Afghanistan as a buffer state. Since the present internal disturbances of the country were a guarantee that no further Afghan invasion of India would take place for some time, the Governor decided to strengthen the British position on that side by influencing the new Shāh, who had apparently many friends among the Afghans.³ In order to obtain this effect, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Resident at the court of the Raja of Berar, was deputed to the Afghan Court.

1. Masson, *op. cit.*, 428.

2. From the Marquis of Wellesley to the Court of Directors, near Cawnpore, January 1st, 1802; Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 614.

3. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. VIII.

The Governor's motive in making an alliance with the king of Afghanistan was that the Afghans would stop any army, Persian or French.¹ Though exceedingly well received by Shāh Shujā', Elphinstone could not easily convince the Afghan king or his ministers. "They stated", wrote the Ambassador to the Governor-General, "that an alliance for the purpose of repelling one enemy was imperfect, and that the friendship between two States could only be maintained by identifying their interests in all cases".² At last Shāh Shujā's views prevailed to some extent. According to the treaty that was signed on the 19th of April, the Governor-General had to assist the King of Kabul with money against a confederacy of the French and Persians; and the king of Kabul had likewise to resist these powers while their confederacy lasted, and to exclude all Frenchmen from Afghanistan for ever.³

When this treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in Calcutta on June 17th, Shāh Shujā' had been completely routed by his brother Maḥmūd Shāh and was wandering as an exile in the mountains of Khyber.

A year before Shāh Shujā's deposition two Afghan princes had arrived at Delhi, expecting to get help from the British Government. They were Shāhzādah Kuhan Dil Khān, son of Taymūr Shāh and Shāh Shujā's own son, Shāhzādah Tamas Khān. I have not succeeded in tracing their wishes and expectations; perhaps they hoped to get some help, either financial or military, for obtaining the throne for their own branch or for any other of the twenty-three sons of Taymūr Shah. This is certain, that they returned to their country greatly disappointed. "They remained here some time", writes the British Resident at Delhi, "in a state which must have been irksome to their feelings". Later on, he speaks of "the fruitless endeavours of these princes to derive any benefit from their journey to Delhi".⁴

VI. MAḤMŪD SHĀH

(Second reign 1809—1818)

MAḤMŪD SHĀH was not born to lead an army. But two events had occurred on his accession to the throne of Kabul the second time, that required some military intervention outside the limits of Afghanistan

1. Such were the intentions of Napoleon.

2. Forrest. *Selections from the Minutes and other official writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*, p. 31, (London, 1884).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 34. As a result of his visit to Afghanistan, Mr. Elphinstone published a very interesting work entitled, "*The Kingdom of Caubul*", which is a complete scientific report about the country, a work which is still of immense value to the historian and to the ethnographer alike.

4. From the Resident A. Seton to Lieut.-Col. D. Ochterlong, Delhi, December 20th, 1810, *Records of the Ludhiana Agency*, p. 228 (Lahore, 1911).

proper: one was the proclamation of independence by Ranjit Singh at Lahore, as soon as he had heard of Shāh Shujā's defeat. The other a similar declaration made by Sirdār 'Atā' Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Kashmir. It was therefore decided that the army would be under the command of Sirdār Faṭḥ Khān, the Vazīr, Chief of the Barakzais. Sirdār Faṭḥ Khān wisely ignored Ranjit Singh's action for a while, and even invited him to join the Afghans in the Kashmir campaign. Accordingly, a treaty was signed on the banks of the Jhelum, by which the Afghan *wazīr* offered 9 lakhs of rupees to the Sikh Maharaja on condition that he should help him in the conquest of Kashmir.

This country was occupied without opposition, on which fact the *wazīr* perhaps founded his refusal to give the promised sum to Ranjit Singh. Nor could the Sikh chief obtain the sum from Faṭḥ Khān, the Governor of Kashmir. Fully disappointed, he fell upon the fort of Attock, which was lost to Afghanistan from that date. Faṭḥ Khān and his younger brother Dōst Muḥammad vainly attempted to wrest the fort from the Sikhs.¹ The internal situation of Afghanistan required the presence of the *wazīr* at Kabul. These troubles finally led to the deposition of Maḥmūd in 1818.

In the meantime, Zamān Shāh and his brother Shāh Shujā', the two deposed kings of Afghanistan, had settled at Rawalpindi, in the dominions of Ranjit Singh. Zamān Shāh, being blind, could not aspire to the throne of Kabul. But Shāh Shujā', soon after his deposition, commenced his career of intrigue to obtain help from any source to reconquer the throne. In 1810, Prince Yūnus Khān, son of Zamān Shāh, went to Ludhiana on his way to Delhi, hoping to obtain British aid for this purpose. The Agent to the Governor-General at Ludhiana, Lieut.-Col. D. Ochterlony, received him very kindly, but, by order of the higher authorities, dissuaded him from going on to Delhi, for neither the British Government would help his uncle Shāh Shujā' in his enterprise, nor would he be able to see Emperor Akbar II. So the Prince went back to Rawalpindi after a month's stay at Ludhiana.²

VII. SULTAN 'ALĪ AND AYYŪB SHĀH

(1818—1829)

DURING these eleven years of weak rule and intestine disturbances, Afghanistan lost much of her influence abroad by not interfering at all with the affairs of northern India. This opportunity was readily seized by Ranjit Singh for strengthening his position in the Panjab.

1. Ferrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

2. Correspondence between the Agent to the Governor-General at Ludhiana, Resident at Delhi and Secretary to Government, in December 1810. *Records of the Ludhiana Agency*, pp. 224-44.

VIII. RULE OF THE BARAKZAI BROTHERS

(1829—1839)

AFTER THE DEPOSITION of Ayyûb Shâh, the sons of the deceased Pâ'indah Khân distributed the whole of Afghanistan among themselves. Dôst Muḥammad ruled at Kabul. Pir Muḥammad Khân, Sultan Muḥammad Khân, Yâr Muḥammad Khân and Sa'id Muḥammad Khân held Peshawar. Muḥammad Azim Khân governed Kashmir. Dur Dil Khân, Shêr Dil Khân, Kuhan Dil Khân, Raḥim Dil Khân, and Meh Dil Khân exercised their sway over Kandahar. And Nawab Jabbâr Khân and Jum'a Khân kept Jalalabad and Shikarpur respectively under their control. Herat continued to be under Shâh Kamrân, the son of Maḥmûd Shâh. Of all these brothers, Dôst Muḥammad was little by little acquiring power and authority and so giving cause for bad blood and even military plans among his jealous brothers.¹

This split of the country into small units was responsible for the rapid decline of Durrâni influence in Northern India. Thus, for instance, about the year 1830, the Sirdârs of Khandahar were preparing an expedition against Shikarpur, but they had suddenly to give up their pretensions on account of the fear of a rebellion by the partisans of one of his rivals.²

In the meantime, the power of Ranjit Singh grew so much that some portions of Afghanistan were tributary to him. Charles Masson, who passed through Peshawar at the beginning of this period, describes the situation of Peshawar as follows:

"Thè Sirdars of Peshawar cannot be called independent as they hold their country entirely at the pleasure of Ranjit Singh—a natural consequence of the advance of his frontier to the Indus. Still the Sikh Raja has not yet ventured to assume the full authority; and they are left in power, remitting him tribute, and placing their sons in his hands as hostages. They are impatient under the yoke, but every manifestation of contumacy only tends to confirm their subjection and to aggravate the annoyances inflicted upon them."³

The enforcement of this yearly tribute was always being done by an army that ravaged the whole province and humiliated the Sirdars. Yâr Muḥammad Khân protested that, if it were the Sirkâr's pleasure that he should continue at Peshawar, these annual visitations should cease; otherwise, he would retire to his brother at Kabul. Ranjit Singh replied that he might do as he liked and "to mortify him", ordered that a famous horse named Laylah, which was in the possession of the Sirdârs, should be sent to Lahore. Yâr Muḥammad Khân replied that "he would as soon

1. Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17; 289-92.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 276-78.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

surrender one of his wives as the horse". Ranjit Singh then sent General Ventura with a force "to compel the delivery of the animal". Sultan Muḥammad Khān, the owner of the horse, swore on the Qur'ān that it was dead. Ventura brought this message back to Lahore, but shortly afterwards the Sikh Maharaja heard that the horse was still alive. Once more General Ventura was despatched to Peshawar and at length Laylah passed from the stables of the Sirdārs to the royal stables of Lahore.¹

Ranjit Singh grew so proud that he soon thought of attacking Kabul itself.² It was also about this time that the Sikhs began to give the title of Pādshāh to the fortunate Chief of Lahore.

Meanwhile, and after a series of misfortunes too long to enumerate, Shāh Shujā' came in 1813 to the Court of Lahore, where his wife Wafā Bēgam and other womenfolk of his family had already taken refuge. At once the rapacious Ranjit Singh asked the exile Shāh to give him the Kōh-i-Nūr diamond which was in Shāh Shujā's possession. The latter did not reply; but at last the diamond passed into the hands of Ranjit Singh, who, besides exacted 20,000 rupees from the deposed Shāh before allowing him to depart from Lahore.³ Eventually, Shāh Shujā' took refuge with the British at Ludhiana. After much hesitation, Lord Auckland decided to restore Shāh Shujā', the lawful king of Afghanistan, to the throne of Kabul in 1838. This was the cause of the First Afghan War and the end of Durrānī influence in Northern India.

CONCLUSION

THE HISTORY of the Durrānī influence in Northern India is of extraordinary importance for understanding well the decline of the Mughal Empire and the progressive growth of the power of the East India Company.

The first time Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī invaded Hindustan, the Mughal imperial army checked his advance. Subsequent events, however, led to a double alliance, one by marriage and the other political, between the Afghan King and the Mughal Emperor. The battle of Panipat was the consequence of this political alliance. After the victory of Panipat, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī was actually the Shāhan Shāh not only of Afghanistan but even of Hindustan; and the lawful Mughal Emperor, Shāh Alam II, could not strike coins bearing his name nor order the *khutbah* to be read in his name until Aḥmad Shāh allowed him to do so. This influence of the Durrānī monarch continued in Northern India up to his death. All eyes were always turned towards Afghanistan, whenever a new danger appeared on the political sky of Hindustan.

1. Osborne, *op. cit.*, pp. XXXIII—XXXIV.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 136—138; Osborne, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

3. Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, I, 327, (London, 1845); Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

Durrāni influence suffered a setback with the succession of Taymūr Shāh to the Afghan throne. Aḥmad Shāh's son was not a conqueror of thrones, and preferred the easy-going life of the court to the strenuous exercise of military campaigns.

Totally different was his son Zamān Shāh, who would have easily resuscitated the glories of his grandfather in Hindustan but for his cruel tendencies and for the ambitions of his brothers fostered by no less ambitious courtiers and even by the British from India. During his time the Muslims of India looked to Zamān Shāh as the Saviour of Islam in Hindustan and the British as a real menace to the prosperity of their business in India. His relations with Tipū Sultan, with the deposed Nawab of Oudh, Vizier 'Alī, and with the brother of the Nawab Nāẓim of Dacca, and his probable intention of forming an alliance with Napoleon Bonaparte, caused great alarm among the British authorities, both at home and in India. The storming of Seringpatam and the consequent death of Tipū Sultan were partially due to the wish to destroy his influence in Southern India; while the treaties concluded with Fath 'Alī Shāh, King of Persia, were also calculated to put a barrier between Afghanistan and the French. All this led to the downfall of Zamān Shāh.

Equal fate awaited Shāh Shujā', the most capable among the descendants of Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni. The internal troubles of Afghanistan were the ruin of the Durrāni influence in Hindustan. Ranjit Singh, who set up his throne upon the fragments of the Durrāni power in Northern India, enlarged his revenue and even his territory at the expense of the Barakzai Sirdārs when no member of the Sadūzai family occupied the throne of Kabul.

The end of the Durrāni influence in Northern India was finally reached when a power in Northern India commenced influencing Afghan politics. Such was the effect of the First Afghan War when Shāh Shujā' was enthroned at Kabul with the military help rendered by the British.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE GHAZNAVĪDS

By (MISS) IQBAL M. SHAFI

The following pages contain a study of the Anecdotes relating to the Ghaznavids in Al-Mervarrūdhī's Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb Wash-Shujā'ah, which throw a fresh light on these kings. Attention was first drawn to the anecdotes by Rieu in his Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum page, 488-b. The Tārīkh Āl-i-Subuktagin of Bayhaqī which gave the fullest information about the Ghaznavids having reached us only in a fragmentary condition, we have to depend on the meagre accounts of the dynasty preserved by general historians. This being the state of our knowledge of the subject, such side-lights as are thrown by writers like Al-Mervarrūdhī are most welcome, for he must be drawing upon contemporary sources. Linguistically too the anecdotes are of great interest, as the writer flourished in the seventh century of the Hijra and the philological peculiarities of his work have considerable importance for the student of Persian.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ādāb. Ādābu'l Ḥarb wash-Shujā'ah by al-Merv al-rūdhī.
Ā'in. Translated by Jarret.
Ancient Geogr. of India. By Cunningham; ed. S. Majumdar. Calcutta, 1924.
Bābur Nāmah. The Memoirs of Bābur, translated by Mrs. Beveridge.
Badā'ūnī tr. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, translated and edited by George S. A. Ranking, M.A.
Bērūnī. India by al-Bērūnī.
E. I. (or Encycl. of Islām). The Encyclopædia of Islām (Leyden).
Firishta (or T. Firishta). Tārīkh-i-Firishta. Lucknow, 1281.
Farrukhī. Diwān-i-Farrukhī. (Tehrān edition).
Ivanow. Ṭabaqāt of Anṣārī etc. (J. R. A. S. 1923. Jan. and July).
J. R. A. S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Lane. Lexicon.
Maḥmūd. The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd by Dr. Nāẓim.

- Nuzhat-ul Qulûb. E. J. Gibb Mem. Series.
 R. T. Revised translation of the Chahâr Maqâlâ by
 E. G. Browne.
 Râhatuṣ-Ṣudûr. E. J. Gibb Mem. Series.
 Rûnî. Diwân-i-Rûnî (Tehrân edition).
 Steingass. Dictionary.
 T. Firishta. See Firishta.
 Târikh-i-Sistân ed. Bahâr. Tehrân, 1314.
 T. Mub. Târikh-i-Fakhrû'd-Din Mubâarak Shâh, ed.
 E. Denison Ross. London, 1927.
 T. Nâsirî (Ṭab. Nâsirî). Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsirî. Calcutta ed.
 Tatimma Şiwân al-Ḥikma. Lahore, 1351.
 Turkestân by W. Barthold (E. J. Gibb Mem. Series).
 Wust. Tab. Wüstenfeld's Genealogical Tables.
 Yâqût. Mu'jam-ul-Buldân.
 Zain-ul-Akhbâr. By Gardêzi ed. Dr. Nâzim.

THE AUTHOR

(a) HIS LIFE

THE NAME of the author of the *Âdâbu'l-Ḥarb wa'sh-Shujâ'ah* is Sharîf Moḥammad, surnamed Mubâarak Shâh, commonly known as فخر مدبر (Fakhr-i-Mudabbir)¹. He was a descendant of the Caliph Abû Bakr. His full genealogy² on the father's side, as given by himself,³ is as follows:

Abû Bakr al-Şiddîq

'Abdu'r-Rahmân

'Abdullâh

Ṭalḥa

Shu'ayb

Aḥmad

Khalaf

Bû Naşr

Aḥmad

Khalîl

Abu'l-Faraj

Sa'id

Manşûr

Moḥammad.

1. But cf. *T. Mub.* 62^o where he is called Fakhr-i-Mudîr (فخر مدبر).

2. The *Wust. Tab. R.* agrees with the above genealogy from Ṭalḥa to Abu Bakr. This genealogy also agrees with that given in the *T. Mub.* p. 62, except for two variants, viz. Abû'l-Faraj instead of Abu'l-Faraj and al-Jalîl instead of Khalîl.

3. *Âdâb* f. 9a.

On the mother's side he describes himself as a descendant of Amīr Bilkāṭigin, King of Ghaznīn and father-in-law of Mahmūd (*Ādab* f. 99b.). He also mentions Abū Muslim as his ancestor (*idem*, f. 107a, 117b) though he does not give any details as to his relationship with him.

His ancestors, he tells us, were men of great renown, for instance, Sharīf Abu'l-Faraj, his paternal great grand-father, was a distinguished officer of Sultān Rāḍī Ibrāhīm (*Ādab* f. 42a). Similarly, his father was one of the learned men of his time, who was well-versed in more than twenty sciences. He was the teacher of all the Imāms of the "Two Capitals"¹ and of the intervening towns. Beside these, many other Imāms, Qādis, and preachers were his pupils, while he himself was the pupil of such great Imāms of Ghaznīn as the Qāḍī'l-Qudāt 'Izz-ud-Dīn 'Omar, Khwāja Imām Mu'ayyad, Imām 'Alī Shādān etc. etc.²

The author does not tell us which was his native place. But his own account given in the introduction of *T. Mub.* leads one to think that, his native place must have been Ghaznīn. He informs us that from the time of the irruption of the Ghuzz³ down to the capture of Khusraw Malik by the Ghorids and the conquest of Lahore⁴ he could not secure the genealogical table of his ancestors from Ghaznīn.⁵ It was only after the conquest of Lahore that he himself went to Ghaznīn and while seeking for sale-deeds etc. of his ancestral property he accidentally found it. This would show, that the family originally belonged to Ghaznīn but the Ghuzz invasion drove them to India, where they may have first come to Multān (see Anecdote 18) and then settled in Lahore.

Our author was a contemporary of the Ghorid King Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Moḥammad-i-Sām. He was present in Peshāwar during one of the many visits of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn to that city (see Anecdote 9). The author also wanted to present to him his book called *Kitāb Baḥr-i-Ansāb* at Lahore, during his last visit to that city, but owing to the departure of the Sultān again for Ghaznīn and his murder on the way at a place called Damyak, the author could not do so (*T. Mub.* p. 72). He was present in Lahore, when the news of the murder of the Sultān was brought there, and later, when Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn came from Delhi to Lahore on receiving that news in 602 A.H. The author on that occasion dedicated the above-mentioned book to him. The Sultān showed him much favour and appreciated his book. According to the *Haft Iqlīm* our author was a great favourite also of Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Ghorī (*T. Mub.* Introduction iii).

'Awfi, in the *Lubābu'l-Albāb* I. 126,⁶ has noticed "Fakhr-ud-Dawla

1. Apparently Ghaznīn and Lahore

2. Cf. *T. Mub.* p. 68 seq.

3. About 548. A.H.

4. In 583. see *E.I.* I 157b.

5. *T. Mub.* p. 62. I read در حضرت غزنین بمانده بود instead of در حضرت عرش بمانده بود.

6. Cf. *T. Mub.* p. 68 seq.

wa'd-Din Mubarak Shāh b. al-Ḥusain al-Mervar-rūdhi", whom he praises for his hospitality and liberality and whom he describes as a great favourite of the Ghorid Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-Din (d. 599). Sir Denison Ross seems to identify him with our author, because the biographical notice of Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shāh which he has quoted from the *Haft-Iqlīm* in his introduction to the *T. Mub.* is really based on the notice given by 'Awfi. It may be noted here that 'Awfi calls the father of Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shāh by the name of al-Ḥusain, while our author gives the name of his father as Manṣūr. It is possible that 'Awfi's al-Ḥusain is a mistake for Abū'l-Ḥusain or perhaps Abū'l-Ḥasan (the latter form occurs in Ibnu'l-Athir, see *T. Mub.* vi) which may have been the *Kunya* of Manṣūr. Qazwini has a note on the passage, under reference, on p. 327 in which he tells us that Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shāh was a favourite also of the Ghorid 'Alā'-ud-Din, father of Sayf-ud-Din. As 'Alā'-ud-Din died in 551 (see *E.I.* II 162a). Against this it is to be noted that our author, according to his own statement, was a mere youth (*Kodak*) about 565 A.H. (Rieu p. 488). In any case we can tentatively accept the identity of *Lubab's* Mubarak Shāh with our author.

In 'Awfi's notice, referred to above Fakhr-ud-Din is called "the Minister of great dignity and nobility" (*al-Ṣadr al-'ajall al-akram*) and he is included in the chapter on the Ministers and Viziers (*wuzarā wa ṣudūr*) which indicates that he was holding a ministerial office under the Ghorids.

Ibn-ul-Athir in a passage relating to this author says that in 595, he introduced a certain Shāfi'ite lawyer to Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-Din, who induced the Sultān to abandon the *Karrāmī* heresy and become a Shāfi'ite (see *'Aḥab Nāmeḥ* p. 393). This may possibly show that our author was himself a Shāfi'ite.

The author had also seen many places where battles had been fought during the reign of the Ghorid and Ghaznavid Kings and met various notable persons of those times.

The date of the death of Fakhr-ud-Din, like the date of his birth, is not definitely known. He must have died in one of the years between 607 and 633 A.H. for he tells us in the *Ādāb* (f. 9a) that he dedicated that work to Īltutmish. Ibn-ul-Athir gives Shawwāl 602 A.H. as the date of his death (*'Aḥab Nāmeḥ* p. 393), which is wrong in view of the fact stated above.¹

(b) HIS LITERARY ACTIVITY

WE MUST now pass on to a brief consideration of Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shāh's literary activity which so far as we know is represented by:

¹ See also *Tuzkestān* p. 31, note 3

- (1) His Persian poetry, mostly fragmentary in character.
- (2) His prose works, viz.
 - (i) The *Shajara-i-Ansáb*.
 - (ii) The *Ādāb-ul Ḥarb wash-Shujā'ah*.

(1) *His poetry*

According to Ibn-ul-Athir he wrote good poetry in Persian and Arabic (*Ājab Nameh* p. 393). 'Awfi observes that Fakhr-ud-Din's *Qasidas* and *quatrains* were noted for their delicacy and fluency (*laṭāfat wa salāsat*) and that his *quatrains* particularly were world-famous and oft-quoted by the learned (*Lubāb* I 126, 132). The same author has preserved one *qasida*,¹ one *qit'a*,² one fragment of a *ghazal* and two *quatrains* of the poet (*ibid.* pp. 126—133). A few more fragments are given by the author of the *Haft-Iqlim* (see *T. Mub.* Introduction) and one quatrain, addressed to Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn, is given in the *T. Nāṣiri*, p. 81.

Mirzā Moḥammad Qazwīnī (*Lubāb* I 327) invites our attention to a History of the Ghorids in the Mathnawī form, which Fakhr-ud-Dīn composed and some verses from which are quoted in the *Rawḍ-atu'l-Jannāt of Isfizarī* [Panjab University MS. f. 81.]

In my opinion it is this work, which is referred to in the *T. Nāṣiri* p. 28 seq: Jūzjānī tells us that Fakhr-ud-Dīn wrote an account of the genealogy (نسب نامه apparently = نسب نامه)³ of the Ghorid Kings in the name of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Ḥusain Jahānsōz in verse, but when he had written only a part of "the book and the history", he suffered from some mental disorder and left the book incomplete. Later on when he recovered he completed the book and dedicated it to Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Moḥammad-i-Sām. This book Jūzjānī saw in the year 602 A.H. in the Library of the daughter of Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn.

Sir Denison Ross somehow thinks that the book seen by Jūzjānī was the *Shajara-i-Ansáb*. He is of opinion that Raverty's translation of the expression *naẓm* in the *Tab. Nāṣiri*, as "poetry" or "verse" (*Ṭabaqāt Nāṣiri tr. Raverty* I 300 sqq.) is a mistake because it was "almost if not quite inconceivable to write an accurate genealogy in verse", and that the expression '*naẓm*' in the original though used technically for "composing" verse could be applied to the "arrangement" of the genealogical tables also (*Ājab Nameh* p. 393).

1. In praise of Malik Sayf-ud-Dīn Khusraw-i-Jibāl b. Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Ghori

2. Addressed to Amir-i-Ajjall Zahir-ud-Dīn Naṣr Sammūri.

3. That the term *naṣab nāmeḥ* was not used only for a genealogical tree but for a work wherein some biographical notices of the persons concerned might also be given is proved by the *Nasab Nameh-i-Mikāliyah* preserved in the British Museum copy of the *Tārīkh Bayhaq* see my article on the Sons of Mikāl in the *Proceedings of the Idara-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islāmiya*, 1933 M.S.

It seems, however, that the work which Jūzjāni saw was not the *Shajara-i-Ansāb* which indeed is a prose work, but the History of the Ghorids from which six verses were quoted by Isfizāri.

It is not known to us if any of his Arabic verses are preserved. It is said in the *Habib-us-Siyar* ('*Ajab Nāmeḥ* p. 394) that he had composed *al-Madkhal ul-Manẓum fi Bahr-i-Nujūm*, a work on Astronomy. Hājī Khalifa II. 410 calls the work *Madhkal ilā 'Ilm-in-Nujūm* and names the author as Mubārak al-Ghorī. But none of these authors tells us whether it was in Arabic or Persian, nor do we know whether the work is preserved or not.

(2) *His prose works*

(i) *The Shajara-i-Ansāb*—The reason for his writing this book is given by himself (see *T. Mub.* pp. 62—75). He gradually built up the genealogical tables beginning with the Prophet, then proceeding on to the tables of the Ten Companions known as '*Āshara-i-Mubashshara* and the *Muhājirs* and the *Anṣār*. Next he drew up the tables of the Qur'anic Prophets. To these he added the tables of the Kings of 'Arabia, Syria and Yemen, and of the 'Arab poets. These again he supplemented by the tables of the Persian Kings, the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, the Imāms, the 'Arab tribes, the Amirs of the period of the Caliphate, and the dynasties like the Tāhirids, the Ṣaffārids, the Sāmānids, the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids. The nucleus of the *Shajara* was provided by the genealogical tables of his own ancestors. This he brought from Ghaznin to Lahore after the capture of the former city by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Ghori in 583 A.H. For other tables he spent twelve years in collecting his materials from a thousand works, which he had to consult repeatedly. Then another year he spent in deciding how to arrange his tables and in copying them out.

In the autumn of 602 when Mu'izz-ud-Din came to Lahore the author wanted to present the work to the Sultān as stated above, but before he could do so the Sultān set out for his capital and was murdered on the way at Damyak. Later, when Quṭub-ud-Din Aybek came to Lahore the author explained the contents of his work to him and presented a copy of it to his Library as desired by the Sultān.

This book has not been published in full till now. In 1912 Mr. A. G. Ellis purchased a Manuscript of it written in elegant *nesta'liq*. The MS. dates "presumably" from the sixteenth century. Sir Denison Ross has given a description of this work in the '*Ajab Nāmeḥ* p. 392 sqq., also an abridged English translation of the Introduction of this work, and a full translation of its *dibācha*. In 1927 he published the Persian text of the Introduction to the Book of genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Din

1 So says Sir D. Ross in the *T. Mub.* p. vi. In the '*Ajab Nāmeḥ* p. 392 he thought the MS. dated from about the fifteenth century.

Mubarak Shāh under the title of *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shāh-i-Marwūdhi andar ahwāl-i-Hind*.

(ii) *The Ādābu'l Harb wash-Shujā'ah*. This is the name which the author gives to the work in the two Manuscripts, which I have used viz. the British Museum copy (see f. 9b) and the R. A. S., Bengal's copy (also f. 9b).¹ But the India Office copy calls it; *Ādābu'l-Mulūk wa Kifāyatu'l-Mamlūk* (see *Mahmūd* p. 9, *Cat. of Persian Mss. in the India Office* col. 1493).

This work he dedicates to Sultān Īltutmish² (r. 607—633 A.H.) and describing himself as the least of his servants, and the meanest of his well-wishers (*Ādāb* f. 9a). It is chiefly a treatise on the customs and rules of war, but the introductory chapters are devoted to the proper characteristics of a King and his duty to select fit officers of State.³ It comprises thirty-four⁴ chapters which the author enumerates in the beginning of the work. The British Museum copy has the English version of the contents. on the fly-leaf of its Ms., dated 1820 from the pen of Major Yule for which see Rieu p. 488. The B. M. copy is defective at the end. It breaks off before the end of the last chapter.

The author who was well-informed concerning the mediæval life of the Muslim countries deals in this work with the various topics connected with war. The author has introduced numerous anecdotes in his book illustrating the subject of his discussion. Of special interest are the anecdotes relating to the Ghaznavids, to which, as already pointed out, attention was first invited by Rieu. The following pages are devoted to a special study of these anecdotes about the Ghaznavids.

ANECDOTES RELATING TO THE GHAZNAVIDS IN THE ĀDĀBU'L-HARB WASH-SHUJĀ'AH

THERE ARE eighteen anecdotes in this book relating to the Ghaznavids, out of which six are devoted to Sultān Mahmūd, one to Maudūd, two to Raḍi Ibrāhīm, two to Mas'ūd-i-Raḍi Ibrāhīm, four to Bahrām Shāh and two to Khusraw Shāh. Dr. Nāẓim thinks that from their language and style the historical anecdotes in this work relating to Sultān Mahmūd appear to have been taken from Bayhaqi's *Mujalladāt* or some other work of that period (*Mahmūd* p. 9). What is true of the anecdotes about Mahmūd would be equally true of the anecdotes relating to most of the Ghaznavids.

1. The actual words of the author are; *wa Ādāb al-Harb wash-shujā'ah nam kardāh shud*.

2. Styled Abū'l Muẓaffar, Nāṣir Amīru'l Mominīn (*Ādāb* f. 9b).

3. *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the India Office* col. 1493

4. The India Office copy has 40 chapters. The additional six are added between chapters 5 and 12 of the B. M. copy.

It may be pointed out here that on the whole the anecdotes are of great historical value, because they impart to us a good deal of additional information about the reign of the Ghaznavids, while other books dealing with the same period, such as the *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, the *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭah* and the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* of Badā'uni give only meagre accounts of their rule. But notwithstanding its value, the book is not free from anachronisms and historical inaccuracies. In Anecdote No. 8 the author refers to the Caliph al-Qādir Billāh (r. 381—422) as a contemporary of Maudūd (r. 432—440), while Maudūd was really a contemporary of the Caliph al-Qā'im (r. 422—67). Similarly in Anecdote No. 17 Mahmūd's raid in India is dated in the year 422, while Mahmūd died in 421, and the invasion in question took place only in 410. In Anecdote No. 12, the author states that in the year 389 when Lahore passed into the hands of Shāh Jaipāl, al-Qādir Billāh sent to Mahmūd a robe of honour, and a diploma of appointment as the Caliph's Deputy, and gave him 'Irāq, Khwārazm, Khurāsān, Nimrōz, Sind and Hind, which is, however, an anachronism, because the author has mixed up the events of 389 and 417 (see *English tr.* Anecdote No. 12, p. 222, note 2). In Anecdote No. 8 Sandanpal, the grandson of the Shāh of Kābul is described as living in the time of Maudūd, while *Badā'uni* (tr. p. 20) writes that Nawāsah-i-Shāh died in captivity during the life-time of Mahmūd. In Anecdote No. 10 our author refers to Sandpāl *Nabira-i-Shāh Jaipāl* as being captured by Mahmūd but makes no mention of his death, which shows that according to him, he may have survived Mahmūd. *Firishṭah* calls the Nawāsah-i-Shāh, who was contemporary with Mahmūd, as Sukhpāl (see *English tr.* p. 214, note 1). Were there several Nawāsah Shāhs? Similarly in Anecdote No. 7 the author describes the marriage of the daughter of Chaghar Beg Dā'ūd with Mas'ūd, while the *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (tr. Raverty) I 107 states that it was Maudūd (d. 441) who married a daughter of Chaghar Beg (so also in *Badā'uni* tr. I. 49). If Mas'ūd married a daughter of Chaghar Beg (d. 450) she must have been several years older than Mas'ūd for he was born in 453 (see *English tr.* p. 211, note 1).

TRANSLATION OF THE ANECDOTES

Note.—The folios numbers in the following pages refer to the British Museum copy.

(1)

Once Sultān Yāmin-ud-Dawlah Bahram Shāh¹ (May God purify his dust!) bought a maid-servant, who was very beautiful, well-proportioned,² refined, well-bred, and cultured. She had allured the heart of the

1. In *T. Nāṣiri*, p. 23 note 2, he called Mu'izz-ud-Dawla.

2. Lit. having handsome extremities of the body, i.e. the arms or hands and the legs or feet and the head (see Lane, *Lexicon*).

Sultān completely, who, on account of his extreme love and passion for her, became captivated, and enslaved to her. Once that maid fell ill. The Sultān was greatly upset on account of her illness. Several nights he could not sleep for that reason. All physicians were helpless, and could not cure her. At that time a physician came from the 'Irāq side, who was a Christian by faith and was called Abū Sa'id of Mošil. He was an expert in the medical science, had acquired great experience, and had thereby perfected his knowledge. They explained to him the condition of the patient, but they did not tell him whether she was a woman or a man.

[He said:] "Bring me the urine¹ so that I may see it, diagnose the disease, and then suggest a line of treatment".

Next day they took the urine to him. When he saw it, he said to them:

"It is the urine of a Hindū woman, for they mostly suffer from this disease, which has mutually conflicting characteristics, and is difficult to cure. Show the patient to me, so that after feeling her pulse, seeing her face, tongue and the eyelids, I may diagnose the disease better and prescribe for her."

This was reported to the Sultān who was surprised to hear of his perfect skill and expert knowledge, but remarked:

"How could one show the secluded women of the Seraglio to a stranger?"

Several nobles were present there. They said:

"Since the beginning of the world the sick and the suffering have been visited by the physicians, who have been allowed to enter the harems of the kings, caliphs, nobles and Kādīs. No one has ever objected to this. An accident may happen to a woman which may cause a wound in the privy parts. Exposure in such cases for treatment by surgeons and cuppers, in the interest of the health (of the ladies) has been held permissible."

Such things were said by every one present. on hearing which the Sultān relaxed his rigidity a little, and said:

"If it is inevitable to show her to the physician, cover her completely and do not expose her face and hands fully, so that the physician may see (only what he must see)."

The physician was called in. Mihtar Jawhar was the Atābek² of the Sultān. He was very respectable, rich and cultured. The Sultān ordered him, to go and attend on her, and hear what the physician said and prescribed.

When the physician felt the pulse, saw the face and tongue and the eyelids of this maid, he became dumfounded and though he tried to prescribe something for her disease, he could not, and was unable to utter

1. For this meaning of *dalīl* see Browne, *Revised Trans. of the Chahār Maqāla*, p. 142.

2. Lit. Father Prince, see E.I. I. 504.

a single word. He gave his heart to her, was confounded like a mad man, went out and said:

"I am going home and would consult my books, because the case is a difficult one."

Those who were present there knew what had happened. When the physician left her, this maid grew worse and became bed-ridden. Mihtar Jawhar reported the whole affair to the Sultân and remarked that it appeared something untoward had happened to the physician, for he could not prescribe for her. The Sultân sent the Mihtar to the house of the physician to inquire about his health. The physician began to cry and said:

"This patient of yours has killed me, and ruined my career." Having explained his condition to the Mihtar, he told him that if the Sultân would give or sell that sick maid to him he would become a Muslim, and give up Christianity. Otherwise he would not be able to live any longer.¹

Mihtar Jawhar went back and reported to the Sultân, the condition of the physician's ill-health. The Sultân asked what the ailment of the physician was. The Mihtar enquired if his life was safe. Having been assured (by the Sultân) that it was, he proceeded to say, that the maid had affected the physician in the same way, as she had affected "the Lord of the World" (the Sultân). On account of jealousy and fury, the hair of the forehead of the Sultân stood on end, so much so that his cap fell down. It was the characteristic of the Yamîni Kings (May God purify their dust!) that when they were in anger, the hair on their forehead stood on end. When Mihtar Jawhar saw this he was afraid lest the King should punish the physician. So he hinted in a more tactful manner:

"This physician is a Christian and wants to be converted to Islam. He has come from a distant city."

The Sultân inquired if he had a motive behind the proposed conversion. Mihtar Jawhar replied, that he had. The Sultân wanted to know what that motive was. Mihtar Jawhar replied, that the physician stated that if the "Lord of the World" would sell or bestow the maid on him, he would be converted to Islâm.

When the Sultân heard the remark about the physician's proposed conversion his anger subsided.

"Will he really become a Muslim?" asked the Sultân.

"Yes," replied the Mihtar.

"Go then," said the Sultân, "And enquire from him, as if from yourself, whether he really wants to become a Muslim, so that I may bestow the maid on him".

Mihtar Jawhar went and made the necessary enquiry.

"I am ready to become a Muslim," said the physician, "And if

1 Lit. If he had a thousand lives he would not escape with one.

necessary I shall enter into a contract for slavery".

When Mihtar Jawhar returned and informed the Sultān of the matter, he said:

"Go and bring in the physician so that he may embrace Islām for I have manumitted the maid. He can marry her and take her home."

Immediately the physician came in, made obeisance, snapped his *Zunnār* (religious belt) and embraced Islām at the hands of the Sultān.

The maid was given to him in marriage, and a large quantity of dowry was sent to her. Every lady of the *ḥarem* presented her with a quantity of wearing apparel, so that from every palace four hundred pieces came to her. The couple became exceedingly rich. She recovered her health in a few days. This maid gave birth to two daughters and two sons. Her sons were the contemporaries of this well-wisher, the author of this book.

(2)

Similarly, on one occasion the auspicious Sultān Bahrām Shāh (May God have mercy on him!) held an entertainment in the palace of the *Pirūzi* Gardens. He furnished the banquet pavilion in such a manner that the eye of time would not see the like of it again. At sunset the Sultān ordered that the banquet pavilion be set up outside the palace. The butlers and *farrāshes* began to take it out. As the palace became relatively more empty, a *farrāsh* trampled on a golden and bejewelled narcissus-vase weighing a thousand *Mithqāl*¹, doubled it, picked it up and tucked it away in the leg of his breeches. The Sultān saw it all, but pretended not to see it. When the pavilion was taken out they searched for the narcissus-vase but could not find it. The Head Steward of the Royal Workshops called in every person and made an enquiry, but no one made a confession. So he began to chastise the servants with scourges. When the Sultān heard this beating he sent for the Head Steward and said:

"Don't penalise innocent Muslims, for he who had carried it away will not give it back and he who has seen him carry it away will not betray him."

The Head Steward stopped his enquiry. Then the Sultān called in the Superintendent of the Workshop told him that he had presented the narcissus-vase to someone, and ordered him to write it off in the Inventory of the Keeper of the Household furniture. A long time after this, the *farrāsh*, who had carried away that narcissus-vase, and invested its proceeds in acquiring estates, and furniture and purchasing slaves, maids, vineyards, gardens and mills, was offering water to the Sultān to wash his hands. At the time he was dressed in patched garments. The Sultān raised his head and said:

1. *Mithqāl*, for this see E.I. III 528. *Badd'āni Tr.* I, 25, note 1.

"You wretch! have you anything left out of the proceeds of that narcissus-vase?"

"By the dust of the feet of Your Majesty," replied the *farrāsh*, "nothing is left out of it. It is all gone."

The Sultān gave him more money and said, "Spend it off. When it is all spent I will order them to give you more, but don't mention these things to anyone, lest they take you to task (for your misdeed)."

(3)

It is so related that in the year 503 the *Sultān-i-Karīm*¹ 'Alā'-ud-Dawla Mas'ūd son of Raḍi Ibrāhīm (May God purify their dust!) marched towards Bust. An exquisite, precious and unique pearl fell down from the beak of the falcon surmounting the Sultān's umbrella. The attendants were upset and began to search for it. The *Sultān-i-Karīm* said:

"Pass on and leave it! May be that some poor person would come this way and his posterity and descendants would live lives of ease and comfort on account of this pearl. The prayer of this poor fellow would live in the memories of the people and they would speak of the incident when we are no more."

(4)

During the reign of *Sultān-i-Raḍi*² Ibrāhīm the city of Ghaznin was visited with a famine and the prices of things rose high. Most of the citizens of Ghaznin locked their houses and dispersed in all directions. The *Sultān-i-Raḍi* used to go on the roof of his palace every Thursday³ night, say his prayers there throughout the night, and study the condition of the city. On this particular Thursday night he went upon the roof of the palace but did not hear the usual sounds—of the recital of the *Qur'ān*-readers, of the revision of their lessons by the children, of the singing of the Sūfis, and of the notes of the flutes. Nor did he see the usual lamps and lights. He was very much upset at this, came down and made enquiries from the servants as to the condition of the city. They said:

"It is a week since the people can find no flour, bread, or anything else to eat whether cooked or raw. There is famine and dearth. There are not more than five or six families left per street. Most of them have gone to different directions from the city and have locked their houses."

The Sultān was much grieved to hear this and passed a sleepless night. Next day he summoned all his nobles and grandies, scolded them and said:

1. Cf. *T. Nāṣiri* 21¹.

2. In *T. Nāṣiri* 19 he is called Raḍi-ud-Din.

3. Lit. Friday night. but according to Muslim way of counting, the night of Friday precedes, not follows it.

"Why did you not inform us of the distress in the city so that we might have taken measures to relieve it. Our great worry is that Malik Shāh, will slander us and say that Ibrāhīm had not grain enough to help his subjects with, and save them from the trouble of migrating elsewhere. Now think of some device and take measures to relieve the distress, for it is a great shame that the citizens of Ghaznīn should be driven away from it by hunger."

All the nobles, grandies, amirs and military commanders unanimously, and with one voice said, that the matter could be tackled successfully only by Abu'l-Faraj the Treasurer, and no one else. He alone could deal with this matter satisfactorily. This *Sharif* Abu'l-Faraj was the paternal great-grandfather of the scribe and the author of this book. He was entrusted with twenty-one offices, all of great importance, by the *Sultān-i-Rāḍī* Ibrāhīm. From the gates of Ghaznīn to Tīkinābād¹, Bust,¹ Mustang,² Quzdār,³ Tiz,³ Makrān, Qarmāshir,³ Nermāshir² to the confines of Aden (the sea?), Siwastān,⁴ Bhroach,⁵ Kambāyat⁶ and the whole littoral of the (Indian) Ocean were under his control. On the other side, the whole territory comprising of Arūr⁶, Bhakkar,⁷ Siwāri (Sibi?), Bhāṭiyya, Davā (?) Gujerbila (?) Uch⁸, Multān, Karōr⁸ and Bannū, up to the gates of Ghaznīn was under his charge. He also held the office of Overseer of the Seraglio and the Princes, and of Superintendent of the Royal Stores and of the kitchen for the poor⁹ (?) and was entrusted with the trusteeship of the Yamīnī, charitable endowments, with the Mint and with the Manufactory for royal robes. He enjoyed the full confidence of the Sultān because he was his foster-brother, and his school-fellow—they had learnt the *Qur'ān*, literature and calligraphy together. Moreover they were together in the fort of Nāy also, and had grown up to manhood after being brought up in the same place. The Treasury and the Wardrobe were also under him. He used to remove every anxiety from the mind of the Sultān and solve every difficulty of his. One year he would go to Tīkinābād and Bust and continue his tour via Mustang, Quzdār, Siwastān, Uch and Multān and from there return to Ghaznīn. Next year he would (take the reverse course) go to Multān and Uch, continue his tour via Bust and Tīkinābād and return to Ghaznīn.¹⁰ The Sultān asked:

"From which side will he return this year? I want to send swift

1. For them see *Nūzhat-al-Qulūb*, p. 143 and 142.

2. For these see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* pages 347, 331, 329 (also see *Bērūnī* I 208) 313.

3. Apparently—Garmsir, for which see *Ā'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 394.

4. Siwastān i.e., Sehwan see *Ā'in*, p. 337 note 4.

5. For them see *Bērūnī* I 205, 209, 208.

6. Arūr in *Bērūnī* I 205. Alor in *Ā'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 337.

7. For this see *Ā'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 327.

8. For them see Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 277.

9. Lit. feast for help. The reference seems to be to some sort of soup-kitchen.

10. According to *Iqbal* p. 250 Tīkinābād was five days' journey from Bust, and Ghaznīn was eleven days' journey from Tīkinābād.

dromedaries and express riders to meet him, so that he may come expeditiously and remove this anxiety from my mind."

They informed him that he was coming by the Multān route that year. So he immediately despatched swift dromedaries and express riders to him and invited him to come poste-haste. Going at a terrific speed, the dromedaries met him at Bannū and the firmān bearing the royal sign-manual, asking him to come post-haste, was handed over to him there.

All his baggage and followers he left behind. He told off fifty Turkish slaves to bring up the baggage to the city expeditiously and himself set out, unencumbered, with twenty Turkish slaves and a few dromedaries. On account of the favour of the Sultān he had seventy Turkish servants with golden belts, all getting their allowance¹ and salary from the Sultān. In the city of Ghaznīn there is a street known as the "Street of the golden-belted ones", which is so called after them and is well-known. From Bannū he came to the Sultān in three days. When he went to him and had the honour of paying obeisance and kissing his hand, the Sultān rose up from his throne, came down, embraced him twice and said:

"You have helped us through every calamity and crisis and have removed our anxiety on every occasion. On account of famine and dearth things in Ghaznīn have come to such a pass that its citizens have locked up their houses and gone to different directions. We are worrying ourselves very much for fear of the slanders of Malik Shāh. Think of some device to set matters right and remove this anxiety from our mind. For all nobles and grandies agree that you alone can set the matters right."

He at once bowed and said:

"The King of Islām should order that proclaimers on horse and camel-back proclaim it to-night in the whole city, its bāzars, and quarters that tomorrow all provenders and bakers should come to such and such a street where the (Royal) granary² is, so that every person may get grain according to his need."

Under the orders of the Sultān, two hundred horses and camels were given to the proclaimers who made the proclamation in the whole city the same night. It is said at that time there were six thousand bakers and six thousand provenders in the city of Ghaznīn. Next day the Sultān ordered the weighers³ to come and every baker and provender was daily provided with ten ass-loads⁴ of grain. As a result of this,

1. *Ijra* (modern *śīra*) means allowances, especially in kind *Jāmagi* (equivalent to the modern *Mawājib* or *Mustamirri*) means wages in cash. See Browne, *Revised Translation of Chahār Maqāla*, p. 46 note 1.

2. Lit. store-house for grain sacks. *Kundū* is a vessel made of clay in which grain is kept.

3. Lit. those who handle the steelyard. *Kabān* (properly *Qubbān*)—a steelyard (Lane).

4. خروار, an ass-load; the measure of a hundred Tabriz maund. (*Steingass*).

their shops began to do their work normally and bread became abundant in the city. In the morning its price was 70 *dirams* a maund, at the time of the evening prayer it came down to fifty *dirams*, next day to thirty and on the following, to seventeen. When the Sultān came to know of this he prostrated himself before God, praised and thanked Him, that he had an individual in his service who could remove that serious anxiety from his mind, and save him from that grave crisis.

At once under his orders dromedaries and swift riders were despatched in every direction and they traversed three or four stages and brought back the emigrants.

When the next Thursday night the Sultān again went up on the roof of the palace and studied the condition of the city he found everything normal, and was greatly pleased. The following day he sent for the *Sharif* Bu'l-Faraj, offered his apologies, and showed much kindness to him saying:

"You have done a deed which will live in the memories of the people for all time. We shall in our turn show you such favour which shall similarly be remembered for evermore. For every office which you hold, we shall award you a robe of honour. For twenty-one offices of yours, we shall give you robes twenty-one times."

The *Sharif* Bu'l-Faraj bowed and said:

"The Lord of the World has already shown much kindness and showered many favours on me. Now I have grown old and have not the strength to receive all these favours. If the Lord of the World so desires, let him grant me a robe for every three offices which I hold." This was agreed to. On the next day the Sultān gave him robes of honour seven times along with a palanquin, a bed, a drum, a banner, an elephant, a shield, a battle-axe and a standard. Every time that he wore the robe of honour, he would come back to his house and sit down. Then the Chamberlain would come and say:

"The Lord of the World calls you!"

He would go again and receive the robe in the manner he got it the first time. Till the afternoon prayers he got robes seven times, received much kindness and many favours. From the time of Adam (may God's peace be on him!) till this day no king has given, nor would give, to any of his servants, two robes of honour in one day but as the servants were so exceptionally sincere, capable and experienced, the generous, ingenious, and discriminating Kings also showed exceptional favour to them. May God (exalted be He!) forgive those Kings! and direct the Kings of our time to do good to others, show them patronage and regard and treat them with kindness, by His Favour and Grace!

(5)

It is so related that in the year 504 the capital town of Ghaznin experienced great distress, and on account of a visitation of locusts, famine

prices obtained there. The people became thoroughly miserable because of the famine, and on this account submitted their complaint to the *Sultān-i-Karīm* 'Alā'-ud-Dawlah Mas'ūd son of Ibrāhīm (may God purify their dust!) informing him of their wretched state. The *Sultān-i-Karīm* wrote on the back of the complaint the following remark:

"Every poison has its antidote, every disease its remedy. We have ordered that the stores of grain be brought out and sold at seven-tenths of the current prices, so that our subjects may live in ease and the kingdom may remain inhabited."

At once the stores of grain were brought out, and sold at the price fixed by the Sultān. Abundance prevailed and in a few days' time things became normal, the famine disappeared and tranquillity was restored. The King was gratified on account of the prosperity of his subjects and his good name was indelibly inscribed on the page of time. May God (exalted be He!) forgive all just and benevolent kings and dispose them to doing good, by His Favour and Munificence!

(6)

A *wazīr* should surpass his contemporaries in wisdom, knowledge and intelligence. He should be so brave as not to be afraid of any enemy and any battle. If the King thinks it expedient to send him against an enemy he should not show cowardice but put a good face the matter. In bravery he should be like the Khwāja Aḥmad¹ b. Hasan Maymandi, who urged on the deceased Amir Yamin-ud-Dawla Maḥmūd b. Subuktagin (may God illumine their graves!) and took him to fight against the Khānids². When the Sultān Yamin-ud-Dawlah reached there he found the army of the enemy superior in numbers to his own, comprising entirely of Turks, while his own army consisted chiefly of Tājiks, Hindūs and irregulars.³ The Sultān was frightened and sent the following message to the Khwāja Aḥmad b. Hasan:

"Everybody told me that you were my enemy and would put me some day in some grave difficulty. I did not believe what I was told, but to-day I have realised the truth of those assertions and seen with my own eyes that you have urged me on and brought me to this place. You have done whatever you felt as incumbent on you, now let us see what

1. See p. 200, note 1

2. For him see Browne, *Rev. Trans. of the Chahār Maqāla*, page 14, note 8.

3. For them see Browne, *Revised Translation of the Chahār Maqāla*, p. 126; Lane-Poole: *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, p. 134—Maḥmūd defeated them in A. H. 398/A. C. 1007.

4. [Abū Sa'id son of Ḥusain was the leader of the irregulars called 'Ayyārān in Sistān, see *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, p. 350 See also the Editor's note on p. 161 note 3. Hence it appears that *Bā Sa'id* = 'Ayyār or irregular army. Compare the following verse of Sa'id:

هر روز ار برای سگ نفس بو سعید بک کاسه شوربا و دوتا دانت آرزوست

See *Gulshan-i-Ma'āni*, (Lahore, 1932) p. 183 The word is not traceable in the dictionaries (MS.).

God, to Whom belong might and majesty, has decreed."

He hurled threats and menaces at the *wazīr*. The Khwāja Aḥmad b. Ḥasan sent back word as follows:

"Say to my Lord the Sultān: To-day the battle is not between your majesty and myself, for you have more important work on hand" (say also):

"If you come out victorious you would know that I have been your well-wisher and friend and have desired an increase in your glory, kingdom, territory, army and treasure. If God forbid, the contrary happens, neither you would see me any more, nor I you."

When they brought back the message the Amīr Abu'l-Qāsim son of 'Abdu'l-Malik who had come from Sistān to the Royal Court, was standing before the Sultān. He saw the vexation and the anxiety of the Sultān and said:

"O Lord! In Sistān a jackal entered the house of an old woman who had a goat and wanted to carry it away and kill it. The neighbours told her that a jackal had come and wanted to carry away her goat. She had a look at the jackal and said that her goat was as big as the jackal and had two horns in addition. Despite that if the goat was killed: it had better be killed."

"O Lord!" he proceeded on to say, "Our army is equal to the army of the enemy and we have got one thousand and four hundred elephants in addition. Despite this if they defeat us we had better be defeated and slain."

When they were talking like this, Aḥmad the Keeper of a *postini* (?) elephant, which they had brought from Sistān and which had formerly belonged to the Amīr Khalaf¹ b. Aḥmad, came forward and said:

"O Lord! Since last night I have tied this elephant for more than a hundred times. Every time it has loosened itself and broken the chain. This is an indication of victory and success. This slave of Your Majesty will go on this elephant, snatch away their standard, lower it down, and bring it before the Lord."

The Sultān was greatly pleased and gave orders so that the army ranged itself in battle-array. When they were so ranged the Sultān came out of the army, dismounted his horse, prayed two *rak'ats* on the ground, bowed his head in prostration and rubbed his face on the dust and recited:

"Say,² O God! the possessor of the kingdom (etc.)."

Raising his head, from his prayer, he took his place in the centre of his army and called Aḥmad son of 'Alī of Būshang³ the master of the

1. For Khalaf b. Aḥmad—King of Sistān, see *Tārīkh-i-Sistān*, p. 341. He ascended the throne in A.H. 352. Maḥmūd took Sistān from him in A.H. 393 and imprisoned him. Khalaf died in captivity in A.H. 399—*ibid* p. 327, 353.

2. *Qur'ān* 3:25.

3. For Būshang see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 431.

horse. Then alighting from his own horse, he seated Aḥmad on it, and drawing out his own saddle-sword, handed it to him and said:

"Deliver an attack on the enemy, with all the palace slaves!"

f.55a The keeper of the elephant led the attack and pushed on till he snatched away their standard, broke it and lowered it. The army of the Khānids was defeated and scattered away. Then happened what happened. That victory deserves a separate volume. The keepers of the elephants and the palace slaves all returned victorious and successful. It is related that from that white elephant and its armour they drew our darts weighing a hundred maunds.

(7)

f.60a During the reign of *Sultān-i-Raḍī*¹ Ibrāhīm (God taught him his proof!)² Sultān Malik Shāh, the Saljūq, gathered together a large host from Khwārazm, Khurāsān and 'Irāq with a view to march against Ghaznīn. The *Sultān-i-Raḍī* sent, as an ambassador to Malik Shāh, Mihtar Rashid. It is he who founded the school in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Sultān Yamīn-ud-Dawla Maḥmūd Ghāzī (may God's mercy be upon him!) and has left behind many other charitable endowments and institutions for public good in Khurāsān. This Mihtar Rashid was a very respectable, dignified, generous and liberal person. The Sultān sent with him several camel-loads of valuable cloth of every description and some additional camel-loads of all sorts of presents to serve as a reserve supply so that in case of need he should not feel helpless, for the distance was very great. The Mihtar further took with him quantities of such things from his private purse. When he reached that Court and interviewed the King, he conveyed to him the enquiries of the Sultān about his health, and greetings and presents. He also submitted to him all those presents which he had provided from himself. Sultān Malik Shāh showed surprise at the abundance of the presents, and as the Sultān had been previously informed of the Mihtar's magnificence, high status and generosity, quarters suited to his position and adequate hospitality and rations were provided for him. The next day the Mihtar Rashid went to have a hot bath. Malik Shāh desired to present him with bath-money under some pretext and to make a display of his own liberality. So he sent to the bath, by a courtier of his, one thousand *dinars* of Nishāpūr, a golden basin and ewer, a robe of honour worthy of him, and a horse, with a girth and other harnessing accessories of gold.

f.61a The courtier went to the Bath and waited till the Mihtar Rashid came out, when he greeted him and conveyed to him the enquiries of the Sultān after his health and said:

"The King of the World has sent at present the bath-money,

1. See p. 200, note 2.

2. For this see Lane

and offered excuses for its being so insignificant—lest you may find fault with it.”

The Mihtar Rashid made obeisance and presented to the Keeper of the Bath the presents which the Sultān had sent such as money, horse, cloth, basin and ewer along with a quantity of additional money from himself and offered excuses to him.

When the courtier who had brought the robe of honour and the horse saw all that, he was astonished and amazed at his generosity and said politely:

“Kings give presents and show munificence to ambassadors on some pretext. Why have you given away all these things as if they were adequate only for the Keeper of the hot bath?”

The Mihtar Rashid replied that it was not proper for him to scrape away bits from (i.e. retain a portion of) the bath-money.

The courtier returned and related the whole story to the Sultān who was astonished at his generosity and liberality and said:

“We should devise some suitable plan otherwise it would be impossible to adequately deal with such a man as he is.”

The Mihtar Rashid had presented a few thousand pieces of precious¹ cloth to all nobles, grandies, *Hājibs*² (military commanders) and the courtiers so that all the people of that kingdom were amazed at his munificence and liberality. He had won over and made the whole army and its officers obedient to himself and turned their heads by his munificence and generosity.

One day Sultān Malik Shāh went for a ride and sent for Mihtar Rashid, so that he too may accompany him. The Mihtar Rashid came, they rode their horses, and went for a ride. An innumerable army had come from all sides and were quartered in a large camp. The Sultān enquired from the Mihtar Rashid whether their (the Ghaznavids') camping ground was larger and more extensive or his? The Mihtar Rashid said:

“In our country there is a city called Lamghān³ and most of its inhabitations are barbers. Every year they come to the city of Ghaznin to ply their trade and pitch their tents in the (dry) bed of the river (of Ghaznin). Every tent has a banner at the entrance, so that its owner may distinguish his own tent from others. Their tents are more numerous than those in this camping-ground!”

On hearing this reply Malik Shāh regretted the folly of his remark.

On whatever subject Malik Shāh questioned him, he gave crushing replies, till the Sultān began to try to catch him in his words, and embarrass him thereby. One day he held a grand feast and invited the

1. Lit. heavy

2. The *Hājib* was a military rank of the commanders of the Turkish slaves under the Samānids, and Ghaznavids cf. *Turkestan*, p. 227

3. See Browne, *Revised Translation of the Chahār Maqāla*, p. 20 note 1

Mihtar Rashid, and placed in the Banquet-Hall every variety of dessert, sweet-smelling herbs and dry and fresh fruit. He put questions about every kind of fresh fruit to the Mihtar Rashid and asked if the like of that was found in Ghaznin, and the Mihtar gave suitable replies to his questions, till they brought in a tray of pears¹—a large sized variety, than which larger could not be found in the whole of that country. They enquired from Mihtar Rashid whether pears as big as those were found in Ghaznin.

f.62a "In the kingdom of Ghaznin" he replied "there are four districts, called Anwa' (?) Khumâr², Lamghân and Shâh Bahâr³. These districts are granted as estates and fiefs to the Turks and their children. Pears grow in these districts each weighing a maund⁴ or a maund and five seers, or a maund and ten seers. These pears are called *pil amrûd* (elephant pears). There is a beast of burden which can carry one thousand such pears and which does what you order him to do, like human beings."

"The Khawâja has spoken of such things," remarked Sultân Malik Shâh, "the like of which are certainly not found in the whole world".

These words were welcomed by the Mihtar Rashid who began to praise his own country and preferred it to other countries and added:

"In our country there are things the like of which are not found in any other country."

"What are those things," enquired Malik Shâh, "You should tell us, so that we may know".

He said: "In our kingdom there is a bird which eats fire. The fire does not burn or hurt it."

"This is one," said Malik Shâh. "What else?"

"There is a bird," he continued, "which speaks like human beings".

"That is two," said Malik Shâh, "What else?"

"There is a bird," he added further, "which mews like a cat, and makes a display of itself like a bride. Then there is a white monkey with a black face, and a black one with a white face."

At this Malik Shâh said: "The Khwâja has made such (false) statements that more of lying could not fall to his share".

This remark made the Mihtar Rashid boil with rage. He said:

"Belonging to the kingdom and throne, of kings, the like of whom are not and cannot be found anywhere in the world, and having been reared and brought up by such kings, how could a man like myself, in addressing a King like Your Majesty speak of things which are not found in reality? If I can demonstrate to Your Majesty in a clear and explicit

1 For this meaning of *Amrûd* see *J R A S* 1927

2 B: عرس Not traceable.

3. See *Tatimmat Shâhn al-Hikmah* p 184.

4. According to *Yâqût* III 226 Shâbuhâr is a village in the district of Balkh

5. *Man* possibly Tabrizi man is meant, weighing somewhat less than 2 lbs. see *Badd'ûni Tr.* I 72. note 4

manner the argument and proof of what I have said, and the truth of it be established, in that case will Your Majesty do as I bid and undertake granting to me what I desire?" f.62b

"If you can undertake to prove all that you have told us," replied Malik Shāh "we shall indeed willingly do as you desire". And he made all the nobles and grandies present there as witnesses to what he had said.

The Mihtar Rashid reported to the (Ghaznavid) Sultān all that had happened, and requested him to despatch hastily one hundred ass-loads of *pīl amrūd*, one female elephant, two ostriches, a pair of peacocks, male and female, and a pair each of parrots, of *shārak*¹ which could not only talk but recite the *Qur'ān*, and of black and white monkeys. Moreover he asked to be advised of their impending arrival two or three days before the actual arrival of the animals etc. so that he might make suitable arrangement for them. When the letter was read to the Sultān Raḍī (may God's mercy be upon him!) he at once gave orders and they loaded and despatched to him one hundred ass-loads of the choicest pears along with a female elephant, a pair each of ostriches, peacocks, parrots, talking birds, which could both talk and recite the *Qur'ān*, and of black and white monkeys. A reply to his letter was also sent with a quantity of gold, presents, and precious cloths, and he was asked to intimate at once by a special messenger, if he needed anything further, so that it might be supplied.

When the reply came and the things were about to reach, the Mihtar Rashid ordered that the door of the house in which he was living be enlarged, so that the loaded elephant might enter it. A big banquet was also arranged on the very day when these things were to reach, and Malik Shāh and all the nobles and grandies of the kingdom were invited to it. The Amīrs and commanders of the army were also invited. At the Mihtar's orders some fruit-bearing fuel was burnt, and fire prepared, and placed on two trays. He also kept concealed a balance and weights near at hand, and sent his own men before-hand with orders to select one thousand best and choicest pears, to load them in ten baskets on the elephant, and to bring the loaded beast in. f.63a

When Malik Shāh and nobles sat on the table, they were surprised to see all those things for they had not seen such a villa, vineyard, grapes, trees of every kind, horses, camels, cows, the sheep of Sogdiana and different kinds of spoon-meat, fried meat, *halwā*, and sweet dishes of many sorts, fattened fowls, game and other things. When they rose up from the table and washed their hands, they moved to the place suitably furnished for drinks under pavilions, supplied with gold, silver, glass², and goldplated vessels befitting princes and kings, varieties of desserts, sweet-smelling herbs, perfumes and heaps of dry and fresh fruit. There

1. A species of talking bird.

2. Lit. transparent (or translucent) vessels. Perhaps China is also included in the term.

they sat to drink wine. The cup had gone round hardly more than twice or thrice, when they brought into the pavilion the elephant duly decorated, and loaded with pears.

f.63b Malik Shāh had never seen an elephant before, and when he saw the movements of its ears, its tusks and its huge body, he was frightened, and rose up from his place to run away from the pavilion to a neighbouring canopy. The Mihtar Rashid said:

"The Sultān need not be afraid of the beast." "It is this beast" he added, "which does what you order him to do, and on it are the pears which I had described".

As soon as the elephant was brought in, it placed its head on the ground, and paid obeisance, and they brought down the baskets one by one from its back. Each time it placed its head on the ground.

Malik Shāh was astonished to see the elephant. When they had taken down all the baskets from its back, and emptied their contents, they brought the balance and weighed them till each heap of a thousand pears was weighed and was found to weigh one thousand, two hundred and odd maunds.

Then he ordered them to take the elephant out. Next the ostriches were brought in, and those two trays of fire were placed before them. They began to eat fire, till both trays were empty. They were then taken out and the peacock was brought in, and the peahen was concealed. The peacock began to scream. When it had screamed for a little while, the peahen was shown to it and it began to make ostentatious display of itself (by expending its tail).

Then he ordered them to bring in the parrots and the *shāraks*. When their cages were laid down, they saluted at first, and then began to recite "*al-Hamd*"¹ and "*Qul Huwallah*", and finally began to talk. Next they brought in the monkeys. When Malik Shāh saw their colour, faces and bodies, he was amazed. Then the Mihtar Rashid rose up and said:

f.64a "This humble servant has acquitted himself of his obligation and demonstrated the proof of his statement." All present there shouted out: "You have given a proof which would be remembered for ever".

"Now," said the Mihtar, "Your Majesty should also quit yourself of whatever obligation I impose".

Malik Shāh said, "As this was the condition we agreed to, we should certainly fulfil the obligation".

The Mihtar Rashid said, "The first thing is, that Your Majesty must give up the idea of waging war against Ghaznīn, for your army has not the courage and power to face the army of Ghaznīn. If your army is of one sort, ours is of ten sorts."

"We have given up the idea," replied Malik Shāh.

"You should," proceeded the Mihtar Rashid, "give your daughter in marriage to the son of our Sovereign, the Amir 'Alā'-ud-Dawlah

1. "*Al-Hamd*" is the first Surah of the *Qur'ān* and "*Qul Huwallah*" the last but two.

Mas'ūd, so that both houses may be united and the enmity removed".

Malik Shāh said in reply, "We have no daughter,¹ but we have an aunt in 'Irāq, daughter of Chaghar Beg Da'ūd², whom we betroth (to Mas'ūd). You should send some one to fetch her, so that she may be brought and taken to that court."

A letter was immediately written under his orders to 'Irāq to the effect that he had given his aunt in marriage to the Amir 'Alā'-ud-Dawlah Mas'ūd and that the necessary arrangements for her be made at once, and she be sent with those men who were coming to fetch her. That lady eventually became the mother of Sultān Malik Arsalān³.

The Mihtar Rashid had been instructed from the court of Ghaznin to write letters as from the Sultān, to every Amir, commander, grandee, and noble of Malik Shāh. The contents in each case were as follows:—

"We have understood what you have written. Your letters clearly show your friendship and regard, and we are ordering herewith the presentation of a gift to you, which you should take from such and such a merchant."

Under the orders of the Sultān he (the Mihtar Rashid) had already handed over a hundred thousand golden *dirārs* of Nishāpūr to some merchants visiting Ghaznin for trade, with instructions to give the money to those Amirs and commanders of the Saljuq kingdom, who would bring to them letters with a certain mark. f.64b

The Mihtar Rashid acted accordingly and ordered that letters be written out to each of the commanders and a suitable weight enclosed in each, according to the position and rank of the addressee. When those letters were written out, he ordered a messenger to go to the camping-ground of Malik Shāh and throw the bag (of letters) near the Royal Pavilion and run away, so that a party of them might see him.

The messenger went and did as directed. They took to Malik Shāh the bag duly superscribed, with its mouth tightly sewn. When it was opened, he found that it contained replies to the letters of the Amirs and commanders of his own army. He was sorely troubled and was overtaken with fear. Nizām-ul-Mulk who was his *wazir* at the time, said:

"Such diplomatic tricks, are often played by ingenious kings and able ministers, so that the (rival) king may lose confidence in his Amirs and commanders. The matter can be put to the test. The weights enclosed in the letters should be taken to the merchants and the money demanded from them. If they take the weights and give the money it is a serious

1 But cf. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsrī* (tr Raverty) I 107 which says that he had a daughter who was married to Mas'ūd. If Mas'ūd married a daughter of Chaghar Beg (d about 450 see *Rāhatas-Sulūk*, p. 116 note 4), she must have been older than Mas'ūd for he was born in A.H. 453, see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsrī* (tr Raverty) I 107. According to the last authority it was Maudūd (d. 441) who married a daughter of Chaghar Beg, so also in *Badā' unī* tr. I 49.

2. For him see Lane Poole, *Muhammādan Dynasties*, p. 151.

3. For him see Lane Poole. *Muhammādan Dynasties*, p. 290.

affair. If they refuse to pay, then it would be clear that it was a kind of deceit and a subtle trick."

All the weights were taken to the merchants, who accepted them and paid the money.

Malik Shâh said to the Wazir: "No one should know this secret, for they had nearly brought the whole of our army to destruction".¹

f.65a Next day he marched back in the direction of 'Irâq. When he had gone, the Mihtar Rashid despatched one of his confidants, who was his deputy, towards 'Irâq, so that he might bring the bride's palanquin. The Mihtar himself went back to Ghaznin and the King showered numerous favours and praises on him.

The messenger whom he had sent to 'Irâq was an active, able and experienced man, learned and quick at repartee. When he reached 'Irâq he waited on the Amir, a relative of Malik Shâh, who represented the Sultân in that land and handed over to him the presents and gifts, which he had brought, and conveyed the message about the lady. In accordance with the *firman* of Sultân Malik Shâh, they began to arrange for the dowry of that lady. In that assembly too, all sorts of things were discussed by them, with the object of reducing the messenger to a nonplus, but he returned harsh and crushing replies to their questions.

One day they held a feast which was attended by a number of nobles, grandies and renowned persons. When wine had gone round three or four times, and brought them under its influence, the boon-companions of the Amir turned towards the messenger and said:

"In our city winter is called the '*Ghaznichi*'², (the Ghaznavid)." At the approach of it we say: "Close the door so that the *Ghaznichi* may not come in".

"In our city," retorted the messenger, "urine is called the '*Irâqi*', and if any one wants to use the word urine, he uses the word '*Irâqi*' instead," and says: "He was passing the '*Irâqi*'".

All the boon-companions (of the Amir) were put to shame, and they regretted the folly of their remark. On the day when the bride's palanquin was being seen off, a large concourse of people representing both sides had assembled, and questions were put to them, whether this or that thing was found in Ghaznin. They replied that things like those were found there, and even a hundred times better and more beautiful ones than those. Ultimately they enquired whether *Kâsir* (?) was found in Ghaznin. The litter-bearers and the palanquin-carriers who are generally quick at repartee, rude, and fearless men said:

"If *Kâsir* had been found in Ghaznin we would not have carried it from 'Irâq."

They did not mind what they said, and returned such a rude

1. Such seems to be the sense of this doubtful passage. Or perhaps it is *بردہ ہوتے* *had carried it away in one handful*.

2. Ghaznin is noted for its extreme cold, see *Bâbur Nâmâ* (Tr. Beveridge) p. 219

answer. When this was reported to Malik Shāh he severely punished the person who had put that sort of question and said, "If he had not put such a question, he would not have heard such a rude answer".

Such should be a messenger, so that people dare not make a fool of him nor hold him cheap. He should be able to give an adequate answer to every question, so that whoever addresses him or puts him a question, may think before he does so, and fear its answer which would be remembered for ever.

(8)

At the time when the martyred Sultān Mas'ūd¹ met this tragic end at Mārigalā², and his army suddenly fell³ upon him, all the infidels raised their heads and the Carmathians put the fort of Multān in proper repairs, and revolted. The Amīr Shihāb-ud-Dawlah⁴ Maudūd (may God's mercy be upon him!) who invented the arrow-head known after him as *Maudūdī*⁵, ascended the throne, and sent an army from Ghaznīn, and nominated *Sālār* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the *Hājib-i-Buzurg* (Great Chamberlain) as its Commander. He appointed the Faqīh Salīṭī as Governor of Lahore, and sent him towards India. When the army of Ghaznīn reached Lahore, the army of Lahore came out to receive them. The Faqīh Salīṭī appointed Abū Bakr b. Bū Ṣāliḥ as his Deputy Governor, and himself went with the army of Lahore to Multān to fight against the son of Da'ūd⁶, whom the Carmathians called the *Sheikh*.

When the army reached the fort of *جور* (?) the Carmathians took to flight and went to Maṣūra. The inhabitants of Multān fought for a few days and defended the fort, but when they realised that the Carmathians would give them no help, they implored for quarter, and surrendered the fort of Multān to the besiegers. The *Khutbah* was read in the names of the Amīr al-Mo'minin al-Qādir Billāh and Maudūd⁷, and Moḥammad Galīmī was appointed Governor of Multān.

The Muslim army began their return journey by way of Harharāz⁸ (?)

1. He was slain in A. H. 432 (*Bada'uni* tr. I. 44)

2. See *T. Nānri* (tr. Raverty) I 95 note 1.

3. *Durūh*, in Arabic means, to come upon any one suddenly and unawares (see Lane, s. v. *درو*). This seems to be the word used in the text.

4. So also in *Tab. Nānri* 15. 10

5. See p. 216 for some more details about this kind of arrow-head

6. See *Bada'uni* tr. I. 19.

7. This anecdote furnishes an instance of glaring anachronism and historical inaccuracy. Qādir Billāh could not have been a contemporary of Maudūd, for he was Caliph from 381 to 422, while Maudūd reigned from 432 to 440. Maudūd was the contemporary of al-Qā'im who was Caliph from 422 to 467

8. This is perhaps Harhaura, the country watered by the river Suān, see map VI facing p. 121 in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*

f.102a with booty and punished severely the infidels and the Jats. The army of Ghaznīn returned to the home country.

Sandanpāl, the grandson¹ of the Shāh of Kābul, had come from the frontiers of India on hearing of the tragedy of Mārigala, thinking that the power of Muslims had been completely destroyed. The heads of the infidels had been swollen by haughtiness and they began to dream of kingship, and on this account Rāys, Rānās, and Thākurs of the Hill tracts, some on horse-back, some on foot, assembled and poured out from the Hills with the intention of attacking the army of Lahore and blocking the way of the other, for they thought that the army of Ghaznīn was returning home, and that the horses of the Lahore army had become exhausted (by their campaigning). [Sandanpāl], said:

"As soon as we have crushed the Lahore army, Lahore and Tākishah² would come under our sway."

Bū Bakr b. Bū Šaliḥ had gone to Tākishah with a few horsemen of Lahore, in order to meet the (Ghaznavid) army. The Faqih was informed about the affair of the grandson of the Shāh, who had ambitions about gaining the throne. When they reached near Qalāchūr (?) a huge and numerous army of the infidels overtook them. The Faqih Šaliḥi took his place in the centre of the army, Bū Bakr ibn Bū Šaliḥ in the right wing, and Bū'l-Hasan Jarrāsh (?) who has built a monastery (*Khānqāh*) in Lahore, in the left wing.

The powerful infidels were in high spirits, for their army greatly outnumbered the Muslim army. They were charging the Muslim army fiercely and raining two-handed sword-attacks on them.

f.102b The Muslim army bore the brunt of the attacks, being unable to counter-attack or move from its place. A Turk volunteer asked the Faqih to point out to him the infidel pretender so that he might relieve them of his mischief. The Faqih pointed out to him a man riding on a bay³ horse above whose head they held a *chatar* (umbrella). The Turk drew his bow, pulled a poplar arrow, then coming out of the row, leapt forward and shot an arrow on the shield which they had placed before Sandanpāl. The arrow pierced through it, transfixed the *Jiwrakh*⁴, which he was wearing, and his chest, and came out at his back and the

1. *Badd'ūmī* (tr. p. 20) writes that Nawāsah-i-Shāh died in captivity during the lifetime of Maḥmūd while in the anecdote given above Sandanpāl *Nawāsah-i-Shāh-i-Kābul* is mentioned as living in the time of Maudūd. In the anecdote No. 10, our Author refers to Sandpāl *Nabira-i-Shāh-i-Jaypāl* as being captured by Maḥmūd but makes no mention of his death, which shows that according to him he survived Maḥmūd. Firishtā calls the *Nawāsah-i-Shāh*, who was contemporary with Maḥmūd, as Sukhpāl (*Badd'ūmī* tr. p. 20 note 4).

2. Tākisha seems to be identical with Tākishar, for which see *Maḥmūd*, p. 105 note 7. It is the sub-Himalayan region of the Punjab from the Chināb westward.

3. *ح* apparently should be read as *حم*, which indicates a colour between dark and bay, inferior in depth to dark-red (see Lane, *Lexicon*).

4. Some sort of protective armour.

Pretender went to Hell. The army shouted out the *takbir* (God is great) slaughtered innumerable infidels and won a large booty. It has frequently happened in the world, that with a single wooden arrow lost thrones have been won back.

(9)

The Omayyad Caliphs¹ never fought personally in battle except Marwān² *al-Himār* ("the ass"). As to the Caliphs of the house of 'Abbās³ they had no need to fight battles in person for all the world was and is their army and they had only to give orders. Bū Muslim⁴ the real founder of the 'Abbāsid Empire, who was an ancestor of the author of this book, fought with arrows. A *dasta* (bundle of twenty-four) of his arrows⁵ weighed twenty maunds. The Amirs of Khurāsān and 'Irāq all fought personally in battle and conquered the world. Hajjāj⁶ b. Yūsuf, Qutaibah⁷ b. Muslim, Naṣr⁸ b. Sayyār, Yazid⁹ b. Muḥallab, Dā'ūd¹⁰ b. Muḥallab, Rāfi¹¹ b. Harthama, Muwaffaq¹², Qaṭṭaba¹³, 'Amr¹⁴ b. Layth, Ya'qūb¹⁵ b. Layth, the Ṭāhirid and Sāmānid Amirs—all fought personally in battle. f.106b f.107a

As to the Kings of the House of Nāṣir-ud-Din Subuktagin¹⁶ Ghāzi (God taught them their proof!) each one of them fought in battle with various weapons. The Amir Subuktagin fought with spear, (bow and) arrows and *qalāchūr*¹⁷ and was unique in his skill in the use of each. He

1. Reigned 41—132 H

2. r. 127—132 H

3. r. 132—656 H

4. For him see *Encycl. of Islām* I. 101.

5. Doubtful text perhaps we should read *tabar* or *naiza wa Dashna* (battle-axe or spear and dagger)

6. See *Encycl. of Islām* II. p. 202.

7. See *Encycl. of Islām* II. 1165

8. See *Encycl. of Islām* III. 873.

9. See *Encycl. of Islām* IV. 1163.

10. This Dā'ūd is apparently the individual who was Governor of Sistān from 176 to 178. See *Tārīkh-i-Sistān*, p. 153 seq. (with note). But Dā'ūd b. Yazid was not a son of Muḥallab but his great-great-grandson. see *Wust. Tab.* 11—33.

11. For him see *Rawḍatū 'l-Ṣafā* (Bombay 1271.) vol. 4 p. 6. He was slain in 283 H. See *T. Sistān* p. 253.

12. Muwaffaq is probably the famous brother of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mu'tamid b. al-Mutawakkil (d. in A.H. 278) see *Encycl. of Islām* III. 779

13. *Encycl. of Islām* II. 628

14 and 15. 'Amr reigned from 265 to 267 H. and Ya'qūb from 254 to 265. See Lane-Poole. *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, p. 130.

16. r. 366—387.

17. For *qalāchūrī*. (var. *قلا حوری*) see the *Oriental College Magazine* for Nov. 1937, p. 76.

had no equal in courage and fighting. He was never defeated in battle and never turned his back upon the enemy. Sultān Yamin-ud-Dawlah wad-Din Maḥmūd¹ fought with the sword and the *qalāchūr*, which are the arms of warriors and brave men. In archery and the use of the spear he was unique. Historians tell us that at the time when he captured the Fort of Multān, so many infidels and Carmathians were slaughtered, that a stream of blood began to flow from Lahore Gate which is towards the *Qibla* (West). The hand of the Sultān (may God's mercy be upon him!) stuck to the hilt of his sword on account of blood, and as the blood congealed, it became impossible for him to detach it. They heated some f.107b water, poured it into a basin, and he immersed his hand and the hilt of his sword in it for a long time. It was only then that his hand could be detached from the hilt. Sultān Moḥammad,² his eldest son, fought with the spear. The martyred Sultān Mas'ūd³ used to take exercise with a mace weighing seventy maunds and to fight with another, weighing forty maunds, and thereby conquered 'Irāq, Ray and Isphān. Sultān Maudūd⁴ fought with (the bow and) arrow. The *Maudūdi* arrow-heads are ascribed to him and did not exist before his time. By his order they cast these arrow-heads of gold, so that whoever be killed with one of them, his shroud and funeral requisites be provided out of it, and whoever be wounded with it, funds for his treatment be found out of it, as the poet says:

"The Sultān of the time, the King Maudūd,
Has made arrow-heads of gold for his enemy,
So that whoever is killed with it may thereby get his shroud,
Whoever be wounded with it, may thereby obtain treat-
ment."

Sultān Farrukhzād⁵ fought with a battle-axe, *Sultān-i-Raḍi* Ibrāhīm⁶, with the spear and (the bow and) arrow, Sultān Mas'ūd-i-Karīm⁷ (i.e. Mas'ūd III), with the *Bilgātakini*⁸ and the *qalāchūr*, and Sultān Malik⁹ Arsalān with the mace and the spear. The martyred Sultān Bahrām Shāh¹⁰ fought with the spear, in the wielding of which he was an expert. They say that no bird could escape from his arrow, for he was an ex-

1 r. 388—421

2 r. 421—421 A.H

3 r. 421—432 H.

4 r. 432—440 H.

5 r. 444—451 H

6 r. 451—492 H

7 r. 492—508 H See also p. 200, note 1.

8. The author includes it along with mace, whip and "helmet-breaker" among those weapons which are wielded by those who depend on the strength of their arm. (See the *Oriental College Magazine* for Nov. 1937, p. 78.)

9 r. 509—512 H.

10 r. 512—547 H

cellent marksman, a sure shot. Then when he would take up his spear he would drive an army before him.

It is related that when his father *Sultān-i-Karīm* Mas'ūd died and his elder brother Malik Arsalān, who was a near relative of Sultān Sinjar through his mother, became Sultān, he went, by divine inspiration, which directs the actions of fortunate persons, to the court of Sultān Sinjar and took refuge with him. He remained with him day and night, whether the Sultān was halting or touring. Whenever the Sultān allotted a duty or task to anyone Bahrām Shāh would offer himself for it and do it in a most satisfactory manner, so that the Sultān had no more to bother about it. f.108a

The result was that the Sultān became very fond of him, included him among his favourites and courtiers and made him his confidant. The Sultān used to invite him to his banquets and eventually became very well-disposed towards him, wanted to show him kindness and to find him men and means for deposing Sultān Malik Arsalān, though the latter was related to himself (Sinjar) and to place Bahrām Shāh on the throne. His recommendations were his praise-worthy services, cultured manners and good behaviour towards the nobles and grandies of the court. But the Sultān feared that if he would help him and depose Malik Arsalān, people would blame him and say:

"He has helped a stranger and removed one of his own kith and kin from the throne."

Sultān Bahrām Shāh behaved in such a manner towards the leaders of the army, supporters of the kingdom, and the courtiers that all became his well-wishers. The Sultān made enquiries and sought the opinion of every grandee and courtier about his affair. They said unanimously:

"It is a long time since he has thrown himself at the feet of Your Majesty, taken refuge in this court, done commendable services, and won the auspicious heart of Your Majesty by his fine qualities. To show favours to him and help him would be quite consistent with the approved habit and commendable manner of the King of Islām." f.108b

The Sultān was relieved of his anxiety and resolved on showing him favour, finding him an army and placing him on the throne. One day he went out hunting and was going about (in search of game). His men were bringing in all sorts of game. Suddenly a pair of birds was noticed flying very high in the air. The female bird was flying lower than the male bird, which was just above it. Sultān Bahrām Shāh (may God's mercy be upon him!) shot an arrow and transfixed both birds with it, and thus transfixed they fell in front of the Sultān's party, at which many horses shyed. The Sultān's horse had (also) started away, when he was told what the matter was. He enquired who had shot those birds. They all told him that it was the Amir Bahrām Shāh. The Sultān praised him immensely, and gave him a precious robe of honour. From that very day he planned to raise and equip an army, which he wanted to send

with Bahrām Shāh and in the same week he sent him with the army.

Bahrām Shāh went forth and expelled his brother and won the throne.

One of the grandies of the kingdom enquired from Sultān Sinjar the reason why he exhibited so much haste in sending away the army and Amīr Bahrām Shāh and why he showed him all that honour and consideration. The Sultān said:

f.109a "I saw that all nobles, grandies and leaders of the army were his well-wishers and praised him unanimously. Further, I found him exceptionally brave, courageous and unequalled in archery. I feared that if, with his skill in archery, he shot one (arrow) at me and snatched away my kingdom, there would be none to recover it from him. So (I said) let him do what he likes with the kingdom of his own forefathers, not with mine."

Thus the cause of his recovering that great kingdom was only a wooden arrow.

Sultān-i-Ḥalīm Khusraw¹ Shāh fought with the spear, and was a sure shot as a bowman. The martyred Sultān Khusraw² Malik fought with the spear and he had no equal in archery. A poet has thus referred to his skill in archery:—

"The arrow which Khusraw shoots in the dark night,

"He shoots at the bosom of an ant and the eye of a snake.

"He desires to shoot at the same arrow again,

"So he shoots another into the notch of the first arrow."

Sometimes he (Khusraw Malik) fought with the battle-axe also.

It is so related that at the time when he captured Sukarwāl (?), a Hindū horseman wearing defensive *gadar*(?) armour, was showing great boldness and delivering repeated attacks, so much so that the archers became helpless against him. Suddenly the Sultān made an attack and struck that infidel wearing *gadar*(?) with a battle-axe, which slashed his head, neck, arm and shoulder, and cut him in two.

f.100b The Kings of the House of Ghor³ mostly fought with the sword and the spear. The martyred Sultān Muḥammad-i-Sām (may God's mercy be upon him!) used to shoot arrows very well. Once this well-wisher, the author of this book, was in Parshawar⁴. The Sultān had just dismounted from his horse after playing polo. when a washerman came into the polo-ground complaining that his donkey had been killed by a lion under the Bridge of Bū Aḥmad. The Sultān at once remounted his

1. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāiri* (p. 26) Khusraw Malik the son of Khusraw Shāh was called "Shāh-i-Ḥalīm". He reigned from 547 - 555.

2. r. 555 - 582

3. r. 543 - 612

4. Peshāwar was taken by Muḥammad-i-Sām in the year 574. The incident mentioned above must have happened between that year and 602, the year of Muḥammad's death, see *Ṭab. Nāiri*, p. 116¹².

horse. He returned after less than an hour, and they brought in three lions on camels. The author enquired from a horseman as to who had killed those lions and was told that the first arrow had been shot in each case by the Sultān himself.

When the Sultān received a wound in the hand, he could no longer shoot arrows as before. And there was no need for him to fight personally either, for his slaves conquered the world and defeated powerful Rāys. All have gone to the mercy of God, and only their names are left behind to remind us of them. May God (exalted be He!) forgive all just kings. Amen. O Lord of the World!

(10)

One should be like Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd Ghāzi (may God's mercy be upon him!) as regards generalship, vigilance, bravery and promptitude. When the Khānids came into Khurāsān and spread all over the country, he pursued them and they fled before him from place to place, till he went to Tūs and they remained in Balkh and Tūkhāristān as a large and formidable army, feeling secure that Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd was in Tūs. In the meanwhile Sandpāl, the grandson of Shāh Jaipāl, revolted in India on account of the Sultān's stay in Khurāsān and the Khānids' inroad into that country. He said to himself: "The Sultān is busy, he will not be able to come this way any more".

The Sultān dashed away from Tūs and reached Merv¹ within two days and three nights, while the army of the Khānids lay encamped securely in Balkh and Tūkhāristān. From Merv he reached Balkh² within seven days through a desert which even a ghoulish could not cross, and went in pursuit of them to Tūkhāristān. He defeated and slew a large number of them and scattered away the rest. In the same month he went post-haste to India from Balkh and captured Sandpāl³ and achieved what he wanted, as is testified by accounts and narratives contained in historical works, and is well-known.

(11)

They say that in the year 408 Sultān Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd Ghāzi (may God illumine his grave!) appointed Qarātagin-i-Dānishmand⁴

1. For the road from Tūs to Balkh see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 431 and map VIII.

2. From Merv the ordinary road went by a circuitous way through Merv-ar-Rudh to Balkh, see the map referred to in note 1. above.

3. The incidents referred to in the anecdote, happened in A. H. 398, see *Maḥmūd* pp. 51 and 98. The *Navdsah-i-Shah* 18, however, called Sukhpāl there.

4. He is probably identical with Abū Mansūr Dawlati Qaratagin the ruler of Gharjistan, to whom Farrukhi has addressed a *qasidah*, see *Diwān-i-Farrukhi*, p. 328.

as the commander of the army of Ghāzis, which had come from Transoxiana. He raided the country upto Jāllundur and took much booty. From the hills of Jāllundur¹ he went to Sunnām, plundered it, and captured the Fort of Amrū'i (?) at Sarasuti.

The ruler of Sarasuti planned to deliver a night attack on his army, but Qarātagin-i-Dānishmand got wind of it and under his orders, his army divided itself into two sections, which left their camping-grounds and lay in ambush at two different places. When the ruler of Sarasuti came out and reached their camping grounds, both sections of the army of Qarātagin came out from their hiding places and surrounded the infidel army from all sides. Then they cut them with their sabres, brought their zeal for religion into play, slew most of the infidels and returned successful and victorious.

(12)

f.122a History tells us that when Chach² b. Behind(?), the ruler of Lahore,³ in fact its founder, passed away, he left a son behind him, called Banrat(?) He was a just man and his subjects enjoyed comfort and peace under him. He built an idol-temple at the site now occupied by the Ḥabashi mosque in Lahore, and at his command they made an idol of stone, which he named after the sun. He was a worshipper of the sun. He was a long-lived man, reached the age of ninety-three years, and ruled Lahore for seventy-five.

As he lived for a long time his son called Thanrat, who was rash and iniquitous, arrested and imprisoned him in the Fort of Lahore. This Thanrat was a vain man, who became conceited on account of his wealth and army. He built a fort in the city of Lahore at the site now

1. *I.e.* the sub-Himalayan region East of Jallundur

2. The original has چچ. The following genealogical table of the descendants of Chach son of Behind ruler of Lahore, can be constructed from the narrative given by our author

Behind

Chach

Banrat (ruled for seventy-five years).

Thanrat

Jinderat (ruled for nine years, captured in 389)

(Jaipāl becomes the ruler of Lahore).

The text and translation of this anecdote has already appeared in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1927, p. 485 but the article was not available to me, when the above translation was made. I have added variants of the text subsequently in my MS. of the text.

3. Always called Lohūr in our text.

occupied by the 'Arab quarter and named it Thanpūr. He also founded a village called Thanpūr on the bank of the River Byāh. He was fired with the ambition of capturing the Fort of Nandnah and all the neighbouring country and wrest the salt (region) of Nandnah, the Jhelum and Tākishar¹ districts from Shāh Jaipāl. He raised an army and marched towards Tākishar. The officers of the Shāh gathered together in Tākishar and wrote letters to him informing him that Thanrat, the ruler of Lahore, was marching against Tākishar and Jhelum. Shāh Jaipāl sent his son Anandpāl with a large army to oppose the advance of Thanrat. On the day when Thanrat crossed the River Chandráhah (Chināb) and reached Tākishar, Anandpāl too reached there, at midnight and went to his own army. At dawn they beat the royal drum in his camp. This drum was peculiar to Shāh Jaipāl, the King of the Brahmans, and was called *Singhnād*, (lit. the lion's roar). Just as they gave the first stroke to the drum, the army of Lahore was frightened as they supposed that the Shāh had arrived. A large number of the irregulars of the Lahore army took to flight, and the regulars were demoralised. At the breakfast time when the two armies met, most of the army of Lahore had already fled away. Anandpāl defeated Thanrat, and captured him, and crossing the river Chandráhah, reached Lahore and went to Sathān². They imposed on him an indemnity which he paid out of what he had, the rest was levied from the notables and the common people of Lahore. He made Thanrat his vassal, gave him a robe of honour and restored him to the rulership of Lahore. f.122b

This Thanrat had a son called Jinderat. When he saw that his father had returned vanquished and defamed, he arrested and imprisoned him, just as Thanrat had done with his own father and said to him:

"You have gone mad. You are not fit for kingship. Why did you entertain designs against the territory of the Shāh and bring dishonour to yourself?"

So he became the ruler of Lahore, and founded a village called Jinderatpūr, after himself, at the ford of the Byāh, in the neighbourhood of the Fort of Phillaur³. He was a tyrannical and cruel man. Shāh Jaipāl was much annoyed when he heard at Parshāwar that Jinderat had arrested his own father and imprisoned him. He ordered his son Anandpāl to equip an army, go and capture that iniquitous tyrant. f.123a

"Do not forgive him this time," said he [to Anandpāl]. "If you vanquish him, slay him, and make suitable arrangements for the administration of the Kingdom of Lahore, and appoint your own men, because those iniquitous people who revolt against their own parents are not fit to rule."

1. See p. 214, note 2.

2. Is it the quarter of Lahore still known, by that name?

3. The original has بھور. Was Phillaur at the time on the right bank of the Sutluj? The author does not mention the Sutluj.

Anandpāl raised an army and marched towards Lahore and halted at the village of Sāmūtala(?). Jinderat came out with an equipped army from Lahore, and sent a messenger to Anandpāl with the following message:

"How have you dared to enter this kingdom? Did you suppose that I have grown mad like my father, who entered a foreign territory with an army that deserted him and fled, leaving him a prisoner in your hands?"

"I have dared to enter this kingdom," replied Anandpāl, "because I am obedient to my father—not like you who revolted against his father, who, in his time, had behaved similarly towards his own father. For that reason God made me victorious over him and will again make me victorious over you, make you suffer disgrace, and punish you for your evil deeds?"

f.123b When Jinderat reached Jandi(?) he went out for a hunt. From the army of Anandpāl a detachment of five hundred horsemen had come out secretly for patrolling and lay in ambush in the jungle, Jinderat, unaware of them, remained engaged in the pursuit of game, till the time of afternoon prayers, when his horses were dead tired. He alighted from his horse and rode on elephant. Suddenly the horsemen of Anandpāl emerged from their hiding place, attacked Jinderat, surrounded his elephant, and captured him. The sons of Jinderat took to flight, and went towards Jāllundur, and sought shelter with Sāma Kūra¹, the Rāy of Jāllundur.

Jinderat was ruler of Lahore for nine years. Then Anandpāl took the territory of Lahore, wresting it from the descendants of Chach, the rule passing to Shāh Jaipāl in the year 389. In the same year al-Qādir-Billāh, the Prince of the Faithful, sent to Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd Ghāzi a robe of honour and a diploma of appointment as the Caliph's deputy and gave him 'Irāq, Khwārizm, Khurāsān, Nimroz, Sind and Hind.²

(13)

f.124b Once the author of this book was going for some business from Parshāwar to Batnigrām (*sic*) and Sinābū (*sic*). An old man, who was one of the notables of Parshāwar, accompanied him. He was looking right and left in that plain, picking up pebbles, examining and throwing them away. "As this process was repeated too often," states the author, "I enquired from him the cause of his looking so much to right and left, and of his picking up the pebbles, examining and throwing them away".

"I am astonished," replied the old man, "at this tract of land and this plain, for all pebbles and clay here are mixed together, and the ground is so level that one cannot make it so by hand".

1. *Kūrah* seems to be the same as Kanwar (cf. *Badd'ūnī tr* p. 23, note 4.)

2. Cf. *Zaimu'l-Akhbār* pp. 62-87, which shows that our author has mixed up the events of A.H. 389 and 417.

"During the reign," continued he, "of Sultān Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd Ghāzi (may God's mercy be upon him!), an Afghān called Udairā, who was both *Shihna*¹ and *Kotwāl* of Nardari(?) had cause to fear Shāh Jaipāl. The cause was as follows: f.125a

He was one day attending the court of Shāh Jaipāl when the King turned to him and said:

"Udairā! do you eat beef?"

"No, I don't," replied Udairā. "But as my forefathers did, it is as good as if I have eaten it myself."

"Shāh Jaipāl cast such an angry look at him that Udairā feared lest some day he should arouse abhorrence in the King's mind, and he might slay, or imprison him in a fort. For the King was a Bhatt² (*sic*) and Bhattis(?) abhor beef. And whomsoever the Shāh imprisoned, that man never came out alive from the imprisonment. So the Afghān managed to escape from the place, reached Ghaznī, embraced Islām at the hand of the Sultān and led him³ till his army reached this plain. The people of Parshāwar did not hear the noise of the beating of the drum and no one knew that the Sultān had arrived. Shāh Jaipāl was in the fort of Begram⁴. He went to fight against the Sultān with thirty thousand horsemen and three hundred elephants. The combatants delivered so many attacks and fought so fiercely that each pebble in this plain was broken into two or three pieces under the hooves of the horses. Now that I am passing this way I cannot find, even if I desire, a single pebble in its proper condition. They drove the infidel army from here to the plain of Jāni and there too, the pebbles are in a similar condition and not one of them is whole. And that is how a field of battle should be, for had the pebbles been not embedded in clay, they would have been turned into dust and would not have borne the brunt of all that attack and retreat and would be destroyed at once."⁵ f.125b

"Ultimately God (Exalted be He!) led the Sultān to such a victory

1 *Shihna* was the Chief Civil Officer, and the *Kotwāl*, the Commander of a fort, see *Maḥmūd*, p. 150.

2. [According to Al-Bērūnī, *India* II, 13, the rulers of the Hindū-Shāhhiyya Dynasty were Brahmins, but Dr. Nāẓim (*Sultān Maḥmūd*, p. 194 note 3) describes them as Bhattis, apparently on the basis of this very anecdote. How could the rulers of the dynasty be both Brahmins and Bhattis at the same time? Cunningham remarks in the *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 19, that the religion of the population of Eastern Afghānistān in this period was Buddhism. He does not definitely say that the Kings were also Buddhists, but it is conceivable that they were cf. *The Kābul* No. 70 p. 6 (on the authority of *Ibn al-Faqīh* p. 323). In the text above the word is written as *بہت* in the singular (in the second Ms as *بہت*) and not as *بہتی*. In the plural one Ms. has *بہتیان* but the other has, more consistently, *بہتان*. One is tempted to think that *بہت* may rather be an equivalent of "Budh" than "Bhatti" MS.]

3. Text doubtful. Possibly it is *ازراہ* followed by a place name. The reading in the second Ms suggests *بوجہار* but I cannot trace any *بوجہار*.

4. For it see *Bābur Nāmeh* (tr. Beveridge) p. 230 note 2—apparently Peshāwar is meant here.

5. That seems to be the sense of this doubtful passage.

that the Shâh, his three hundred elephants and, all his thirty thousand horsemen were captured and not even one escaped. All this was due to the fact that the field of battle was good and the Sultân could get a good view of the movements of the enemy and the Shâh, and could do as the situation demanded."

The battlefield should be spacious so that it may contain even an army of a hundred thousand horsemen and they should be able to fight in it properly. The choosing of a proper battlefield, suitable as a fighting ground, is the sign of skill, ability and sagacity of a king and a commander. It is for God (exalted be He!) to give victory there to whomsoever He liketh!

One should build a village, or a guard-house and a town there and establish a pious foundation at that place, like as the just Amîr Nâsir-ud-Dîn Subuktagîn Ghâzi (may God's mercy be upon him!) did when he defeated and worsted Shâh Jaipâl in the plain of Kindî¹, for he built there a guard-house called Amîr Kindî which became a resort for Muslims and Ghâzis, and thereby he left a good name behind. In that very district Sultân Shihâb-ud-Dawlah Maudûd (may God's mercy be upon him!) demanded vengeance from the murderers of his father Sultân Mas'ûd the Martyr (may God purify his dust!), defeated that army, worsted and routed it and at the site he built a guard-house which he called Fathabad². This place attracted a large number of people and developed into a town which became famous in Muslim lands and grew into a resort of the Ghâzis.

May God (exalted be He!) forgive those just kings, who left behind good names in the world! So long as a single brick of those places is in its place, their names also shall live, as an inducement to other kings to leave behind pious foundation, so that their names also may become immortal, for the philosophers regard this kind of surviving fame as a second life.

(14)

f.148a They say that at the time when Muḥammad-i-Bâ Ḥalim³ re-

1 Probably the same place as mentioned by Bêrûnî, see *India* I 317.

2 See *T. Nâsirî* (tr. Raverty) p. 97 note 2.

3 Raverty thought (see *T. Nâsirî* tr. p. 110, note 4) that Bâ Ḥalim was "a strange name for a Muslimân." This remark seems hardly justified [Rûnî has several qaṣîdahs in praise of Zarîf Shaibânî, and Mas'ûd-i-Sad-i-Salmân refers to the revolt and death of this Abû Ḥalîm Zarîf Shaibânî a Jâjarmî by origin (see *Dîw.* ed. Abul-Qâsim Khwânsârî, 1296). According to Mas'ûd he revolted against Ibrâhîm (r. 451-492). That being so, Muḥammad of the text may have been his grandson—I do not say his son as Bahrâm Shâh has good things to say of the father of Muḥammad and refers to his meritorious services (see *infra* towards the end of the anecdote) which he could not be expected to say if Muḥammad's father had died by strangulation after being captured on the battlefield, as Mas'ûd tells us of Bû Ḥalîm Zarîf. But if Bahrâm Shâh's remarks are only diplomatic talk, then

volted¹ and withdrew himself from obedience and submission, and became haughty and conceited, he gathered together a large number of Rânâs, Thākurs and chiefs of India from Bākaz² (or Bakar?) and other places. He mustered seventy thousand horsemen of different nationalities.³ From Hindūstān he marched to meet the auspicious Sultān Yamīn-ud-Dawlah wa'l-Dīn Bahrām Shāh⁴ (may God purify his dust!). In the territory of Multān there is a village called Kīkyūr(?). It is surrounded by a very spacious prairie land. Muḥammad encamped there and flooded a portion of that prairie land so that by remaining under water it may be converted into a marsh and morass⁵ and the army of the Sultān might sink in that morass and marsh. He grew haughty, in the midst of that crowd of foot soldiers whose number exceeded a lakh or two. The Sultān with about ten thousand horsemen came from his capital Ghaznīn and crossed the River Sind.

He (Muḥammad) had a son called Mu'taṣīm, who was very brave and manly, a mighty man who used to fight with a mace weighing forty maunds. He said to his father:

"Allow me to go and defeat the whole army of the Sultān with this scourge weighing four maunds."

"Be patient," replied his father. "till they (the Ghaznavid hosts) have crossed all the rivers. They have not so far crossed even one. They will hear of your arrival and fly back. Let them cross the River Chand-rāhah (Chināb). Then half of their army will be disposed of by the morass and the other half by us. Thus we will defeat and rout them all." f.148b

He failed to think of his rebellion and ingratitude which God would punish him for, and grew haughty on the strength of his infidel irregulars, horse and foot, and drew his sword against the Sultān of the time and the army of Islām. The result of it was that divine aid forsook him.

The auspicious Sultān Yamīn⁶-ud-Dawlah Bahrām Shāh (may God's

Muḥammad may be a son of Bā Ḥalīm—which is the more obvious meaning of محمد با حلیم .

1. This is the second rebellion of Muḥammad-i-Bā Ḥalīm. He first revolted in 512 A.H. see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 24

2. *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah* p. 50 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 24 state that Bā Ḥalīm had built a fort at Nagor Is Bakaz a corrupt form of Bāgar? Compare Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 283.

3. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah* (Lucknow, 1281 H.) p. 50²²

4. r. 512 to 547. For his title see p. 196, note 1

5. [Both Mss. write the word as بری and A. vocalizes it as *Burānī* In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* p. 24 in similar passage occurs the obscure phrase در زمین بریی لوری which Raverly reads as در زمین بریی or بوری (see his Tr. of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* I. 110 note 4). The meaning of the word بری or بوری according to him is "a ditch, a marsh, a place where water stagnates" Steingass gives *birin*, as meaning fetid water, a sink. In the *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, p. 50 we have بری instead of *Zamin Burānī* It may be added here that لوری (varr. نوزی and نورنی) in the *Ṭ Nāṣiri* may possibly be نوزی which is given in the *Ā'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 326 as a name of the joint streams of the Byās and the Sutlej, thus locating the battle-field near the Ghāra Ms.].

6. See note 4, above.

mercy be upon him!) conveyed the following to him by a messenger:

"Desist from your rebellious course and return to obedience, for you were brought up surrounded by our favours and you have been nurtured under our fostering care. We do not want to uproot the sapling which we ourselves have planted in the courtyard of our kingdom and nourished with the water of favours and kindness, for though you deserve to be supplanted, we do not deem it proper to supplant you due to our generosity and forgiveness. So take the robe of honour and wear it, for we give the whole of Hindustân to you and entrust you with the military command of the whole of Hind. Desist from your evil course and do not bring disgrace upon yourself, for your father had rendered meritorious services to this kingdom and received favours befitting those services. We shrink from his shade!"

When the messenger delivered this message, he (Muḥammad) replied thus:

"What is the use of all this talk, for tomorrow my head will be either under the hooves of the horse of the Sulṭân or on the throne of the kingdom."

f.149a When the messenger heard these words he took them as a good omen, for he (Muḥammad) himself had given utterance to such expressions. The messenger returned and repeated that expressions before the King. (The Sulṭân said) "An omen is taken from something which has happened. Tell the army to mount their horses."

The drums were beaten and the army ranged itself in battle order. The ungrateful Moḥammad-i-Bâ Ḥalim spread his umbrella and delivered an attack on the centre. In the very first assault they threw him down and a few of his sons had placed his head on the spear.¹ God (Exalted be He!) so desired that the tract which he had flooded with water in order that it should turn into a morass and engulf the army of the Sulṭân that very tract was visited by a wind-storm such that in it, it is narrated, they saw riders wearing green apparels and riding grey horses, who drove the whole of the army of Moḥammad-i-Bâ Ḥalim in that direction, until they all were engulfed in that very morass, none escaping out of it.

One of his sons called Ibrâhîm who was desirous to serve the Sulṭân —and *سیدورزان* (Var. *Sûdozaiyân*) are his descendants—escaped unharmed, while Moḥammad, along with his seventeen sons, was slain in battle and they all received punishment and retribution for their ingratitude just as God (to Whom belongs might and majesty!) says²: "*An evil artifice shall not beset any save the author thereof.*"³

In that tract upto this day when one digs a canal, or a reservoir, or

1. Cf. *Ṭabaqât-i-Nāṣirî*, v. 24 (tr. Raverty I, 110) and *Firâstah* p. 50, both of which mention that Muhammad-i-Bâ Ḥalim and his sons sank in a morass.

2. *Qor* 35.41

3. Lane, *Lexicon* s.r. *حق*

a well, one finds, embedded in the earth, decayed skeletons of men and horses, rusty and torn armour, and coats of mail. Such is the end which awaits an army of irregulars. One should think over it and should not grow haughty on account of the irregulars.

(15)

They say that at the time when Malik 'Alā'-ud-Din Ḥusain Ghori f.170a
marched towards Ghaznīn and the auspicious martyred Sultān Bahrām Shāh (may God have mercy on him!) went towards Hindustān¹, taking all the nobles and grandies of his court with him, 'Alā'-ud-Din perpetrated all that was possible in the way of plundering, mulcting the people, and levying from them fines too heavy to bear, and of ruination and destruction. He put to death over sixty thousand Muslims of pure belief, f.170b
men and women, by different kinds of tortures such as flagellation, wounding, burning, and placing on the rack. He took away from them whatever they possessed so that they all became destitute. He showed no sign of fear of God or of responsibility (for his misdeeds) on the day of Resurrection and committed all possible cruelties. Matters came to such a pass that all those who used to wear brocade before, now began to wear felt and skins. (Eventually) he himself went back to Ghor, leaving behind an army commander called Amir Khān, a very cruel and impious individual, with five thousand horse, with instructions to burn and devastate the whole city of Ghaznīn so thoroughly that if a person would ever pass that way, he should say: "There might have been a city here at one time".

This Amir Khān invited all the Imāms, judges and notables of the city and communicated to them the orders he had received from Malik 'Alā'-ud-Din and told them to lead their wives and children (out of and) away from the city.

"There is no one in the city," they said, "who has a complete suit of clothes. All the women and children are entirely deprived of clothing and have not got even footwear. If they spend a night out of their homes, they are sure freeze to death."

"Give us a respite for one week so that we may contrive to provide ourselves somehow with shreds and patches and footwear of a sort."

But he did not agree (and said); "If you will go, well and good, otherwise I will set fire to your houses and burn you all up with them."

They begged a respite for five days, but he was adamant. "I will give you a respite for three days," said he, "so that you may attend to your needs".

All the citizens were dazed and bewildered and said to one another: f.171a
"How shall we save ourselves from this man?"

1. See *T. Nāsrī* p. 24. *T. Firishtā* p. 50 seq.

"Where shall we go?" "Where shall we take our wives and children to?" "Where shall we leave them?" "Who would give us shelter?" In their distress they said: "Come, let us go crying to the street of the Khwāja, the Imām, the chief of the saints, the sun of the Gnostics, Abu'l-Mu'ayyad (may God have mercy on him!) and tell him our story and seek a remedy from him for this trouble and see what he suggests".

At breakfast time all the citizens went to that miracle-working saint, related before him the story of their own helplessness and misery and of the tyranny of that oppressor, and appealed to him for help.

He was greatly perturbed and began to ponder over the matter. Then he asked those men to go back and to grieve no longer, and consoled them by saying that God would defend them from the wickedness of that tyrant.¹

This holy man had a pupil called Imām Ahmad Khayyāt (the tailor), who was one of his servants and a particular friend of his house. He said to him: "Go under yonder mulberry tree and bring a new potsherd and a piece of charcoal". Ahmad accordingly went there and brought a potsherd and a piece of charcoal and placed them before the saint.

The Khwāja, Imām Abu'l-Mu'ayyad took the charcoal and made a mark on that potsherd, the meaning of which he alone knew and none else. He then gave it to the Imām Ahmad and said:

"I want you to set out at once for Gardiz, to the tomb of the Shaikhu'l-Islām Qashūr(?). But you must make ablutions first, then pray two *rak'ats*, and entering the mausoleum, visit the tomb, and after conveying my greetings hold this potsherd towards the tomb. Then wait and see."

f.171b

He (the Khayyāt) set out as ordered. On account of his miraculous intervention God (Exalted be He!) so shortened the rough road, nine leagues long, (covered) with deadly snow, and made the journey on it so light, that he reached Gardiz in the short winter days between the time of two prayers. He made ablutions, as ordered by the Khwāja, prayed two *rak'ats*, went inside the mausoleum, stood away from it out of respect, visited it, conveyed the Khawāja's *salām* and held out that sherd. At once the grave shook and opened up and he (the Khayyāt) saw the Shaikhu'l-Islām Qashūr(? may God have mercy upon him!) sitting up² in it. He was an old man, with white beard, moustaches, and eyebrows and long hair overhanging upon his eyes. He said:

"On thee also peace and mercy of God"! Give my greetings to the Khwāja Abu'l-Mu'ayyad and tell him that the wickedness of these tyrants has been averted and the people have been set free from their grave trouble. God (to Whom belong might and majesty!) has heard the

1. Lit. would suffice them in respect of the mischief of that tyrant, reveal it from them, hence defend them from it

2 [The author is showing much credulity in this narrative M.S.] The original has *عاني* in the next sentence which I cannot make out. Perhaps it is *عاني* — "having a large beard", but the word is not traceable in dictionaries

lamentations of the Muslims!").

Saying this he went back into his grave, which closed over him as before.

When the Imām Khayyāt saw this, he swooned and lost all consciousness and remained in that state till the time of the evening prayer.....

.....After a while he came to his senses, stayed there for the night, and on the next day started and reached the city [of Ghaznī] at the time of the afternoon prayer. f.172a

The Khwāja Imām enquired from him as to what he had seen there. He related to him whatever he had seen and heard, and said: f.172b

"The Shaikhul-Islām (may God have mercy on him!) has sent you greetings and says: 'The wickedness of this tyrant is averted and the people have been freed from their grave trouble'."

"All Praise be to God"! said the Khwāja Imām.

After a while the noise of the beating of the drums was heard by the citizens who went upon the roofs of their houses to see what the matter was. They saw that the whole plain round about was full of horsemen, flags, and different kinds of ornamented cloth (*tirāz*). They were surprised at what they saw. That [tyrant] Amir Khān was so terrified that he rode on his horse bare-footed and his men left their tents, baggage, furniture and cauldrons as they were, and fled in such haste that no one knew to which side they had gone. It was only on the following day that the citizens came to know of their flight and dispersion. God saved them from the wickedness of that tyrant.

That (saintly) Khwāja Imām Abū al-Mu'ayyad lived for a hundred and fifteen years, out of which for ninety years he acted as an Imām. For thirty years he led the prayers at their earliest hour, for the next thirty at the middle, and for the last thirty at the last hour, but not even once did he miss his prayer with the congregation. He performed several other miracles. You should recognise it as a fact that the saints have power to perform miracles. Much can be said on the subject, but this much suffices here, so that the book may not become too long.

(16)

They say that during the reign of *Sultān-i-Hālm*¹ Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah Khusrāw Shāh (may God purify his dust!) a *Darwesh* entered the Audience Hall² bare-footed, wearing a black haired goatskin with its fur on the outside, and a cap also of goatskin along with the horns, and holding a staff in hand in which had been inserted rings and perforated dice and to which had been attached large and small bells. Habited and f.174a

1 *I e.*, cloths and garments with inscriptions embroidered, woven or stitched on them, indicating the majesty of the ruler (see *Encyclop. of Islam* s.v. *Ṭirāz*).

2. For this title see p. 218, note 1.

3. *Ṣuffa* is really a building like a portico open in front, with a long roof (Lane. *Lexicon*)

equipped in the manner described above he went to the open space in front of the Audience Hall and sat with his back towards the throne. No one stopped him or annoyed him in any way. In fact they showed him respect because of their pure faith, and paid no heed to his appearance and dress. They went up to him respectfully and enquired from him as to whence he had come and as to what he wanted.

He said:

"Go, and say to that man who claims kingship that *Darweshes* and spiritual persons have sent me with the following message to him:"

"You must send us some money for our expenses. You must send us at once three hundred thousand '*adli*' *dirams* so that we may set our table nicely, otherwise we shall put the kingdom out of your reach. Keep (the money if you will) and let the kingdom go out of your hand."¹

f.174b The attendant who was a favourite of the King at once reported to the King what he had seen of the *Darwesh's* dress and appearance and communicated his message and demand. Due to the purity of his faith, the King ordered his men to take the *Darwesh* to the Treasury and to give him as much money as he expected and tell him that they (the *darweshes*) should not in any case put the kingdom out of his reach, rather they should come whenever they needed anything and take away whatever they wanted.

The attendant came out, took the *Darwesh* to the Treasury, weighed out a *biri*² (bag?) of *haftâdgânis*³ of the weight of 5,000 *dirams*, and loaded it on the head of a servant of the Treasurer. He offered many excuses (to the *Darwesh*) and accompanied him up to the Maidân Gate. No one saw that *Darwesh* afterwards.

The King, so long as he ruled, had no enemy and no worry and his subjects and army spent their lives in peace and security. When this King passed away, his army and subjects led lives of ease no more.

(17)

f.184a They say that at the time when Sulţân Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maĥmûd Ghâzi (God taught him his proof!) determined to raid India in the year

1. ['*Adali*' was a sort of good money, according to *Stengass*. But the word seems to be '*Adli*' and apparently these coins were so called because of the word "*Adl*" inscribed on them, see the coins of Maĥmûd and his successors in Roger, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, pt. IV, p. 154 sqq. See also a coin of Khalaf ibn Ahmad of Sistân dated 355 in the *J.R.A.S.* Vol. 17, p. 151 M.S.]

2. This seems to be the meaning of this vague sentence, or perhaps the text is *یارو کوتام کن* i.e., bring the money and shorten the speech.

3. *Biri*, according to the dictionaries is a bed, cushion or carpet but the context requires the word to mean a bag

4. *هفتاد کانی* must have been some coin having seventy units in it. The Persian particle *کان* is added to numerals and the final *ی* signifies "holder" or "container", see O Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14th Century* (Delhi 1935) p. 51

422,¹ twelve Rāys and many crowded and powerful armies gathered together and joined Tūjaipāl² (*sic*) son of Shāh Jaipāl, so that they might turn out the Sultān from India and Bātūjaipāl² (*sic*) should f.184b become the ruler of Lahore. When Sultān Yamin-ud-Dawlah reached Sanbar³ he received the news that the infidel army was on the Rāhut⁴ (*sic*), so he crossed the Rivers Jawn (Jumnā) and Ganges⁵ and pursued them. The infidel army halted and began fighting and God (Exalted be He!) gave Maḥmūd victory so that he defeated the infidels and captured one hundred and seventy elephants⁶. The wife of the son of the Shāh⁷ called أم ولد⁸ (*sic*) was captured, but they had wounded her. The Sultān looked after her and when she recovered, presented her with a robe of honour and golden bracelets and sent her to the son of Shāh in a *howdah*. Thence he marched to Qanauj where the infidel army were gathering together. When he reached at a league from Qanauj he halted and set up piquets. That day it was the turn of Aḥmad of Būshang, Master of the Horse, to do piquet duty. He was an expert in feats of horsemanship and was unequalled in bravery. When he went out for piquet duty, the best horsemen⁹ of the Rāy of Qanauj Rājaipāl Bodi¹⁰(?) also had come out for the same purpose.

A horseman from amongst them was showing great foolhardiness and making an attack every moment. Aḥmad son of 'Alī of Būshang untied his lasso from his saddle-straps, and when the horseman attacked him, he threw his lasso, and bound tightly the neck of the horseman with the neck of his horse, and carried the man and the horse in the same condition with their necks tightened, before the Sultān. When the horsemen of the infidels saw that, they took to flight and told the

1. This is an anachronism because Maḥmūd died in 421 A.H., while the invasion in question took place in 410, for a full description of which see *Maḥmūd*, pp 94, 110 and 204

2. Properly Trilochanpāl son of Anandpāl, see *Maḥmūd*, p. 111 Farrukhī (*Diwān Tehrān* 131) p. 64 calls him روحبال

3. This seems to be the same place which Farrukhī (*Diwān* p 64) calls سريل. See also *Maḥmūd* p. 94, note 7. Possibly the place is to be identified with Sanbhal. It had a brick fort in Akbar's time, see *Ā'in* (tr. Jarrett) II, 290.

4. Properly Rāhv : e. Rāmganga.

5. Doubtful text. According to *Farrukhī* p 63¹⁷, Maḥmūd's army crossed the Ganges on horseback while the Hindūs crossed it apparently on elephants. The River Rāhv was similarly crossed by the Hindūs on elephants (cf. *Farrukhī* 64⁹), but we are not told by the poet whether Maḥmūd's army crossed it on horseback or by swimming (cf. *Farrukhī* 64¹⁷). See also *Maḥmūd* p 95.

6. *Farrukhī* p. 65⁴ has 200.

7. Cf. *Farrukhī* p 65⁴

8. The second Ms. has ادليل which, according to a Sanskrit scholar may possibly be Anand Lila.

9. The word *sar* in some compounds means the best or choicest part of anything, e.g. *sar-ghazal* the best poem in a *diwān*

10. Apparently Trilochanpāl is meant. Rāyjaipāl had already been slain in battle, see *Maḥmūd* p. 111.

Rāy of Qanauj that a people had come who had the faces like those of other men but whose fight was not like theirs. They threw lasso and carried away men along with their horses.

f.185a When the infidels heard this, they left standing as they were, forty thousand tents of various kinds, and twelve pavilions, and all the twelve Rāys and several thousand horsemen took to flight.

The Sultān pursued them, defeated them at Qanauj and got gold and silver coins and bullion in such quantities that no one took anything else except gold and brass vessels. When he returned from that battle, he ordered a Friday mosque to be built in چنڊير (sic Chandir¹ for Chandīri?) and a minaret in the Fort of Lahore as a memorial of his victory.

May God (Exalted be He!) forgive that king and all other kings who wage war on the infidels. (I have narrated this story) in order to show that skill in throwing lasso at the proper time stands one in good stead. One should learn it well, and should not keep a lasso away from one's saddle-straps, for it would be helpful some day and one would become famous thereby, capture one's enemies and put their mischief out of one's way.

(18)

f.186a The author of this book states that once in his boyhood he saw an old man in Multān called Khwāja 'Alī Kaznābādī. He had a wound behind his neck which was four fingers deep. The author asked him about the wound and he replied thus:

"At the time when a battle was fought at Takinābād² on the Āb-i-Garm between *Sultān-i-Halīm* Khusraw Shāh³ (may God's mercy be upon him!) and Malik 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Ghori, the army of Ghaznīn suffered defeat and a party of their leaders and commanders fell into the victor's hands. I was also among them. Under 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Ghori's order his men were decapitating our men in troops before him, then I⁴ received such a blow of the sword on my neck, that the bones of my neck joints were completely severed, but the two jugular veins were not cut and the throat and a little skin that held it firmly was not severed more than half. I fell unconscious among the slain and as the blood clotted up on account of the heat of the sun and the blowing of the

1. Doubtful text. Perhaps the author is telling us that minarets were added to several Friday mosques (حدین مسجد آدیہ). Chandīri is situated on the Betwā Bābur went from Chandīri to Qanauj in about 25 days (*Memoirs of Bābur*, tr. Beveridge) p. 598 seq.

2. Same as Takinābād. cf. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 115¹⁴.

3. The account of the historical events given above generally agrees with that given by Raverty in his translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* I. 112 note 3.

4. Lit. this old man etc. The author uses the 3rd person in this one sentence, in the whole of this anecdote.

wind, it flowed no more. That day I remained continuously unconscious till two-thirds of the night had passed away. When it was about dawn the morning breeze began to blow upon me, and I came to my senses. Opening my eyes I found my head bent upon my bosom. I made an effort, held my head with both hands, and raised it upwards towards the neck. I found that all the blood had clotted up, so I held my ears with both hands, and having bandaged my head like that, I went creeping to a village nearby. As I had been born and bred in the town of Takinābād every one knew me. I went to the door of the headman¹ of this village and sat there, till at the time of the morning prayers, the man came out to say his prayers. He saw me in the above-stated condition and was frightened at first, but when he looked at me more carefully he recognised me and called his men out. They came out and took me into the house. Then he sent for a skilful surgeon and said to him:

f.186b

"If you heal the wound of this man and save his life I will give you ten thousand *dirhams*."

At the order of the surgeon, they immediately boiled some water. He washed the wound nicely, joined the severed parts together evenly, cut a fresh twig² of the size of my back from an almond tree and inserted it into the two vertebræ of my neck. Then he sewed the skin over it, applied some ointment and bandaged it with a piece of clear cotton cloth. After this he seated me, supporting me with a pillow. Some hot soup of minced-meat was brought in, which they poured with a spoon into my mouth so that it slowly went down. They treated me in this manner five or six times a day and the surgeon dressed the wound once or twice a day. He withheld from me neither desire for my good nor tender sympathy for me. After three days God (Exalted be He!) gave me back my speech, and in twenty days' time the wound was completely healed and filled up. For twenty days more they continued to nourish me in the same manner till I gained strength, made water, and recovered my health.

The headman brought a suit of clothes and a turban, placed them before me and offered many apologies. I put on those clothes and went back to my home, where my family members had already mourned me, offered alms (for the benefit of my soul), and given me up as dead. The army of 'Alā'-ud-Din had returned to Ghor and evacuated the kingdom. My reappearance became a source of intense joy for my people and all my relatives and friends offered alms (in thanksgiving). Once again I occupied myself with my usual business, and God (Exalted be He!) blessed

f.187a

1. The context requires some such sense of the word حوط but this meaning is not traceable in the dictionaries. Yule (*Hobson-Jobson* London 1903) gives the word *Khot* in almost the above sense, but calls it a Marhatti word, though he thinks it to be traceable to the 'Ādil Shāhis. *Stengass* explains حوط as "a corpulent man".

2. [The author is again drawing too much on our credulity]

me with children. Later when the Ghuzz captured Ghaznin and went to Takinâbâd, they hauled up every man and fined and tortured him. As I had once experienced affliction and misery at the hands of a foreign army, I took to flight by way of Quzdâr and Mustang and came here to Multân".

From that event to the day in question, fifteen years had gone by, but as God (Exalted be He!) had not decreed his death that ghastly wound, of his was healed and he lived for a long time after that. But when the time of his death approached he was sitting one day, and sneezed; then a crackling sound was heard from his neck and the piece of wood which the surgeon had inserted between his vertebræ, broke, for it had become wornt out. He rolled down at that very place, and gave up his ghost.

THE DEVIL'S DELUSION*

By ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZI

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY D S MARGOLIOUTH

PARALOGISM 2 Their assertion that God is independent of our actions unaffected by them whether they be acts of obedience or disobedience so that we ought not to trouble ourselves uselessly

We reply to this in the first place by the previous answer, viz that this is repudiation of the enactments of the Code, it is like saying to the apostle and His sender "There is no use in what you command us" Next in reply to the paralogism we shall say Whosoever imagines that God Almighty profits by an act of obedience or suffers from one of disobedience, or attains any object thereby has no knowledge of God, who is far removed from accidents and objects, from profit and loss The profit of the actions redounds on ourselves as the Deity says *xxiii, 6* *Whoso striveth striveth only for himself* and *[xxv, 19] Whoso purifieth himself purifieth himself only for himself* The physician prescribes a diet for the patient for the patient's benefit not for his own, and just as the body has benefits and injuries from foods, so the soul has things that profit it and things that hurt it, such as knowledge ignorance, belief, action The Code is like the physician, who knows best about the remedies which he prescribes This is the doctrine of those who assign purpose to God's acts, most of the learned, however, hold that they are without purpose Another reply is that if God is independent of our actions He is independent of our knowledge of Him, but He has enjoined us knowledge of Him, and likewise obedience to Him We must look then to His command not to the purpose of His command

Paralogism 3 Their assertion that the vastness of God's mercy is ascertained, that it is not inadequate for us whence there is no reason why we should deny ourselves what we desire

The answer to this is similar to the first answer for this assertion involves repudiation of the threats conveyed by the divine messengers, and belittlement of what they so earnestly warn against, and the punishment for which they so powerfully describe The delusion here can be cleared away by the reflexion that just as the Deity describes Himself as merciful, so too he describes Himself as severe in punishment Further, we find saints and prophets tried with disease and hunger and punished for lapses, nay more, He is feared by those whose salvation is assured The Friend (Abraham) on the Day of Resurrection will say Myself,

*A selection comprising pp 391—97 of the Arabic original

myself', and the Interlocutor (Moses) will say *Myself, myself*. Our own 'Umar said: Woe to 'Umar if he be not forgiven!

You should know that one who hopes for mercy must apply himself to the means whereby it is to be obtained, among which is repentance of lapses, just as one who hopes to reap must sow. God says [ii, 215] *Verily those that have believed and those that have migrated and striven in the path of God they hope for God's mercy*, meaning that hope is fitting for these whereas the hope of those who persist in sin and hope for mercy is unlikely to be realised.

The Prophet said: 'Sagacious is he who examines himself and works for what shall be after death; and incompetent is he who lets his soul pursue its lusts and wishes for many things from God. —Ma'rûf al-Karkhî said: Thy hoping for mercy from One whom thou dost not obey is calamity and folly.

You should know that there is nothing in the acts which proceed from the Deity that authorizes one to feel safe from His punishment; what they contain only prevents despair of His mercy. And just as despair is improper owing to the kindness which He displays in His creation, so presumption is improper owing to the evidence which it furnishes of His resenting and avenging. For since He amputates the most precious member of the body for the theft of a quarter of a dinar, there is no guarantee that His punishment hereafter will not be on a similar scale.

Paralogism 4. It has occurred to some of them that the object is discipline of the soul whereby it may be freed from ruinous stains; having disciplined them for a time, and finding purification impossible, they say: Why should we trouble ourselves over a thing which is unattainable by humanity? and so they abandon the effort. This delusion is dispelled by the reflexion that they suppose the object of the Code to be the suppression of certain internal attributes of humanity, e.g. lust, anger, etc., whereas this is not the object of the Code, neither is the eradication of the natural propensities conceivable. No, the propensities were created for some utility; were it not for the desire for food, the human being would perish; were it not for the desire for marriage, the race would come to an end; were it not for anger no man would repel annoyance. Likewise love of property has been implanted in the nature, because its possession enables these desires to be gratified. What is meant by discipline is restraint of the soul from what is harmful in all this, and reducing it to moderation. God praises [lxxix, 40] *him who restrains the soul from passion*; now it can only be restrained from something which it seeks: if the seeking had been eradicated from its nature the man would not need to restrain it. And God says [iii, 128] *and the suppressors of wrath*, not "those who lack wrath". The word here used for "to suppress" means properly "to send back", used of an animal sending up the cud into its throat. The Deity here praises him who restrains his soul from acting in accordance with an outburst of anger. One who claims that discipline is alteration of the nature makes an absurd pretension. The

1. *I e.* I myself require an intercessor, so cannot intercede for others. This comes from a Tradition quoted in the *Iḥyâ* IV, 412 according to the commentator (x 489) from second-rate authorities. A part of it is cited in *Maḥma' az-Zawâ'id* X 342.

2 Tradition cited in the *Iḥyâ* IV, 309, line 14, according to the commentator from Tirmidhî, Ibn Mâjah, and Ibn Hanbal.

aim of discipline is to refrain the vehemence of the soul's lust or wrath, not to eradicate them; the disciplined man is like the prudent dietist,¹ who when food is presented takes what is good for him and abstains from what will harm him. The undisciplined is like a stupid boy who eats what he likes, not troubling about the consequences.

Paralogism 5. Some of these people after maintaining their discipline for a time suppose themselves to be stabilized, and say: Now we need not trouble what we do; commands and prohibitions are formalities for the vulgar herd, from which they would be exempted if they were stabilised. The purport of prophethood is reducible to wisdom and welfare, its object being to keep the vulgar herd in order; we are not of the vulgar herd, so as to be within the confines of the ordinances, for we are stabilised and know wisdom. In these people's view a result of their stabilisation is that they are devoid of jealousy, so that according to them the stage of perfection is only attained by one who feels no horror when he sees his wife with a stranger; if he feels horror he is attending to his personal share, and is not yet perfect: had he been perfect, his lower self would be dead; "lower self" is the term whereby they designate jealousy, "perfection of faith" that whereby they designate that imperturbability which is the character of the impotent. Ibn Jarir in his *History* records how the Rawandis used to practice licence, one of them inviting a number to his house, giving them food and drink, and letting them cohabit with his wife.

This paralogism is dispelled by the observation that so long as there are individual beings in existence it is not possible to discard the manifest forms of obedience to the divine will, since these were established in the interest of mankind. The purity of the heart may at times overcome the foulness of nature, only such foulness sinking to the bottom keeps quiet so long as there is persistence in goodness, but the slightest thing will stir it, like a clod which falls into water with a bed of clay. This nature can only be compared to water which bears the ship of the soul along, with the reason acting as a tow-rope; though the tow-rope had been pulling for a whole league, if it be let go, the ship will begin to descend again. One who claims that his nature alters lies; and one who asserts that he can look at the beautiful without passion being aroused does not speak the truth. Indeed, if these people miss a morsel or are maligned by someone, they display vexation; where then is the effect of the reason when they are led away by passion? We have seen some of them giving women the handshake, whereas the Prophet, who was immune from sin, would not give one of them the handshake. We have been told that a number of them fraternise with women and sit privately with them, but claim safety, i.e., hold that they are safe from wrongdoing—which is far from being the case. Where is the "safety" from the guilt of forbidden privacy, and prohibited gazing, or security against the onset of evil thoughts? 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: If two decaying bones were to meet in private, one of them would have a desire for the other—referring to an old man and an old woman.

There is a Tradition going back to Ibn Shāhin² according to which he said:

1. The text has "physician", which cannot well be the author's meaning.

2. Ṭabari III, 418

3. 'Umar b. al-Ḥmad b. 'Uthman, died 385. Account of him in *Kutāb Baghdad* XI 265-68.

There are Sūfis who allow promiscuity under the profession of fraternity, one of them saying to a woman: Fraternise with me on condition of waiving all opposition between us.—I would observe that we have been told by the physician Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī at-Tirmidhī in his book *Discipline of the Soul*¹ that he had been told how Sahl b. 'Alī al-Marwazī used to say to his brother's wife, who lived in the same house. Hide yourself from me for a time; presently he would tell her to be as before. Tirmidhī states that the former injunction was when he felt concupiscent. — I would observe that the disappearance of the instinct is inconceivable so long as the man lives; it only weakens. Men who are physically incapable still desire to touch and to gaze. But let it be supposed that all this has been eradicated, does not the Code forbid gazing, and indeed without exception? And the power to do that remains. We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a Tradition going back to Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān as-Sulamī, according to which the latter said: Abū Naṣr' al-Naṣrābādī, being told how some people sat with women, declaring themselves safe from temptation when they looked at them, said: So long as persons remain in existence, commands and prohibitions remain, and the laws of licit and illicit are binding on those to whom they are addressed; and only those venture on what is doubtful who expose themselves to the commission of what is illicit.—Abū 'Alī ar-Rudhbārī², being asked about some one who said he had arrived at a stage wherein he was unaffected by the change of states, said: He has indeed arrived, only at the infernal region.—Al-Jurayrī³ is recorded to have said: I heard Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junayd say to a man who, speaking of cognition, said: The cognisant of God arrive at the abandonment of motions which belong to the category of charitable works and modes of approaching the Deity. This is the language of people who talk of the discarding of actions⁴, which is to my mind atrocious. The thief and the adulterer are in a better case than those who talk thus. Those who are cognisant of God take the actions from Him, and render them to Him. Were I to last a thousand years I would not reduce my acts of charity by an atom, unless prevented, for it confirms my cognisance of Him, and strengthens my state.

There is also a Tradition that Abū Muḥammad al-Murta'ish said: I heard Abū'l-Ḥasan an-Nūrī say:⁵ If you see a man claiming to have with God a dignity which removes him from the limits set by knowledge of the Code, do not come near him; and if you see a man claiming a hidden character which is not indicated nor attested by something manifestly recorded, suspect his orthodoxy.

Paralogism 6. Certain of them have gone to such lengths in discipline that they have seen something resembling a kind of miracle, or veridical dreams, or have come

1 Mentioned by Hājji Khalīlah, who gives the author's death date 255. He is in Qushayrī's list of Sūfis (I. 164)

2. The author should have said Abū'l-Qāsim, *kunya* of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Naṣrābādī, died 367, or whom this story is told in the *Risālah Qushayrīyyah* II. 14.

3 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, died 322 or 323. This story comes from the *Risālah Qushayrīyyah* I. 190.

4 Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad, died 321. Notice of him in the same work, I. 172. The story here comes from I. 142

5 *I.e.*, being no longer bound by the legal liability to perform them.

6 This comes from the *Risālah Qushayrīyyah* I. 150.

into possession of fine phrases, the fruit of reflexion and isolation and believing themselves to have arrived at the goal, discard actions none the less adorning their exterior with the patched cloak, the prayer-carpet, the dance, and emotion and employing the phraseology of Sufism about cognisance, emotion desire the reply to them is the same as that given to the last

Ibn 'Uqayl says people have strayed away from God and abandoned the enactments of the Code for their own inventions. Some of them worship some one other than God thinking Him too great to be worshipped, such other beings they suppose to be intermediaries. Some are monotheists only discard acts of devotion asserting that they were only appointed for the vulgar herd, through their want of cognisances. This however, is a form of polytheism for God, knowing that cognisance of Himself is profound and sublime and those who were not cognisant were unlikely to take heed bade them fear the Fire, because people know how it stings whereas to the cognisant He says [III 27] *Now God bids you be aware of Himself*. Knowing too that most cults require familiarity with symbols, establishment of regions and localities buildings stones for religious rites, direction for turning explained the realities of faith in Himself saying [II 185] *It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces eastward and westward nay, righteousness is believing in God* and [XXII 38] *then flesh and their blood reach not God* teaching that the important thing is the purpose, and that mere cognisance will not suffice without obedience as the heretical Batinis and the Sufi visionaries hold relying thereon.

There is a Tradition going back to Abu'l-Qasim Ali b. al-Muhassin at-Tanukhi after his father according to which the latter said 'We have been told by a number of learned persons that there is in Shiraz a man known as Ibn Khafif of Baghdad head of the Sufi community there to whom men gather and who talks to them about imaginations and 'suggestions'. Thousands attend his circle and he is regarded by them as highly expert. He has perverted the weak-minded to this system. One of his followers died a Sufi who left a Sufi widow. There was a gathering of Sufi women, who were a multitude, and no one besides them attended the mourning. When they had finished the interment Ibn Khafif with his intimate associates, also a multitude entered the dwelling and he began to console the widow in Sufi language, after which she said 'I feel consoled'—He then said to her 'Is any other here?'—No-one, she said—Then, said he 'what is the sense of our souls hugging the vexations of grief and being tortured with the torments of sorrow? Why should we neglect amalgamation, so that the lights may meet that the spirits may be purified, the substitutes fall, and the blessings descend?'—The woman said 'If you will'—The two companies "amalgamated" for the whole night and when morning came, the men were dismissed.

The expression "Is any other here?" means 'Is there any one here who does not agree with the system?' "Amalgamation" has an obscene sense "That the lights may meet" refers to their principle that in every body there is a divine light "The substitutes" refers to the doctrine that every married woman has a substitute for the dead or absent mate.

I (says Tanukhi) regard this as atrocious had I not been told it by a number

1. This story is from *Table talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* part II p. 227

of persons whom I regard as unlikely to lie, I should not have repeated it, as too atrocious and unlikely to occur in an Islamic country. I was told that this and similar occurrences became so notorious that they reached the prince 'Aḍud ad-Dawlah, who arrested a number of the persons, scourged them, and by scattering the groups put a stop to the proceedings.

The Şūfis knowing little about the Code, illegal acts and utterances have proceeded from them, similar to that which has been mentioned; then they have been imitated by persons who are not of their community, but have taken their name, and from them similar things have proceeded to what we have narrated. Pious men among them were rare; they have been severely censured by the learned and even by their own leaders.

PERSONALIA

BARON SILVESTRE DE SACY (1758—1838)

THE centenary of Silvestre de Sacy's death, which falls on the 21st February of this year, furnishes us with a suitable occasion to recall with admiration and gratitude the life work of that distinguished scholar, who was the founder of the modern school of Arabic scholarship in Europe.

The second son of a Parisian notary, De Sacy was born at Paris on the 21st September, 1758. Designed for the civil service, he studied jurisprudence; and in 1781 got a place, which he held till 1791. He liked variety of work and was astonishingly indefatigable, since he seems to have had little or no need of absolute rest. While he was following the usual course of school and professional training, he managed to acquire almost all the Semitic languages; and while he was yet employed in the civil service, he found time to make himself a great name as an Orientalist by a series of publications, which began with Biblical studies and gradually extended so as to take the whole Semitic and Iranian East within their range. His chief triumph was an effective commencement of the decipherment of the Pahlavi inscriptions of the Sasanian kings. It was, however, the French Revolution which gained De Sacy wholly for Oriental studies. In 1792 he retired from public service, and lived in seclusion till 1795, when he was called to be professor of Arabic in the newly-founded *Ecole Speciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*.

When he was called to be a teacher, he felt that he had to perfect his own knowledge as well as to supply the necessary literary tools to others. Reiske, whose profound knowledge of the Arabic language is attested by his posthumous edi-

tion and translation of the chronicle of Abu'l-Fidâ, had died some years before. Similarly, the Schultens, both father and son, who had shed lustre on the University of Leiden for half a century, were also dead. When De Sacy devoted himself to the study of Arabic, Arabic learning was in a backward state, the standard of philological knowledge was low, and the books for students extremely defective. The thoroughness, with which he set himself to complete his own knowledge and supply the lacking helps to others, is abundantly shown by his great text-books, *La Grammaire Arabe* and *La Chrestomathie Arabe*, together with its supplement, *L'Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe*. The clear exposition of the grammar, the happy choice of the pieces in the Chrestomathy and the admirable notes, drawn from a vast reading in manuscript sources—these are some of the distinctive features of these works, which make them altogether different from ordinary text-books. The powers of a great teacher and the knowledge of an unrivalled scholar are utilised to the fullest extent for the benefit of the learner, with the result that the books are equally delightful and instructive to the student and the advanced reader, and still retain their usefulness and interest after the lapse of more than a century.

It is impossible to give in this place even a bare list of the memoirs, essays and reviews, which the prolific pen of De Sacy contributed to the learned journals of his time. Among the works which he designed mainly for the use of students, we may mention his edition of *Kalîlah wa Dimnah*, of the *Maqâmat* of Hariri with a selected Arabic commentary, and of the *Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mâlik.

Thanks to his excellent published works and his oral teaching, De Sacy became the founder of a wholly new

school and the father of all subsequent Arabists. With the exception of Ewald, almost all the prominent Arabists in the first half of 19th century, in Germany as well as in France, were his personal pupils. A brilliant series of teachers Freytag, Flugel, Fleischer, Ahlwardt, Tornberg, Kosegarten, De Slane, Quatremère and Reinaud—went out from his lecture-room to occupy professorial chairs in the principal universities of Europe. A huge literary output stands to the credit of these savants, and a part at least of the merit rightfully belongs to their common master, De Sacy, to whom they owed so much of their knowledge and inspiration. De Sacy enjoyed the confidence not only of the government of his own country—where several new chairs were created at his suggestion—, but also that of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who habitually consulted him about the chairs of Oriental languages, which they founded in their respective dominions and about the professors, whom they invited to occupy them.

De Sacy was one of the founders of the Société Asiatique, and was nominated its first president when the Society was constituted in 1822 A.C. He also took an active part in the redaction of its organ, *Le Journal Asiatique*, in which were published some of his most important essays and communications. De Sacy had reached the highest degree of eminence, which a man of his profession could attain. He was universally regarded as the most distinguished Orientalist

of his time; and his countrymen did him all the honour that was due to his scholarship and nobility of character. He was a peer of the realm of France, a grand officer of the Legion of Honour, the holder of many foreign titles, and member of the principal academies of Europe and Asia. He died at the ripe age of eighty, having devoted all his time and talents during a long life to the service of science and humanity.

We in the East can never forget the debt of gratitude that we owe to the unremitting labours of Western scholars in the field of Oriental history, languages, science and culture. At a time when peoples of the East were passing through their period of political and intellectual decline, and were oblivious of their cultural heritage, the Western scholars saved their literary treasures, which enshrined both the spiritual and material aspects of their great cultural past. They preserved them from destruction, published them, translated and studied them, till the East awoke once again from its long slumber, came to recognize their value, and began to take pride in those priceless heirlooms. When the history of Oriental Renaissance comes to be written, the Orientalists will find in it an honourable place among those agencies, which have been instrumental in helping the East to rediscover its soul. We, accordingly, honour the name of De Sacy and pay our tribute to his memory, as a great pioneer in the field of Oriental studies.

—Sh. Inayatullah

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

A HINDU ON ISLAM

THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF ISLAM. *An Essay on Islamic Culture.* By M. N. Roy. Bombay: Vora & Co. 1937.

AT a time when some influential but prejudiced persons in this country are denying the very existence of Islamic culture, with characteristics and significance of its own, it is heartening and reassuring to find a writer of Mr. M. N. Roy's strength of conviction and varied experience break a lance in the defence of the culture of Islam, as well as in the interests of historical truth. The object of the author in writing this essay has been to foster a spirit of impartial inquiry into the facts of history, and to help to create an intellectual atmosphere, in which the baffling problem of Hindu-Muslim unity may be intelligently and dispassionately approached. The subject-matter of the essay is so important that we need make no apology for giving a full analysis of its contents, so as to call attention to the chief points that the author wants to emphasise.

The author has been induced to take up the pen, because he feels that "no civilised people in the world is so ignorant of Islamic history and contemptuous of Islamic religion as the Hindus; while their current notion of the teachings of the Arabian Prophet is extremely ill-informed," with the result that the average educated Hindu has little knowledge of, and no appreciation for, the immense cultural significance of the revolution brought about by Islam. This regrettable ignorance and prejudice are, no doubt, mainly based on their historical past and are due to the relation in which they have stood to each other for centuries. It is, however, high time that the prevailing false notions were combatted for the

sake of national cohesion of the Indian people, as well as in the interests of true history. It is with these laudable objects that the author starts to give his countrymen a true appreciation of the cultural significance of Islam, which he thinks is of supreme importance at the present critical period of the history of India.

The author devotes the second chapter of his essay to the political expansion of the Arabs and to an elucidation of the mission of Islam; and has done well to clear the ground by pointing out at the outset the fundamental difference between the conquests of the Arabs and the depredations of the barbarian hordes of Goths, Huns, Vandals and Mongols. Whereas the latter brought death and destruction and chaos in their wake, the Arabs on the other hand pulled down only to build up anew. In other words, they cleared away the crumbling ruins of senescent civilisations, so that a new social order might arise in their place, and new ideas and ideals blossom forth with the vigour of rejuvenated life. Their wise and tolerant rule created conditions which ushered in an era of unprecedented economic prosperity and cultural advancement. Although Islam originally made its appearance as a religion, it soon became a great political force, and ultimately assumed the form of a wide-spread cultural movement, which embraced many peoples and rescued them from their hopeless condition.

These considerations lead the author to formulate the central thesis of his essay that Islam has played a revolutionary and liberalising rôle in the history of mankind, and that its phenomenal success was primarily due to its revolutionary character and its ability to lead the masses out of the hopeless situation created by the decay of older civilisations, not only of Greece and

Rome but also of Persia and India. History tells us that the Arab conquerors, in their expansion to the east and west, were everywhere hailed as deliverers by peoples who had for centuries been oppressed by corrupt rulers, and- what was still worse- subjected to spiritual tyranny, which denied them freedom of thought and imposed penalties on individual opinion. The author gives due weight to the economic basis of their prosperity. Political, racial and geographical barriers were battered down, so that agriculture, industry and trade flourished as they had never flourished before. Religion condemned monastic seclusion, and extolled industry and legitimate occupation with the affairs of the world. Trade was as noble a profession as that of statecraft, war, letters or science. The author shows in a very interesting way how a trader is susceptible of mental and moral development and how his occupation broadens his vision, frees him from prejudice, and makes him broad-minded and tolerant by familiarising him with strange persons and things.

In the third chapter, the author depicts the economic and social conditions of Arabia, in which Islam arose and which influenced its future growth and determined to a considerable degree the policy and trend it followed in foreign lands. He points out, for instance, how the desert conditions had made the Arabs liberty-loving, and bred in them those military virtues, which stood them in good stead in their conquests. The military successes of Islam should, therefore, be credited not so much to the religious zeal and fervour of the Arabs as to the conditions of the country of their origin. Similarly, the principle of social equality, preached by Islam, is also characteristic of the tribal organisation of desert life, in which all members must show equal valour in the defence of tribal property and honour and have to share their trials and tribulations in an equal degree.

Among the causes of the triumph of Islam, which the author discusses in the fourth chapter of his essay, pride of place is given to the policy of toleration, which

was pursued more or less consistently throughout the period of Muslim domination. Financial interests of the State, too, required that the peasant and the artisan were protected, and opulent cities saved from wanton destruction. For centuries, the Arab empire offered hospitable asylum to the persecuted Jews, as well as to unorthodox harassed Christian sects, such as Nestorians, Jacobites, Eutyrians and Paulicians. The success of Islam is explained, in the second place, by the plight of the conquered peoples, who were in a state of social dissolution and spiritual despair. The message of Islam brought them a new hope and a new life, and offered them opportunities to improve themselves according to their courage and capacity. Intellectual decline and spiritual unrest were crying for a new remedy, a fresh inspiration, which was supplied by Islam. The causes of the marvellous success of Islam were, therefore, spiritual as well as social and political in character.

The author devotes the sixth chapter to the rôle of Islam in the field of philosophic thought. The best days of Islam, he observes, were marked by the freedom of thought, which produced such eminent thinkers as al-Kindi, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd. The rationalist philosophy of the last-named, which acted for long as a powerful solvent on the religious obscurantism and superstition of medieval Christianity, represents what was highest and best in Arabian philosophy. Blind prejudice against the philosophers marks the beginning of the era of intellectual inertia and mental fossilisation in the Muslim world.

The seventh and last chapter deals with the rôle of Islam in India. From the ease, with which a handful of Muslim foreigners conquered the vast land of India, the author concludes that Aryavarta must have then been in the grip of political degeneration. When Islam came to India, the conflict between the declining Buddhism and the triumphant orthodox Brahmanism had, in fact, resulted in political dissension and consequent weakness. The condition was aggravated by the fact that the

masses felt oppressed by the tyranny of Brahmanical orthodoxy. Muhammad b. Qāsim received active help from the Jats and other agricultural communities of the Indian frontier. Similarly, the army of Mahmūd contained Hindu contingents, Tilak being one of his trusted Hindu Military commanders. The spread of the Islamic faith itself in the caste-ridden and class-conscious country of India was mainly due to the equalitarian social programme of Islam. No wonder if the oppressed and down-trodden masses, who had long suffered from the severities of the Brahmanical laws, readily flocked to the banner of Islam, which offered them social equality and opportunities of improvement, if not complete liberty in the political sphere. Moreover, the success of the Muslim arms must have been a strong argument in favour of the validity of Islam as a superior religion. Although the conquest of India was not undertaken by the Muslim invaders with the express object of propagating their faith, their victories on the battle-field must have given a rude shock to their adversaries' faith in the divinity of idols and the sanctity of their shrines, which they had hitherto considered inviolable. The martial classes in particular must have, in these circumstances, felt constrained to transfer their devotion from the gods of proved impotence to Almighty, Who had so magnificently rewarded His servants! Apart from their material results, the Muslim victories thus produced psychological effects of profound significance.

Our author believes that a critical investigation of the internal and external causes of the Muslim conquest of India, and a true appreciation of the Muslim contribution to the spiritual and social welfare of this country is of practical value to-day; for "it will remove the prejudice that makes the orthodox Hindu look upon his Muslim neighbour as an inferior being"—an attitude of mind, which not only insults history but is doing incalculable harm to the future of this country. Even when the best sons of Europe are not ashamed to acknowledge the material and intellectual benefits which European civilisation has de-

rived from the Arabs, the author cannot understand why the Hindus should shut their eyes to the legacy of Islamic culture in India. He regrets that India could not fully benefit by the heritage of Islam, but believes that Indians, both Hindus and Muslims, can nevertheless draw inspiration from that memorable chapter in the history of mankind.

The work is of an unusual character and interest. The writer gives ample evidence of a rare impartiality, a broad historical outlook and an objective and realistic reading of historical facts, which he interprets with a brilliant originality. His candour of opinion, fearless criticism of things Indian and his freedom from parochial loyalties lead us to surmise that he is not wholly the product of Indian environment. He seems to be one of those gifted few who in their generous and free development outgrow the narrow limits of their immediate surroundings.

The essay is printed in a clear type, but is unfortunately marred by a large number of misprints. This is, probably, to be explained by the circumstance that it was written, as the publishers state, behind prison bars. Careful proof-reading, however, would have eliminated this serious blemish from an otherwise highly interesting and meritorious piece of work. We have also noticed that some proper names have been mis-spelt. On p. 16, for instance, Omrou should be written as 'Amr. Similarly, Motassen should be Mu'tasim; Ashirwan Anūshirwān; Al Kandi—Al-Kindi; Al Hassan - Ibn al-Haytham; Al Manon - Al-Ma'mūn. Let us hope that the publishers will see to it that these and other errors are corrected in a future edition of the book.

Sh. Inayatullah

THE ARAB RACE

THE ARABS. By *Bertram Thomas*. London: *Thornton Butterworth*. 1937.

ONE cold morning in February, 1931, the Londoners woke up to read in *The Times* that Rub' al-Khali, Ara-

hia's great southern sandy waste, had been crossed by an Englishman, Mr. Bertram Thomas. The average reader, probably, did not fully realize the significance of the report, although the editorial staff of the paper had taken care to accompany it with a sketch-map of southern Arabia, the scene of the memorable exploit. Mr. Thomas had previously spent many years in Arab lands, particularly as prime minister to the Sultan of Muscat and Oman; and had also made exploratory journeys in the south-eastern borderlands of Arabia, described in his book, *Alarums and Excursions in Arabia* (1931); but it was his courageous and well-planned crossing of the dread desert of Rub' al-Khâli, that first brought him to the notice of the general public. Soon after, universities and learned societies vied with one another in conferring degrees and medals upon him, and he was in great demand as a lecturer on both sides of the Atlantic. The volume under review is based on the Lowell Lectures on "The Arabs" which he delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, in 1935.

This is the life-story of a people, who have left their deep impress on the world; and it is designed to give to the general reader an outline of their history, religion, mediæval civilisation and later-day politics. The personal contact made by the author with the modern representatives of the ancient Arab race during a period of fourteen years' residence in Arab lands, and his careful and critical reading of the literary sources of information, eminently qualify him for the task; and by a judicious selection of the material at hand, he has admirably succeeded in setting forth a story of wide scope and varied interest within the comparatively small compass of a single volume of 350 pages.

The author begins with the Arabs of antiquity, with their long serpentine caravans, loaded with frankincense and precious spices, winding their way northward through the wilderness to the great cities beside the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile; and sketches their relations with the Pharaohs, the Babylonians, Assyrians, the Israelites and the

Abyssinians. He, then, passes to the life and teaching of the Prophet Muhammad, and proceeds to narrate briefly the marvellous wars of expansion, by which the Arabs swept the world in the seventh century and planted their faith and dominion from Samarkand to Seville. A most interesting description is, then, given of the social life of the Arabs, of the arts and the sciences, which made Arab civilisation the most eminent in the world, in an age when Europe looked so insignificant in comparison and was glad to learn as a humble disciple from the East. Then comes the period of decline, when Crusaders from Europe and the Mongols from Tartary rushed upon the Arabs, brought them low, and thus paved the way for the victorious march of the conquering Turk.

The rise and fall of the Arab Empire is an oft-repeated story, that has been told as a whole or in part by many writers before Mr. Thomas. The value of his book, in our opinion, lies in those chapters of his volume which he devotes to the contemporary history of the Arabs, where he writes with the authority and insight of his personal observation and first-hand knowledge of things Arabian. He writes with admirable detachment of all that has followed the Arab revolt against Turkish rule, and of the foundation of the new Arab states and the mandatory system in Syria and Palestine. He has the rare gift of putting himself in place of the Arabs and seeing things as they see them. His complete familiarity with the Arab psychology and the Arab point of view has enabled him to gain an unusually clear understanding of their past and present history and to make it plain to his readers. Of Arab character, Mr. Thomas writes throughout with exceptional understanding and sympathy; and his heart has been moved to its depth by their great human qualities. "Among them," he writes, "generosity and heroism stand nobly forth. There is no people in the world more naturally generous than the Arabs. They give with both hands, they give with all their heart. It is no niggardly, calculating generosity impelled by the hope of something better in ex-

change. It springs spontaneously from a nature that is made that way. Not once but twenty times during my journeys in South Arabia I have been moved to admiration by little acts of humanity among my Beduin companions. After long thirsty hours in the saddle I have trotted ahead—one or two of them accompanying me—to be first at a longed-for waterhole. There they have watched approvingly as I have eagerly slaked my thirst, yet would none of them allow a drop of water to moisten his lips till the rest of his companions an hour's march behind perhaps—came up that they might all drink together. A crust I have given to one I have noticed that he saved to share with a companion: and rarely has it been possible to pass a tent, however humble, but the owner has come running out with a greeting on his lips to insist on our sharing his bowl of milk, his few dates, or whatever else he had, though his supply were inadequate perhaps for his own wants. You are a stranger, he has never seen you before, he will never see you again, yet he unstintingly gives you that of which he has dire need himself." Of their gallantry and chivalrous attitude of mind, Mr. Thomas observes that "Chivalry, was ever the quality exalted in their heroes, and chivalry, be it not forgotten, found its way into general European practice during the Arab period first by way of Spanish, then of French contacts. Had the Arabs, then, no other claims upon us—and their claims, as history shows, are both many and significant—their contributions to chivalry alone, would entitle them to a proud name among the nations."

Not the least valuable part of the book is the appendix, in which the author briefly discusses the racial origins of the Arabs. A common language and fairly uniform culture have led the generality of scholars to accept without question the racial homogeneity and purity of the inhabitants of Arabia. Mr. Thomas shows that this smug supposition is belied by actual facts. To determine the racial affinities of the Arabs, we must not treat their language and culture and traditions as final and

infallible criteria, but we must look to their bodily inheritance—their anatomy, the shapes of their heads, the nature of their hair, their pigmentation and other physical characteristics. According to Sir Arthur Keith, one of the greatest living anthropologists, who has made a study of Arab skeletal remains ancient and modern, the original inhabitants of Arabia were not the familiar Arabs of our own time, but a very much darker people, with clear affinities with the Hamites of Africa. A great wave of the Caucasoid people seems to have driven them, in pre-historic times, southwards where the exploration of Mr. Thomas is believed to have discovered their vestiges in and around the Qara mountains, a kind of natural sanctuary beyond the great sandy ocean of Rub' al-Khali. The other two racial types that the author has found in the Peninsula are the round-headed, hawk-nosed Armenoids and the long-skulled Mediterraneans. He has discussed these matters more fully in his as yet unpublished book, *The Geography and Ethnography of South Arabia*; and we shall be eagerly looking forward to its early publication because of its great scientific interest.

The fact that such eminent authorities as Professor Margoliouth and Professor Gibb were good enough to read through the author's manuscript, disarms criticism. We may, however, be permitted to point out, that while writing of the Roman expedition to Arabia, under Aelius Gallus in the reign of Augustus, the author, following Strabo, makes the execution of the Nabataean commissary, Syllaeus, who served as guide, to follow hard upon the failure of the expedition, whereas he was in fact executed for high crimes and misdemeanours twenty years after that failure.

It only remains to say that a bibliography, an index and several maps and excellent photographic illustrations add to the value and interest of Mr. Thomas's book.

—*Sh. Inayatullah*

One chapter in the volume is devoted to the Arabic historians, most of whom have, however, been dismissed with a paragraph or two; while the bulk of the chapter is given to an analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddamah* and to versions of parts of it. The Arabic philosophers have no place in the Miscellany; but the author finds consolation for their omission in the thought that even "the greatest of them, Averroes, is not at all an original philosopher". We are, nevertheless, grateful to the author for giving us, in another part of his volume, a full summary in about 35 pages of the first half of the epic story of Banū Hilāl, which covers 1264 pages of closely printed text in the Damascus edition (1927). The same applies to the summary of Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri's *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, which is given about the end of the volume.

The author does not seem to follow any definite system of transliteration. Moreover, there is a large number of misprints and errors of transcription, but most of these have been corrected in three separate lists of errata and corrigenda, though reference to them is tedious. It is difficult to see what class of readers the author had in mind while writing these sketches, which give the impression of having been made, in the first instance at least, in the form of more or less inconsecutive notes for personal use. They cannot be of much use to the beginner, for they lack systematic and methodical treatment of the subjects they deal with. Nor would they greatly appeal to the advanced reader or the specialist, for—to put it with rather blunt frankness—their scientific value is not high. The volume is, however, not entirely without a certain amount of utility; although we, at the same time, readily agree with the author's remark about his own book, in his preface, that "this is not a work of much erudition".

—Sh. Inayatullah

SCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE, Vol. II. By the late Hermann Ethé. Revised and completed by Edward Edwards. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1937.

AMONGST the inestimable services of the late Dr. Hermann Ethé in the domain of the Persian language and literature is his compilation of the Catalogue Raisonné of the Persian manuscripts preserved in the Library of the India Office. The first volume of this Catalogue appeared in 1903. The present or second volume under review contains his descriptions of some additional manuscripts together with the very useful and comprehensive classified indices upon which he was engaged until his death in 1917. "By this time," writes Mr. H. N. Randle, the Librarian, India Office, in his preface, "this volume had been printed up to column 1084, and material had been compiled for the rest of the work. It was not easy after Dr. Ethé's death to prepare for the press material which had inevitably been left in some disorder, and which was found to lack considerable run of entries in the index of personal names under the letter M. Mr. E. Edwards, who has revised Dr. Ethé's material, supplied the missing entries, and seen the residual section through the press, is not to be held responsible for any inconsistencies inherent in the method, or consequent upon the disorder in which the material was left. With this second or index volume Dr. Ethé's part of this catalogue is complete."

Dr. Ethé's descriptive catalogue is valuable as a guide to research work in the history of the Persian language and literature, for besides the usual indications as to size, format, date and other paleographic characteristics, the manuscripts are thoroughly examined and described with scientific precision and terseness, adding such information as would bring out their values as literary and scientific works. In a catalogue of this kind a detailed examination of fresh material could not be expected from the cataloguer, yet he has supplied all the information that a descriptive ca-

TWO CATALOGUES

CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN MANU-

ralogue should contain. The most important feature, however, of this volume is its classified indices on the names of books, names of persons, dates etc., which could be used with much advantage by research scholars.

The only library in India which could challenge comparison with the India Office Library in so far as the collection of Persian manuscripts is concerned is the Asafiyya State Library of Hyderabad (Deccan). I take this opportunity to suggest through the Hyderabad Quarterly, "the *Islamic Culture*," that Dr. Ethe's catalogue should serve as an excellent model and a dependable guide for the cataloguing of about 8722 Arabic, Persian and Urdu manuscripts of the Asafiyya Library, which are neither properly taken care of nor scientifically catalogued.

The India Office ought to be congratulated for securing the services of Mr. Edward Edwards, who has taken great pains in completing the great task undertaken by the late Hermann Ethe and for presenting to the learned world with the account of the literary treasures preserved in their great Library.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE, Vol. II, Part VI: *Persian Books*. By A. J. Arberry. London: 1937.

DEWHEY'S Decimal Classification System has not been adopted by the great Libraries of Europe, particularly in the classification and cataloguing of Oriental books it has to be tried before a uniform system could be evolved. Under the circumstances the English and Continental libraries follow their own orthodox systems for the classification and cataloguing of their Oriental books.

The present volume is the catalogue of the Persian printed and lithographed books preserved in the Library of the India Office. Mr. Arberry has compiled this Catalogue "on a system uniform with that followed in the other catalogues of Oriental books. Main entries are to be found under the titles of books,

printed in *Italian Italics*. Subsidiary and cross entries occur in the body of the Catalogue, names of authors (and in the case of Oriental authors their best-known names) being printed in Clarendon type." Mr. Arberry's thorough compilation leaves hardly anything to be desired in this Catalogue, which is neatly printed and every detail carefully revised.

- H. F. al-Hamdani

THE WORKS OF JOSEPH HOROVITZ

JOSEPH HOROVITZ: *A Bibliography*. Jerusalem: The University Press. 1932.

THE late professor Dr. Joseph Horovitz (1874—1931) held the chair of Arabic at the M.A.-O. College, Aligarh, with great distinction for several years preceding the Great War, before he returned to Europe as Professor of Arabic in the newly founded University of his native city of Frankfurt a. Main. Because of his fairly long stay in India (1907—14), he was personally known to a considerable number of people in this country, where he had endeared himself to one and all by his affability and charm of manners, and had won universal respect by his competence as a teacher and scholar. Those who are privileged to have known him personally or through his published works, will be interested to learn that a bibliography of his writings was, some time ago, published by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with which he was closely associated since its foundation as a member of its Board of Governors and in other capacities. Although the Bibliography, compiled by Dr. Walter J. Fischel, appeared as far back as 1932, we do not think it is too late to bring it to the notice of interested readers in India, for it does not seem to be sufficiently known here. Prof. Horovitz was for several years intimately connected with this country, and retained an abiding interest in it to the last. This is evidenced by the many articles, books and reviews that he wrote from time to time about this

country, the longest and best known among them being his "Indien unter britischer Herrschaft" (Berlin, 1928). In Germany, he was in fact considered an authority on Muslim India and the British rule in India.

He was also associated with *Islamic Culture* from its very inception in 1927, and wrote on the "Origins of the Arabian Nights", in the very first issue of this journal. The other articles that he published in this journal are: "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors;" "Judæo-Arabic Relations in pre-Islamic Times;" "'Adi bin Zeyd the Poet of Hira;" an English translation of a considerable portion of Ibn Qutaybah's '*Uyūn al-Akhbār*."

The bibliography, which begins with his doctoral dissertation on the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Wāqidi, which he presented at the University of Berlin in 1898, comprises 289 separate items; and is divided into three sections: (a) books, (b) articles, and (c) book-reviews. His principal works consist of his edition of the

Hashimyyāt of al-Kumayt (Leyden, 1904), of two parts of the *Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd (1904, 1909); and of the two volumes of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* for the years 1909-10 and 1911-12; besides his *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1928). His literary activity is, however, for the most part represented by his numerous essays and articles, which are scattered in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Leyden-London), *Encyclopædia Judaica* (Berlin), and many learned journals of Europe and Asia.

We have noticed a few minor inaccuracies. The *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, for instance, is published from Lahore, and not from Calcutta as stated on p. 7. Similarly, the correct title of Prof. Pfannmüller's well-known bibliographical hand-book is *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur* and not "der Islamwissenschaft" (p. 20). On p. 12, Vlughkanı should be Ulughkhanı, and Tauwrat should have been Tawrat.

- Sh. Inayatullah

ISLAMIC CULTURE

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SYNOPSIS

DR. MOHD. HAMIDULLAH, of Osmania University, Hyderabad, is a young scholar who has specialised in the cultural history of early Islam and the period immediately preceding it. He has given us a striking proof of his abilities in his thesis, *Documents sur la Diplomatie Musulmane* (Paris 1935), in which he scrutinised all available documents underlying the foundation of the Muslim Empire in the time of the Prophet and the four Right-Guided Caliphs; this thesis won him the degree of Ph. D. at the University of Paris. In this issue of our journal we present his article, *The City-State of Mecca*,—a short but illuminating survey of the political, social and moral conditions prevailing before the days of the Prophet in the city which was destined to become the heart of Islam. This essay helps to dispel the erroneous view that the pre-Islamic Arabs were but an uncivilised, barbaric nation without any civic or moral notions, and shows that the people of the Hijāz, whatever their moral faults, possessed certain outstanding qualities which ultimately provided the Founder of Islam with the basis on which he could build a new human world.

The Importance of the Arabic Language, by Dr. Sh. Inayatullah, has for its theme the immense contribution of Arabic language and literature to the culture not only of the Muslim countries but to that of the West as well.

OUR readers are already well acquainted with the writings of Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani of the Osmania University. His present contribution, *Al-Fārābī's Political Theories*, leads us a step further in our appreciation of that great figure in the history of Muslim thought and shows that, although partially indebted to Greek philosophy, al-Fārābī went on the main his own way. In the words of the author, "he was definitely the first purely theoretical political scientist of the Islamic world, and his writings definitely foreshadow theories such as those of the Social Contract and Sovereignty which were to be current in Europe centuries afterwards".

THE next article is the *History of Delhi to the Time of Timur's Invasion* by Syed Hasan Barani, a canvas of the brilliant Imperial City which has been laid waste by the Mongol invader. Our printers have permitted themselves an unfortunate slip: on p. 326, line 11, the date should be, of course, 17th December, 1398, and not 1938.

IN the pursuance of our aim, to further the spirit of research in the youngest generation of Muslim scholars in this country, we are bringing a short essay, *Islam's Contribution to Zoology and Natural History*, by Aijaz Muhammad Khan Maswani, an undergraduate of Aligarh University. Although the experienced reader will not find much new material in this article, he will undoubtedly agree

with us that the young author deserves encouragement.

THE recent death of the greatest Muslim poet-philosopher of the present age, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, has stimulated the interest of Muslims all over the world in his works. In his as yet unpublished book, *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*, Mr. K. G. Saiyidain (now Director of Education, Kashmir State) has been able to show the tremendous import Iqbal's philosophy may yet have for the intellectual orientation of the Muslim community. In our January number we published the Introduction and the first chapter of Mr. Saiyidain's book, and now we are placing before our readers two more chapters.

NEXT comes Prof. D. S. Margoliouth's translation of Ibn al-Jawzi's highly in-

teresting work, *The Devil's Delusions*. We hope to conclude this series in the coming October number.

IN the department, ON THE MARGIN, our old friend, Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, describes with light but sure touches some *Mughal Pictures in London* which recently attracted his attention. Mr. Gladstone Solomon has the knack of describing objects of art so vividly that we can visualise them without having ever set our eyes on them; but in this case we are also able to support his word-paintings with photographic reproductions of the miniatures which he discusses.

UNDER the heading PERSONALIA, Dr. Sh. Inayatullah gives us a short survey of the works of the German Orientalist Georg Jacob, who died last year.

THE CITY-STATE OF MECCA*

By M. HAMIDULLAH

*"In all ages and areas, from ancient Egypt to modern America, the highest development of human mentality, initiative and achievement has been in urban communities. So long as men remained in the pastoral or agricultural stages there was little stimulus to the differentiation of economic functions, the entire energies of men were absorbed in the task of raising the food supply. But with the city came the division of labour and possibilities for economic surplus, hence wealth, leisure, education, intellectual advance and the development of the arts and sciences."*¹

THE OBJECT of this paper is simply to draw the attention of the learned world to a rich field for investigation which has till now been almost neglected. The astonishingly rapid expansion of Islam and the extraordinarily capable statesmen which at the very outset the uncultured and unlettered city of Mecca produced are facts which must have some background. Napoleon had remarked that the secret of the valour of the Arab Muslims perhaps lay in their long internecine feuds of pre-Islamic days which formed their character.² In a public lecture delivered in 1935 at the Sorbonne, Paris, I had emphasised that Arabia had already federated economically on the eve of Islam through its periodical fairs and the highly developed system of escorts of caravans. Obviously this economic federation, coupled with the fact of their speaking a common language, consulting the same oracles and worshipping gods in common, and to a great extent, observing the same customs, must have greatly prepared the ground for the political unification which Islam later achieved so rapidly in the anarchic peninsula of Arabia. Now I propound here another thesis, that the citizens of Mecca had developed a sound and progressive constitution for their city-state long before Islam and had thereby received the necessary training for the administration of the future Arab (Muslim) empire which expanded within the short span of 20 years from the small city-state of Medina and embraced the vast territories of the Persian and Byzantine Empires

* A paper read at the 9th All-India Oriental Conference, held in December 1937 at Trivandrum.

1. Encyclopaedia of Social s. v. City, by William B. Munro.
2. Mémorial di Sainte Hélène III 183

and others in three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe. As for Europe it is recorded that in 647/27 H. in the time of Hazrat 'Uthmān, the Muslim armies penetrated into Spain and remained there till Ṭāriq appeared many generations later to complete the conquest.¹

The study of the city-state of Arabia has not yet been taken up seriously. For this purpose I could have selected any city other than Mecca, for instance, Ṭā'if, Dūmatuljandal, Taima', Saba', Aden, Ṣuḥār etc. But for me the choice of Mecca was determined by several reasons. Our knowledge about Mecca is surer and ampler than that about other cities. Mecca was the cradle of Islam. It was here that the Prophet Mohammed was born and brought up. It was here that the major portion of his missionary life was also spent. It was here that almost all the prominent figures of the first Muslim Empire were born and bred. Again it was the possession of this city that was coveted by all the three contemporary neighbouring empires, Byzantium, Persia and Abyssinia, and to believe the author of the *Kitābuttiḥjān*, even Alexander the *Bicorned*² thought it important enough to pay a visit to its sanctuary, the Ka'bah.³

As for Byzantium, from the time of Aellius Gallus down to Nero all the emperors cherished the desire of extending their influence to the important station of Mecca and made tentative efforts in this direction.⁴ According to Ibn Qutaibah,⁵ the Byzantine Emperor helped Qusa'iy in his attempt to capture the city of Mecca. But later, Qusa'iy seems to have become independent and neglected Byzantine interests. So, some generations later, when a Meccan, 'Uthmān ibn al-Ḥuwairiṭh of the clan of Asad, embraced Christianity, the Emperor put a crown on his head and sent him to Mecca with a Ukase ordering the Meccans to accept him as their king. 'Uthmān was in a very favourable position, since the Meccans, who were largely dependent upon the Byzantine provinces of Palestine and Syria for their victuals and for their trade, could not disregard the Imperial Ukase. But at the last moment, a kinsman of 'Uthmān himself harangued the mass meeting of the Meccans and protested against and ridiculed the impossible innovation of aristocracy and kingship for the free citizens of Mecca. 'Uthmān was disgusted and returned to Syria. The Emperor retaliated by closing the routes of his dominions to Meccans and imprisoned those who sojourn-

1. Ṭabariy, *Annales*, I, p. 2817; of Gibbon, *Decline & Fall*, V, p. 555 (Oxf. Univ.)

2. I think, the appellation of Dhu'l-qarnain (bicorned or two-horned) for Alexander the Great, had been suggested to the Arabs by the national head-dress of the Macedonians. In 1935, when King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated in Marseilles, his *bicorn* was among the many relics and ornaments which were placed, in state, by the side of the body of the dead king. Cf. also Balādhuri, *Futūḥ* (ed. Egypt) p. 51 for the expression "the horned Romans" (ar-rūm dhāt al-qurūn).

3. Cf. also 'Aṣṣiy, *Commentary of Bukhārī*, vol. VII. 365; Azraqiy, *in loco*.

4. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, p. 239. 234.

5. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 313 (ed. Europe).

ed there at that time.¹ This happened probably after the Emperor had given the charter of permission to Hashim to come to Syria and had given a letter to the name of the Negus, recommending him to open his country to the Meccan caravans.² The Emperor could not push further his designs as the way with Iran had begun. Al-Wāḥidīy in his *Asbābunnuzūl*³ records that the Medinite Abū-'Āmir Rāhib also used to threaten that he would bring in the armies of the Emperor.

As for the Persians, after their conquest of Yeman, they began to believe that Mecca had automatically come under their influence. Hence the order of the Chosroes to his governor of Yeman to command the Prophet to go over to Iran to see the Emperor. If the Prophet did not obey the order, he was to be arrested and sent to Ctesiphon.⁴

The Abyssinians had actually undertaken an expedition⁵ under Abrahā with his famous elephant Maḥmūd⁶ (mammoth?).

The evidence of many Meccan and other Arab notables having been received by the emperors of Byzantium, of Iran, of Abyssinia etc. also tend to prove that these emperors wished to extend their influence in the interior of the desert Peninsula through pacific means.

TOPOGRAPHICAL

THE NORTHERN and western Arabia is generally barren and desert. A small oasis with a spring is a sufficient attraction for men to settle down there. If it happens to be on any of the main trade-routes, as Mecca was, it becomes much easier to have there a fixed population. Mecca already existed at the time of Abraham who is said to have visited it, and the author of *Aghānī*⁷ assures us that there existed in the valley where Mecca is situated dense forests and good pastures. Qūṣayy, an ancestor of the Prophet, had hewed down⁸ a large number of trees in order to make room for the houses which he and his tribesmen constructed around the sanctuary of *Ka'bah*. And there is evidence in other periods to the same effect.⁹ Even today the Boahirs' lodge at

1. Al-Fāsiy, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 144; as-Suhailiy, *Rawq'ul-unf* I, 146; Lammens, *La-Mecque*, p. 267. Sprenger, *Das Leben u die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 89-90

2. Ya'qūbiy, I, 280; Ṭabariy, p. 1089; Ibn Sa'd. I/1, p. 43, 45, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. 'ilat'; Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 128, etc

3. p. 195.

4. Ṭabariy, p. 1572 ff

5. See Conti Rossini for Abyssinian Wars in Arabia in J.A., 1911, pp. 5-36 and R. S. O., IX, 378 ff; *La Mecque*, p. 280 ff.

6. Ibn Hishām, p. 29 ff.

7. Vol. XIII, 108; cf. Azraqiy, p. 47.

8. Ibn Hishām, p. 80; Qutbuddīn, *I'lam bi-a'lam balad' allāh al-ḥaram*, p. 34; Ṭabariy, p. 1097.

9. Regarding the Jurhumite time, see Azraqiy, *Akhḍar Makkah*, p. 47.

Mecca is more like a palace on the Malabar Hill, Bombay, than as a building in the *wādi ghair dhi zar*'¹ where it is situated. It was an important junction of the trade-routes to Syria, Yeman, Ṭā'if, and Najd, situated near the spring of Zamzam and protected on all sides by high and impregnable mountains. Its early history is obscure. Its political life we shall discuss in the next section. Certain peculiarities of town-planning may be dealt with here.

Like the *polis* and *asty* (or *high* and *low* towns) of the Greek cities, Mecca had also been divided from time immemorial into *Ma'lāt* and *Masfalah*, a division which has persisted to this day. In the remoter antiquity, *Bakkah* and *Makkah* seem to have been the terms in vogue. In his classical history of Mecca al-Azraqi quotes² that "Bakkah is the place where the sanctuary is situated and Makkah is the city". The Quran confirms this indirectly when it says "the first sanctuary erected for the people is the one situated in Bakkah"³ and again, "It was He Himself who prevented them from attacking you and prevented you from attacking them in the valley of Makkah."⁴ The terms *two Meccas*⁵ and *two cities*⁶ used in Ibn Hishām and in the Quran respectively, to denote the sister cites of Mecca and Ṭā'if, also suggest the same thing.

Naturally the aristocracy lived in the *ma'lāt* or the acropolis where also the sanctuary and the graveyard were, and are, situated. We know for certain⁷ that when Qusaiy took possession of Mecca, he transferred all his kinsmen from the *zwāhir* (suburbs) to the *baṭ'hā'* (the centre or the heart of the city). And *vis-a-vis* the sanctuary was erected the house containing the council hall of (*darunnadwah*).⁸ The temple had become a pantheon containing 360⁹ idols of various tribes and clans. The *Lāt* and 'Uzzā were originally the deities of Ṭā'if and Nakhlah respectively¹⁰ but their duplicates were placed around the Ka'bah and were venerated by the Meccans as well.¹¹ Again, like all Greek towns,¹² Mecca too had its

1. Quran, 14 : 37

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 196, l. 12 ('*Bakkah mawḍi' al-baṭ wa Makkah al-qaryah*').

3. 3 : 96.

4. 48 : 24

5. (*Mukktam*), cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 121, 519

6. (*Qaryatayn*), cf. Quran, 43 : 30. See also Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 291, Balādhuri (*ansāb*?) p. 34, 37 (cited by Lammens).

7. Ibn Hishām, p. 80.

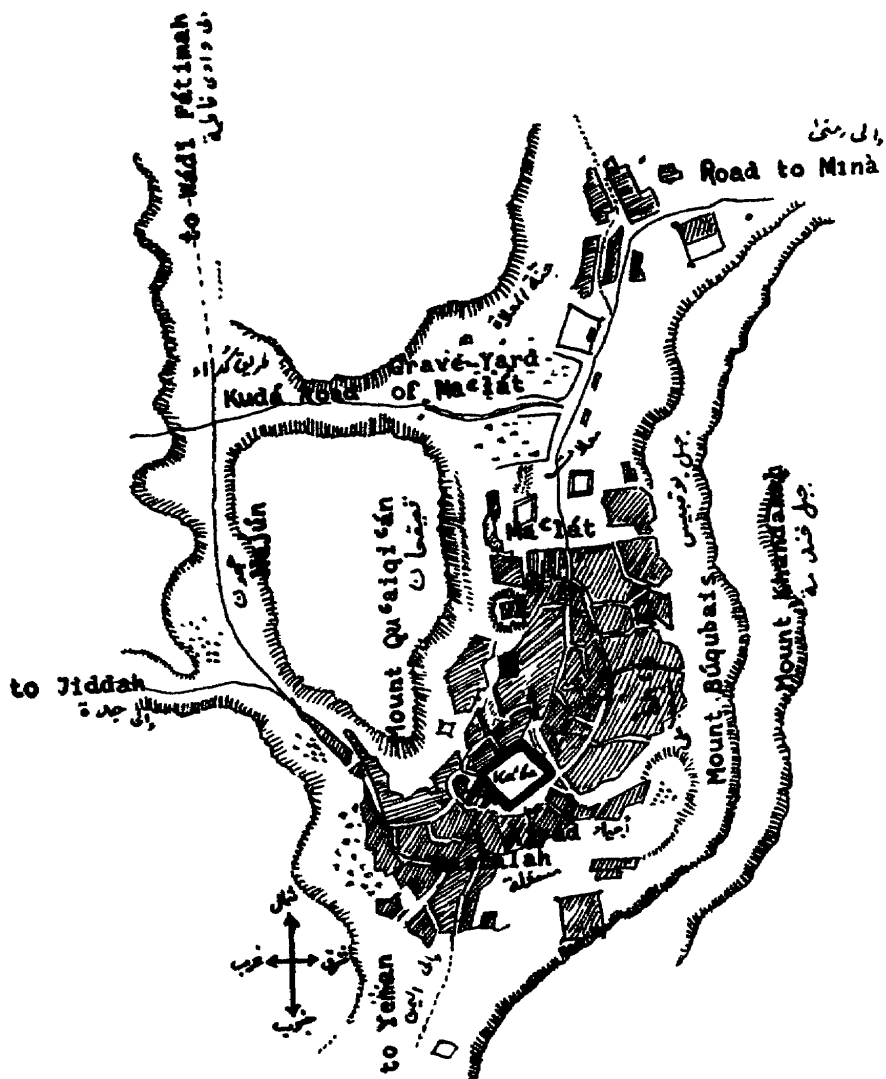
8. Qutbuddin, *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

9. Azraqi, p. 75-76; A'ū Nu'aim *al-Muntaqā*, (Ms. Bazm Adab, Hyderabad - Dn), fol. 205b-206a.

10. Ibn Hishām p. 55, Kalbiy, *al-Asnām*, *in loco*

11. These must have been small transportable idols since Abū Sufyān was carrying them at the battle of Uḥud, Ṭabariy, p. 1395; Aghāni, XIV, 15.

12. Cf. Philipson, *International Law and Custom in Ancient Greece and Rome*, I, 28; Warde Fowler, *City State*, *in loco*; Halliday, *History of the World* ed. Hammerton, Ch. Greek City States, p. 1107.



MAP OF MECCA

surrounding territory, called *ḥaram*, extending roughly to 125 sq. miles.¹ Islam later extended the area of *ḥaram* and the limits in each direction are called *miqāt*. We do not know if there were in Mecca the necessary forum, race-course, mobilisation ground and reserve pastures, of the existence of which at Medina and other cities there is plenty of evidence.

Prof. Halliday in his interesting article on the Greek city-states observes:²

"After the turmoil of the ages of migration had subsided there was a change from a normal state of war to one of cosmopolitan peace and from a wandering to a settled life.

"But how these cities came into being? The earliest settlements were undoubtedly in villages . . . But in general a group of villages found it convenient to fortify some hill or strongly defensible position in the plane, to the shelter of which their women and cattle might be sent when their neighbours crossed the mountain on a summer raid . . . In this stronghold was usually placed the temple of the god and the palace of the king.

"A natural tendency then arose for the commonalty to leave their villages for dwelling near the city of refuge, and from there to go out daily to their fields; while the nobles found it convenient to establish themselves round the king and the centre of the Government. In this way a lower town (*asty* is the Greek word) developed round the citadel or 'polis'. In course of time a wall of fortification was erected round the *asty*."

Mutatis mutandis this is true of the Hedjaz also.

Mecca is situated in a deep valley surrounded by high and impenetrable mountains. There is only one high way passing through the city and two byeways approaching the city.³ The people did not need to bother much about a wall of fortification. We read, however, in Qutbuddin's history of Mecca:—⁴

"that in ancient times Mecca had walls of fortification. So, in the direction of the *ma'lat* there was a wide wall between the mountain of 'Abdullāh-ibn-'Umar and the mountain opposite to it. There was a gate there with iron plates which the king of India had presented to the prince of Mecca . . . And there was another wall in the direction of *masfalah* in the street called *Darbulyaman* . . . At-Taḳīy al-Fāṣīy has mentioned: 'that there was a wall in the higher town besides the one mentioned . . . and I do not know when these walls of Mecca were cons-

1. Calculated from the delimitation of the Ḥaram as given by Azraqīy, (p. 360-61). Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khaḍrāwīy, *al-'Iqd ath-thamīn fī faḍl il al-balad al-amīn*, (p. 13 ed. Cairo, 1290) and others.

2. Halliday, *Op. cit.*, p. 1110

3. *Mīrāt al-ḥaramain*, I, 178 See also any map of the city of Mecca.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

tructed nor who constructed them nor who repaired them' And I have seen" continues Qutbuddin, "in some histories to the effect that there existed a wall in the time of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir".

These must have been the renewals of ancient, crude fortifications of pre-Islamic days.

The finest esplanade has from the very beginning been reserved for the sanctuary-edifice, and the Arab authors¹ assure us that the ancient inhabitants of this valley were so superstitious that they would not construct any house near the House of God. They preferred to live in the suburbs, and around the Sanctuary they had only tents. It was Qusa'iy, they say, who first thought of erecting dwelling houses around the sanctuary, and in order to reconcile the populace to this innovation, he pointed out:—

"If you will live around the Sanctuary people will have fear of you and will not permit themselves to fight you or attack you."² And moreover, Qusa'iy began himself and constructed the council hall of *dārunnadwah* in the north side... and it is said that it was situated where there is the Ḥanafi-Muṣallā today, wherefrom the Ḥanafi Imam conducts the five daily services."

"The lands on the remaining three sides of the sanctuary were distributed by him among the Quraishite tribes where they constructed their dwelling houses."³

POLITICAL

QUṢA'ĪY had married the daughter of the Jurhumite chieftain of Mecca. Hence his claims to the chieftainship after the former's death. His relatives of the tribe of Qudā'ah as well as his partisans in the city helped him; and if we believe Ibn Qutaibah,⁴ even the Byzantine emperor aided Qusa'iy in his enterprise, obviously to extend the imperial authority as far into the interior as possible, in order to assure the security of the overland trade-route to and from India.

Qusa'iy⁵ must have inherited many political institutions, such as the guardianship of the sanctuary of Ka'bah. No wonder if this man of genius himself created some new institutions to secure and to improve his position. It will, however, be difficult to ascertain how many of the ten⁶ public offices which became prominent in the time of Qusa'iy were

1. Ṭabariy, p. 1097; Qutbuddin, *Op cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Quran 29 : 67, "Do they not see that We have made [of Mecca] an inviolable and secure asylum, while men are spoiled in the territories round about them."

3. Qutbuddin, p. 34.

4. *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 313.

5. Cf. on him Martin Hatmann's article in the *Z. F. Assyriologie*, XXVII, p. 43—49.

6. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'iqd al-farid*, II, 45-46, Zuhair ibn Bakkar, *Ansāḥ quraish* (Ms. of Istanbul) cited by Lammens, *Triumvirat*, p. 114

ancient institutions and what reforms were due to the genius of this brilliant and truly great chieftain. The erection of a Council Hall (*dārunnadwah*)¹ as well as the imposition of an annual tax, called *rafādah*, are expressly attributed to Qusaiy. We also know that the institutions of *Nasi' Ijāzah* and *ifādah* were left in the hands of ancient families.² Generally, however, only six offices are mentioned as having been in charge of Qusaiy³ and they were the more important and lucrative ones.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi⁴ and other authors mention, as just remarked, that there were ten public offices held hereditarily by ten clans of the Quraishites of Mecca. They may have been originally only ten, as was the case in Venice and Palmyra. Citing Chabot⁵, Lammens⁶ remarks:—

"... un Conseil des Dix, composé des chefs des dix familles principales. Ce Conseil de Dix, l'épigraphie nous en révèle l'existence et le fonctionnement à Palmyre, à côté d'un sénat avec son président et son secrétaire. Conseil et Sénat légifèrent, contrôlent l'exécution des lois fiscales, édictent, au besoin, des pénalités."

And adds:—

"Ce serait peine perdue de chercher les traces d'une organisation analogue à la Mecque."

In fact, we find many more than ten institutions, reference to which one can glean from the pages of Arabic authors. Although Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi himself expressly mentions that there were only ten chiefs, yet he enumerates 17 functions and ascribes more than one function to several of the said ten holders of offices. To these, four or five more can easily be added from available sources. This is a list of them:

Nadwah, mashūrah, qiyādah, sadānah, hijābah, siqāyah, 'imāratulbait, ifādah, ijāzah, nasi', qubbah, a'innah, rafādah, amwāl muḥajjarah, aysār, ashnaq, ḥukūmah, sifarah, 'uqāb, liwā', ḥulwān-un-nafr.

Leaving aside the vexed question of the Council of Ten, I would rather try to explain in my own way the political structure and the working of the constitution of the city-state of Mecca.

To begin with, the community or the population was termed "*Jamā'ah*,"⁷ a word retained by the Prophet in order to designate and distinguish his adherents from others, as his epistle to the prefect of Bahrain⁸ also testifies. The word *millat*,⁹ however, had a sense more

1. Ibn Hishām, p. 80, 83; Ṭabariy, p. 1099; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 41; Geog. of Yāqūt, s.v. Makkah; *Akhḍar Makkah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, p. 31-32.

2. Ṭabariy, p. 1134; Ibn Hishām, p. 66, 67, 77, 78.

3. Azraqiy, p. 66 (umūr sirtah).

4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 45-46.

5. *Choix des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, 24, etc.

6. *La Mecque*, p. 69.

7. Wāqidīy, p. 59, I, 3.

8. Ibn Sa'd, 2/1, p. 27; cf. Hamīdullah, *Corpus des Traités*, No. 55; idem *Documents sur la Diplomatie musulmane*, p. 74.

9. Cf. *Quran*, 2 : 130; 3 : 95; 4 : 125; etc.

religious than political. The word *qawm* has been used in the Quran¹ in a meaning wider than the general body of voters. Those who possessed the right of vote and a voice in the public deliberations are always termed as *mala'*.² It is only with the *trāḍi* (consent) of the *mala'* that the local potentate could act. The Quran has also employed the word in this sense.³ The Quran in mentioning the *mala'* of Pharaoh always excludes the Israelites who had no franchise. The king of Egypt in the time of Joseph and the queen of Sheba both had, according to the Quran,⁴ their respective *mala'* for consultation. They are the *ūlū quwah* and *ahl-ul-hall wa al-'aqd*, and they interfere if anything goes wrong.⁵ The same is reported to have been the case in Palmyra.⁶ This Senate house of Mecca was a council of elders only, since al-Azraqiy⁷ and Ibn Duraid⁸ assure us that only the quadra generian citizens of Mecca could attend a meeting of the *dārunnadhawāh*. The sons of the chieftain Quṣaiy, however, were privileged to be exempt from this age limit.⁹ It is probably of this age of franchise that we have a souvenir in the Quranic Verse¹⁰ *hattā idhā balagha ashuddahu wa balagha arba'ina sanatan*. In later times more liberal concessions seem to have been in vogue and we hear, for instance, that Abu-Jahl was admitted therein although he was only thirty years of age and this franchise of his was on account of his wise council (*lijūdi ra'yihī*)¹¹, and Hakim Ibn Hizām was admitted when he was only 15 or 20 years old.¹² The Council of Elders in Sparta was in fact a council of elderly people, and none under sixty years¹³ of age could be a member of the local Gerousia.¹⁴

Prior to Quṣaiy, the Meccans must have deliberated in the open forum or the tent of their chieftain. Anyhow it remained for Quṣaiy to erect a special hall for the meetings of the city-council and to name it *dārun-nadhawāh*, a word which has also been commemorated by Ḥassān ibn Thābit¹⁵, the poet-laureate of the Prophet. It was situated a few yards to the North of Ka'bah but it has since been demolished in order

1. Quran, 7 : 60, 66, 109, 127, 11 : 27, 37; 23 : 24, 33; etc.

2. Quran, 2 : 246, 28 : 20; etc.

3. Quran, 2 : 233; 4 : 29.

4. Quran, 12 : 43; 27 : 29, 32.

5. Al-Fāsiy, p. 109.

6. Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 79.

7. *Op cit.*, 64, 65, 465.

8. *Ishṭiqāq*, p. 97.

9. Azraqiy, p. 64, 65, 465.

10. Quran, 46 : 15.

11. Ibn Duraid, *Op cit.*, p. 97, l. 6.

12. Ibn 'Asākir, IV, 419, l. 2.

13. Cf. the Hindustani expression "a youngster of sixty" (*sāṭhā pāṭhā*)

14. Plutarch's *Lives*, *Lycurgus*, Warde Fowler, p. 71, n. 2.

15. *Diwān*, No. 145, 183.

to extend the mosque of the *Haram* around the Ka'bah. Naturally the Council did not meet at regular intervals but only as occasion required.¹

It was here that the consultations were held and wars declared or defensive measures discussed.² It was here again that marriages were celebrated and treaties of commerce concluded.³ Foreign guests were also entertained here.⁴ Like the aborigines of Nilgiris,⁵ the pre-Islamic Meccans also performed a particular ceremony when a girl reached her puberty, and clad her in the gown of grown up women (*dirc*). This also was done in the *darun-nadwah*.⁶

Apart from this central municipal council, there were as many ward councils or communes as there were tribes or clans in the municipal area. These were called *nādi*,⁷ corresponding to the *saqifah* of Medinite tribes. The *dārun-nadwah* was the "*nādi*" *par excellence*, a common and central *nādi* for all the local tribes. And in fact the famous traditionist and lexicographer Abū-'Uбайд⁸ derives *nadwah* and *nādi*, both, from the same root *nādā*. The Quran also immortalises this *nādi* by its "*fa-l-yad'u nādiyahu*"⁹ and "*ta'tūn fī nādikum al-munkar*"¹⁰. It was in these family-circles or clubs that foreigners were affiliated to the family¹¹ and also the ex-communication (*ṭard* or *khal'*) of some hot-headed culprit was proclaimed.¹² It was here that family-members and casual visitors sometimes assembled for hearing night-tales (*musāmarah*).¹³ Commercial transactions were done here, and here was the starting point and the goal of caravans.

Regarding Athens we read the following in Jowett's *Thucydides*:¹⁴ "In the days of Cercrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Athens was divided into communes, having their own town-halls and magistrates. Except in case of alarm the whole population did not assemble in Council under the king but administered their own affairs and advised together in their several townships.

In Mecca there were professional heralds (called *munādī* and also *mu'adhdhin*,—(*mu'adhdhin* being retained up to this day, in the original

1. Ibn Duraid, p. 97

2. As an instance, the plan to murder the Prophet which led to his migration to Medina.

3. Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 72.

4. Wāqidī, ed von Kremer, p. 23.

5. Hamidullah, *Nilgiri*, p. 26 (ed Hyderabad).

6. Ibn Hishām, p. 80.

7. For a description, see Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 88 etc.

8. *Gharīb al-hadīth*, fol 191a (cited in *La Mecque*, p. 73.)

9. Quran, 96 . 17.

10. Quran, 29 . 29.

11. Ibn Hishām, p. 243, 246; *Aghānī*, XIV, 99.

12. *Aghānī*, VIII, 52, 53.

13. Azraqī, p. 376; *La Mecque*, p. 88 ff n. 8; *Aghānī*, XIII, 112.

14. Vol. I. 104 (cited by Warde Fowler, p. 48-49).

sense, among the Syrian nomads,)¹—to call the meeting.² Each tribal chief had his particular *munādi* or *munādis*.³ These heralds were used not only for emergency meetings but also for inviting to feasts and for making known the banishment of some member of a family. Non-professional heralds and even foreigners could call for the emergency meeting, and for that purpose they used to put off their clothes and cry completely naked. The Arabists know them very well by the common term *an-nadhir al 'uryān*.

Qusaiy is represented as a veritable monarch, an autocrat and a supreme chief of the whole city. His word was law,⁴ and he was gratefully remembered by posterity for uniting the tribes of Quraish, and converting them into the elite of the city, hence his sobriquet of *Mujammi*⁵ (one who unites). After the death of Qusaiy, however, an oligarchy ensued because Qusaiy, himself had distributed his several offices among his several sons⁶, and probably this was the origin of the reputed Council of Ten⁷ at the dawn of Islam. Who do not deny the possibility of Qusaiy's exercising the supreme authority, nobody challenging him owing to the great deeds he had performed. Yet in later times, terms like *saiyid-un-nās*⁸ etc., should not mislead us to take them in the sense of "doge" of Venice renown. The office of *qiyādah*⁹ in Mecca is to me of dubious character. The brilliant sketch of Wellhausen on *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit* also inclines to arrive at the same conclusion. Yes, there was a marked tendency in various parts of Arabia towards monarchy. As already said, 'Uthmān ibn al-Huwairith had attempted it in Mecca.¹⁰ In Medina 'Abdullāh ibn Uba'iy ibn Salūl was to be crowned king (*liyutawwijūhu*) as Ibn Hisham¹¹, al-Bukhārī¹², and at-Ṭabariy¹³ have recorded, when the immigration of the Prophet to Medina changed the idea of his partisans. Sprenger¹⁴ believes that:—

"Schon in ihrem wilden Zustande also haben diese Leute monarchische Ueberzeugungen."

1. Cf. *La Mecque*, p. 160. n. 3.

2. The word was used even as late as the year 9 H., cf. Abū 'Uбайд, *kutāb al-amwāl*, section 445

3. Ya'qūbiy, I, 281 (l. 14), 290, 292; cf. Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 64-65; idem, *Berceau*, 229; Aghāni, XI, 65, l. 5; Ibn Duraid, p. 94; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, 2/2.

4. Ibn Hishām, p. 84.

5. Ṭabariy, p. 1095; Ibn Hishām, p. 80.

6. Mas'ūdīy, *Tamthīl*, p. 293.

7. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, II, p. 45; Mas'ūdīy, *Murūj*, III, 119-20, IV, 121.

8. Azraqiy, p. 64; *La Mecque*, p. 69.

9. Azraqiy, p. 64.

10. Suhailiy, I, 146. Cf. supra.

11. p. 727; cf. *Quran*, 63 : 8 in any commentary.

12. *Saḥīh* of Bukhārī, 79 : 20.

13. p. 1511 ff.

14. *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 249.

RELIGIOUS

THE MOST important civil function in those days of self-help was the administration of the temple. With this are connected the offices of *sadānah*, *hijābah*, *siqāyah* and *'imārat'ul bait*. Again, the offices of *aysār* and *azlām* remind us of Greek oracles of the temples of Delphy and others. Similarly there were individuals pretending to possess supernatural powers like *'ā'if*, *kāhin*, *'arrāf*, *khirrūt*, *munajjim* and even a certain number of those called *shā'ir* or poet. People also believed in the *Hâtif* or the unseen talker. One met there also with sacrifices (*qurbân*).

Sadānah (administration of the sanctuary) and *hijābah* (gate-keeper of the temple) also meant the possession of the key of the door of the sanctuary-edifice and the exclusive power of letting devotees inside the sacred edifice, which was a source of income to the officer concerned. It is well-known how Quṣaiy bought the office of the gate-keeper for a bagful of wine¹ and how the Prophet returned the key to the head of the old family entitled to its possession.²

The offices of *siqāyah* (supplying water) and *'imāratul-bait* (keeper of the temple) are taken notice of by the Quran³ also. Supplying the pilgrims with water must have been a lucrative job in Mecca where water is so scarce and the sacred water of Zamzam was required by every pilgrim. In Palmyra a similar office brought in annually the considerable sum of 800 gold-dinars.⁴ Probably the citizens and other inhabitants of Mecca were exempt from paying any fee in this connection. The office of *'imārah* (keeper) meant, according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, to make casual rounds and see that the sanctity of the temple was not violated by abusive talks and quarrels and loud speaking. Al-'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, attended to that function.⁵

I do not know if the pre-Islamic Ḥajj consisted of as many rituals as they are to-day and whether certain acts are not amalgamated which had formerly separate existence and had nothing to do with the cult of the Ka'bah. It is noteworthy that in the Quran⁶ the same verb has been employed both in connection with the Ka'bah and the hillocks Ṣafā and Marwah: *يَطُوفُوا بِالْبَيْتِ الْعَتِيقِ* — يطوف بهما. Still, a circumambulation is observed regarding the Ka'bah and only a walking to and fro (between those two hills). In connection with Ḥajj, the offices of *ijāzah* and *ifādah*,⁷

1. Ṭabariy, chapter Quṣaiy.

2. See any biography of the Prophet, conquest of Mecca

3. Quran, 9 : 19.

4. Chabot, p. 30 (cited in *La Mecque*)

5. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 46

6. Quran, 2 : 158, 22 : 29.

7. Ibn Hishām, p. 76 ff.

also had a certain importance and gave the privilege of first departure to certain families. But I will dwell more on the institution of *nasi'* or intercalation.¹

Even in the primitive conditions of their civilization the Meccans of pre-Islamic times had known the inequalities and differences between the lunar and solar years. So, with a rough calculation, every third year an extra month was added to the usual twelve months and this month was intercalated between Muḥarram and Šafar, and declared with ceremony, by the office-bearer who always belonged to the family of Banu Fuqaim and was called Qalammas² or Qalanbas³.

Intercalation brings us to *ashhur-ḥurum* or the months of the "truce of God". As customary at all such places, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Ka'bah during fixed time of the year was also the occasion for considerable commercial activity, as the influx of the pilgrims demanded more imports of victuals, and the new-comers also carried on private business. Thus the trade in goods made the pilgrimage also a fair. The Quran⁴ also sanctions the continuation of the custom in the verse: *إيس عليكم جناح أن يتفروا فضلا من ربكم* As this periodical fair brought large sums in the form of 'Ushr or tithes of the chieftain in possession of the site of the fair, he employed all possible means, including the well-developed system of escorts, to induce foreigners to come over there in larger and larger numbers. The institution of *ashhur-ḥurum* or months of general truce owes its origin to the same need of attracting foreigners and customers. The longest period of these *ashhur-ḥurum*, known to Arabian history was of three months and was connected and made to coincide with the ḥajj of Ka'bah.⁵ This clearly shows, in spite of the persistent and repeated denial of Lammens⁶ and his partisans, the great importance of this fair which was attended by people from all parts of Arabia and even Syria and Egypt.⁷ Incidentally it may be mentioned that certain privileged families of the Quraishites enjoyed this truce of God for eight months consecutively and it was referred to in history as *basl*.⁸ It is to be noted that this was a personal privilege

1. For its practical bearing on the history of the time of the Prophet, see my paper in the Proceedings of the second session of the Idāra Ma'ārif Islāmīya, Lahore. For a general treatment of the subject see the thesis of Mahmoud Effendi (later M. Pacha Falaki) in J. A., 1885, pp. 109—92 (also Arabic version), "Mémoire sur le calendrier arabe". Axel Moberg's recent monograph *An-Nan' in der Islamischen Tradition* is useful for the references of the literature.

2. Qalammas is generally given as the title of the individual who first introduced intercalation in Arabia, but have also come across the plural form *qalamasah*.

3. A synonym, cf. *Lisan*.

4. Quran, 2 : 198.

5. See also the commentaries of the Quranic verse 9 : 36.

6. Specially in his monographie *L'Organisation militaire de la Mecque*, J. A., 1916.

7. Azraqly, p. 107; Ibn Hishām, p. 282; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 145.

8. Ibn Hishām, p. 66; cf. *Qamās*, s. v. BSL.

and the general people could not enjoy its protection. Anyhow it shows a marked tendency in the country towards general pacification instead of *bellum omnium contra omnes*.

It was certainly unfortunate though perhaps not intentional, that every three years the Qalammas proclaimed in the month of ḥajj (Dhul-ḥijjah) that the next month would not be the sacred month Muḥarram but that it would be a profane month during which the Bedouins were not bound to observe the truce. The continuity of the three consecutive months of truce was therewith broken, and the result was that hardships were caused to those intending early departure.

The Meccans recognised a truce for three consecutive months and one stray month, viz. Dhul-qa'dah, Dhul-ḥijjah and Muḥarram for the Ḥajj-Akbar of the Ka'bah and 'Arafāt;¹ and Rajab for the celebration of the Ḥajj-Asghar or 'Umrah² of the Ka'bah. The Quraishite influence was responsible for an almost universal respect of this "truce of God" in Arabia. There were other truces connected with other localities and other fairs and hence the famous expression of the "Rajab of the Muḍarite tribes" occurring in the oration of the Prophet on the occasion of his last pilgrimage,³ as contradistinguished from the "Rajab of the Rabi'ah tribes". These non-Quraishite truces were less rigorously observed. As remarked just now, the Quraishite truces were universally observed except by the two professionally bandit tribes of Ṭay' and Khath'am.⁴ This was certainly due to the extensive commercial relations of the Quraishites and their wide spread alliances. In this connection, it may be interesting to read a paragraph from the very important work of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245 H.) which has not yet been edited and of which there is a unique manuscript in the British Museum, I mean the *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*.⁵

"Every trader who set out from Yeman or Hedjaz (for Dūmatul-jandal in the extreme North of Arabia), acquired the services of the Quraishite escort as long as he travelled in the country inhabited by the Muḍarite tribes, since no Muḍarite nor ally of the Muḍarites harassed the Quraishite traders. So, the Kalbites never harassed them as they were allied to the Banu al-Jusham, and the Ṭay'ites also never harassed them on account of their alliance with the Banu Asad."

It may be recalled that the Ṭay'ites and Khath'amites⁶ did not

1. Cf. the instructions of the Prophet to 'Amr ibn Ḥazm where the terms ḥajj akbar and asghar are clearly explained (Ibn Hishām, p. 961; cf. also *Tafsīr Ṭabari* for the verse 9 : 3).

2. *Ibid.*

3. See for the complete text, Ibn Hishām, p. 968–70; Ṭabari, p. 1753–55; Jāḥiẓ, *al-bayān wa at-tabyīn*, II, 24–26; Ya'qūbi, II, 122–23; Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhi, chapter *Khuṭub*; etc.

4. Ya'qūbi, I, 313–14; Marzūqiy, vol. I, 90; II, 166.

5. Chapter '*asdaq al-'arab*', fol. 94–96.

6. No wonder that it was a Khath'amite who consented to serve as a guide for Abraham in his expedition against the Ka'bah, cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhi, II, 78.

believe in the truce of God. Our author continues:

"The travellers acquired the services of the escorts of Banu 'Amr ibn Murthid which protected them in the whole of the country inhabited by the tribes of Rabi'ah... When going to al-Mushaqqar in Bahrain the Quraishite escorts were sought... When going to the fair of Maharah in the southern extremity of Arabia, escorts of Banu Muḥarib were employed... In the fair of ar-Rābi'ah in Ḥadramut, the Quraishites were escorted by the Banu Ākil al-murār and the rest of the people were escorted by the Al-Masrūq of Kindah. It brought glory and eminence to both these tribes, yet the Ākil al-murār superceded their rivals on account of the patronage of the Quraishites¹... 'Ukaz was the greatest of the Arab fairs and was visited by the tribes of Quraish, Hawāzin, Ghatafān, 'Adl, ad-Dīsh, al-jabbār, al-muṣṭaliq, al-Aḥābish and others."

Although the offices of *qubbah* (canopy) and *a'nnah* (reins of the horse) are explained by later Arab authors² as "pitching a public tent in order to collect donations and contributions for some public emergency" and *hipparch* or "the master of the cavalcade" respectively, yet probably Lammens³ is right when he says that originally *qubbah* meant the sacred canopy sheltering the transportable idols in wars or during festivals. And by the office of the reins, the same author understands the privilege of conducting a horse by its reins when a deity was taken in procession on horseback.

The mention of the sacred canopy is not rare in Arabic literature, and naturally it is difficult to believe that in the primitive Meccan society there could have been two separate offices for the master of the cavalcade and the commander of the rest of the army.⁴ In Islamic times, when many of the rites and rituals of the days of the Jāhiliyah were forgotten owing to their desuetude for centuries, ingenious lexicographers often explained antiquated terms, the signification of which they did not know by the root-meaning, and thus isolated them from their associations. The mastership of the reins was inherited, it is said, by Khālid ibn al-Walid; this was probably inferred from the fact that it was he who led the Meccan cavalry at the battle of Uḥud.⁵ But excepting at Uḥud the Quraish never used any cavalry worth mentioning

1. Cf. Olinder. *The Kings of Kinda of the family of Ākil al-murār*, (Lund. 1927)

2. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II. 45.

3. His monographie "Le culte des Bētyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites" in "L'Arabie occidentale".

4. Regarding Athens, however, it is recorded that: "There are also ten Taxiarchs, one from each tribe... and each commands his own tribesmen and appoints captains of companies (Lochagi). There are also two Hipparchs, elected by open vote from the whole mass of the citizens, who command the cavalry, each taking five tribes." (*Athenian Constitution* by Aristotle, Eng. trans., p. 112-113).

5. In fact the hipparch of the right flank was Khālid ibn al-Walid and the left flank was led by 'Ikrimah ibn Abi Jaḥl. Cf. Ibn Hishām p. 561.

either in Badr or Khandaq or any other battle, horses always being a luxury for the Arab. Moreover, the offices of canopy and of reins are inseparably connected in literature and entrusted to the custody of the same person,¹ and obviously it is not necessary that the commander of the cavalry alone should be the collector of public subscriptions and vice versa.

FINANCE

THE INGENIUS Quṣaiy is said² to have found a very good pretext for imposing an annual tax on the people of Mecca by explaining to them the necessity of feeding the poor pilgrims and inviting others to a feast called *ṣani'ah*, on behalf of the city as was done by various doges in other parts of Arabia.³ The feast was given, and the surplus naturally enriched the coffers of the chief. The family of Nawfal⁴ inherited this privilege from Quṣaiy and perhaps the richness of Khadijah may partly be attributed to this source. Al-Ya'qūbiy⁵ asserts that when Quṣaiy had introduced many innovations, like the construction of houses in close proximity to the sanctuary, he suggested this feast to appease the wrath of foreign pilgrims. Anyhow Quṣaiy retained the custom to his profit and the profit of his successors. This tax was called *rafādah*. Quṣaiy also exercised the right of escheat on the property of foreigners dying without heirs.⁶

The import-customs,⁷ especially during the fair, have been another great source of income. The Jurhum-Qaṭūrā confederacy of Mecca had divided the city into two spheres of influence, and each of the unit-chiefs could levy the tax on whoever entered from the main entrance situated in his part of the city.⁸ Quṣaiy needed not this division as he was the sole beneficiary⁹ of this and of course the inhabitants of the city themselves were exempt from this tax.¹⁰ The same was the custom in other cities of Arabia, and generally a tithe was the tariff *ad valorem*.¹¹ A curious incident of free import is mentioned by al-Azraqiy,¹² viz.

1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, II, 45
2. Ibn Hishām, p. 83; Ṭabariy, p. 1099; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 41; Yāqūt, s. v. Makkah
3. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *op cit*, fol. 94—96; Marzūqiy, II, 161—66
4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, II, 45.
5. I. 275-76
6. Balādhuriy, *Ansab* fol. 28a (cited in *La Mecque*, p. 44).
7. Even the pre-historic Amalekites are said to have exercised the same right, in Mecca. Cf. *Maṣā'ir al-karam*, cited in the *Misrāt al-Haramain*, I, 69.
8. Ibn Hishām, p. 72; Azraqiy, p. 47; *Aghānī*, XIII, 108.
9. Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 39.
10. Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 39.
11. Cf. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb and Marzūqiy are fairs in Arabia
12. p. 106-7

that once when the Ka'bah was burnt and subsequently demolished by a flood, the Meccans bought a ship, wrecked on the port of Shu'aibiyah, and permitted the crew to come to Mecca and sell whatever they had rescued without paying the customary tithes.

Again, the offerings to the sanctuary must have some guardian and in fact we are assured¹ that the Banū-Sahm held this office of the *amwāl muhajjarah*. Another source of income, but not one of public order, was the compulsory purchase of a suite of garments from some inhabitant of Mecca as only in that dress, or quite naked, could one accomplish the circumambulation of the Ka'bah.² Further, they had developed a system of paying-guests for the foreign pilgrims and took from them some garments or beast of sacrifice; this tax or fee was called *ḥarīm*.³

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

PUBLIC COUNCIL and judiciary must be distinguished from each other. The latter was concerned with crimes and torts only. In Arabia as elsewhere, to rule meant to arbitrate and decide as the very word *ḥakama* signifies.⁴ The chief of each tribe was also its arbiter.⁵ Inter-tribal disputes, however, necessitated recourse to oracles and well-known foreign arbitrators. The *kāhin*, *ḥatīf*, *'a'if*, *azlām* and *aysār*⁶ remind us of the oracles of Delphi and other Greek temples. There was no common judge for the whole city of Mecca after Qusayy, as owing to family jealousies discord reigned, and hence the order of chivalry, the famous *hilfulfuḍūl*, was instituted to help the oppressed, be he a citizen or a foreigner arrived within the city-limits.⁷ It could have developed into a fixed and organised institution but presently the Islamic movement began and rendered it superfluous in the face of the well-organised judiciary appointed by the central government embracing the whole of Arabia and southern Palestine in the very time of the Prophet.⁸

The office of *ashnāq* may be mentioned in this connection. It is said that the family of Hazrat Abūbākr held it hereditarily.⁹ It meant¹⁰

1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 46

2. *Tafsīr* of Ṭabarī, VIII, 120, commentary of 7 : 31.

3. Ibn Duraid, 171-72.

4. For a detailed description see my article in *Majālā 'Uṭhmāniya*, XI.

5. Cf. Ya'qūbī, I, 300.

6. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *op cit*, ascribes a whole chapter for the details of the procedure of the Arab oracles.

7. Ibn Hishām, p. 85-86; Suhailī, I, 90-94; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 41; *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 190.

8. See for details my article in the *Islamic Culture*, April 1937, 'Administration of Justice in early Islam'.

9. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45.

10. *Ibid*.

that whoever committed a compoundable tort or crime, the officer in charge of *ashnâq* determined the extent and value of the pecuniary liability. The whole city was bound by his calculations, and the family of the culprit subscribed towards the amount. The custom has very clearly been explained in the constitution of the city-state of Medina promulgated by the Prophet soon after his migration to it, and the document containing the said constitution has fortunately come down to us *in toto*.¹ I do not know wherefrom Lammens² has taken the explanation which he ridicules, that the officer in charge of *ashnâq* paid the blood or compound-money from his private purse.

AMBASSADORSHIP

THE LAST item in civil administration, though by no means the least, was that of the *safir-munâfir*.³ This is ascribed to Banû 'Adiy, the family of Hazrat 'Umar. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi explains this in a succinct manner:—

"Whenever there was war, they sent 'Umar as their envoy plenipotentiary, and if and when a foreign tribe challenged the priority of the Quraish it was again he who went and replied and the Quraish agreed to whatever he uttered."⁴

MILITARY

IN CONNECTION with war, our authors mention several hereditary offices. Of these *canopy* and *reins* have already been disposed of. Others are *'uqâb*, *liwâ*, and *hulwân-an-nafr*:

The office of *'uqâb* or standard-bearer is said⁵ to have reposed in the Banû Umaiyah. Apparently this was the office of custodian of the national flag in time of peace, and of unfurling it as a call to mobilisation. For the actual expedition any other person could as well be elected and entrusted with this responsibility.⁶

Our authors⁷ distinguish between the office of *'uqâb* and that of *liwâ* (Banner), but they do not give the difference between them. I have not been able to solve the difficulty, especially as the offices belonged to two different families.

1. Ibn Hishâm, p. 341—44; Abû-'Uбайд, *kitâb al-amwâl*, es 517; Ibn Kathîr, *al-bidayah*, III, 224—26.

2. *La Mecque*, p. 67-68.

3. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45.

4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi concludes his narrative with the description of a very curious office which is mentioned nowhere else, and says:—¹

"As for the *ḥulwān an-nafr* Mobilisation Gratuity, there was no monarchic king over the Arabs (of Mecca) in the Jāhiliyah. So whenever there was a war, they took ballot among the chieftains, and elected one as king, be he a minor or a grown up man. Thus on the day of Fijār, it was the turn of the Banū Hāshim, and as a result of the ballot al-'Abbās, who was then a mere child, was elected, and they seated him on the shield.

This is not the place to describe in detail the military organisation² and the laws and practices of the Quraish in time of war and neutrality. I will only make a passing reference to the *mirbā'* or the fourth part of the booty, the *fuḍūl* or the undividable fractions, the *nashīṭah* or the captures before the general plunder and the *ṣafiy* or the 'choice' which were the rights and prerogatives of the commander of the tribe in a razzia or other expedition.³ Ra'sulhajar al-Khushaniy al-Qa'qā' at-Tamimiyy, and Ẹirār ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihriy are mentioned by Ibn Duraid⁴ among those who were entitled to the *mirbā'* in the Jāhiliyah.

It would exceed the scope of this paper if I were to give in detail all the arguments which Lammens⁵ has put forward in support of his interesting thesis that the Meccans had established and developed a standing army of mercenaries and negro slaves. The article is considerably documented, yet the main purpose of the learned—though unfortunately in the main much prejudiced and unsympathetic—Jesuite Father was professedly to show that the Quraish were a cowardly people who dreaded fighting, and only in order to assure their communications, so essential for the maintenance of their wide commercial interests, they had organised in Mecca a standing army of mercenaries and slaves. A conqueror like Napoleon was astonished at, and had envied,⁶ the military achievements⁷ of these early Meccans, and if a prejudiced Jesuit priest does not like to see any value in the valour of Meccans like Khālid ibn al-Walid, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ and Abū 'Ubaidah, it will not be their fault.

SOCIAL

THE GREEKS called the outsiders Barbarians, and the Greek word

1. Idem, p. 46.

2. For certain details see Mas'ūdiy, *Tanbih*, p. 279-80.

3. Marzūqiy, II, 330.

4. *Ishtiqāq*, p. 64, 145, 318.

5. "Les Abābish et l'Organisation militaire de la Mecque au siècle de l'Hégire" in J. A., 1916 or in "L'Arabie occidentale" pp. 273-93.

6. *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, III, 183.

7. See *supra*, introduction.

for enemy actually meant the outsider.¹ The Arabs on the contrary used, while referring to foreigners, the harmless term '*ajami*, meaning a dumb person, i.e., not possessing the Arab oratory and rhetoric. But everywhere in Arabia as in Greece foreigners sojourned and even became domiciled.

In Greece the resident aliens formed a special class between the slaves and citizens and were called metics.² "The metics enjoyed for themselves and their families all the protective rights held by the citizens; but they could hold none of the state offices, neither could they vote or own real property in the state. They must each have as patron some citizen to stand as surety for their good behaviour. They had to pay a direct metic tax of twelve drachmas for each man, 6 drachmas for each unmarried woman. In other respects they were on a footing of equality with citizens, serving the city-state in its wars and taking part in all public religious festivals."³ The Arab *mawālī*, especially the Meccan ones, were less harshly treated. There were no special taxes imposed upon them. They enjoyed with their patrons all the civil rights (the client and the patron both being alike termed *mawla*) with this obvious limitation that a client could form no new foreign client of his own. He became a full member of the family of his patron and exercised all the privileges of an original tribesman with the exception, however, that he should not accord protection or asylum to a foreigner without the concurrence and assent of his patron.⁴ In fact the Arabs were bent upon Arabisation⁵ whereas the Greeks were told by their philosophers that Nature intended the foreigners to be the slaves of the Greek.⁶

In Greece "the members of a political group were united primarily by a common ancestry, and a common religion. Society was organised in 'phratriæ' or brotherhoods, that is, in groups of related families, and these 'brotherhoods' were in turn united by a supposed common ancestry in a larger group called 'phyle' or tribe. The bond of blood was reinforced by the bond of religion."⁷

The internal organisation of the Meccans was much more elaborate and complex, owing to the unusual importance attached to geneology in their life. There were '*arifs* or the leaders of ten persons (cf. Decurion), and the *qā'ids* are said to command groups of a hundred (cf. Centurion). Then there were the subdivisions of *qabilah*, *batn*, *fakhidh*, *sha'b*, etc. described in detail by Wüstenfeld in the preface of his "Register" of the *Geneological Tables*, on the authority of Arab authors.

1. *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, I. Introduction; cf. also F Roth, *Ueber Sinn und Gebrauch des Wortes Barbar* (Nuremberg, 1814)

2. Halliday, p. 1124

3. *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Introduction, ch. "The city state domination".

4. Ibn Hishām, p. 251; Ṭabarī, p. 1203

5. For details see Hamidullah, *La Diplomatie musulmane*, I, 74.

6. Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 2, 6 quoted by Lawrence in *Principles of International Law*.

7. Halliday, p. 1108-9

The pre-Islamic Meccans lacked a common religion believed in by all the populace and they lacked a sacred Book or written code of law to be observed by all. Among the Meccans there were pagan idolators, polytheists, associators, atheists and even animists and materialists besides those who had embraced Magism, Judaism and Christianity. Nevertheless the average citizen had reached the stage of believing one common, supreme god over and above all the petty tribal deities and they called Him Allah. Their political consciousness too had developed so much that the interest of the state was everywhere the supreme consideration. So when the Meccans were unexpectedly beaten in the battle of Badr, they subscribed to the war-fund, the whole of the profits of the caravan just returned under Abu Sufyan from Syria.¹ The Meccans used to send their new born children to Sahara or desert habitations of bedouins for being reared under the care of bedouin women. Brought up in the pure and simple village life, they possessed many virtues of the bedouin and none of the vices of the metropolitan life. The Prophet himself had spent several of his early years in the same manner. I may refer you here to the social laws of Lycurgus, which, though barbarous, aimed at the physical and mental training of the younger generations of the Spartans in Greece.

The Greek nature was characterised by love of knowledge as a contrast to, for example, the love of wealth attributed to Phoenicians and Egyptians. The Quraishite Meccans may be said to be distinguished by their love of arts and letters. It was this love of art which probably induced 'Utbah ibn Rabi'ah ibn 'Abdshams to build a crystal palace (*Dar-al-Qawarir*) in Mecca. They felt so much at home in poetry that the very terms *bait*, *misra*, *asbab*, *awtad*, *fawasil* mean a tent and its parts as a couplet and its constituent elements. The sole object of life according to the Greek philosophers was good life.² One is tempted to quote here in the end the famous Quranic verses in which the end of human life according to the pagans and the Muslims has so vividly been described—

'There are some men who say, O Lord give us good in this world, but such shall have no portion in the next world. And there are others who say, O Lord, give us good in this world and also good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of the Fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained. God is swift in taking an account.'³

Note—After the article was sent to the press I received the following observations from Prof. Dr. Salim (Fritz) Krenkow on my paper which he read in manuscript, and I reproduce his remarks with thanks.

It must have been evident to any serious thinker that conditions

1 Ibn Hisham p. 555. Ibn Sa'd 2/1 p. 25 ff.

2 Baladhuri *Futuh* (ed. Egypt) p. 63, 64.

3 *Politics* I 2, 8.

4 Quran 2: 200-02.

prevailed in Arabia which made such a mission [by the Prophet] possible. It was so at all times whether at the Mosaic or Christian mission . . . A high state of civilisation did exist [at Mecca] and one other proof of this, apart from the religious side, was the number of men of outstanding quality in administration etc.

"You mention the tribes of Ṭay' and Khath'am as bandit-tribes. I believe the facts may be a little different. Both tribes were largely Christian, so that the Arab sanctuaries and customs had not the sacred character for them; in addition the Ṭay' were settled, a Yemanite tribe in the midst of Muḍarite ones, the cleavage between these two large sections of the Arab people endured for centuries after the Hijrah . . .

"I do not know whether you have seen the little alabaster statues from South-Arabia which may be deities. Berūni suggests in the *kitāb al-jamāhir* that the idol Hubal was such; I do not know where he got this information, but he may well be right.

"As regards the public race-course in Mecca, this was the Ajyād in the lower city. The author of the *Tijān* discussed the origin of the strange name. See also the article Ajyād in Yāqūt. I am sure *Ajyād* is a rare plural of *jawād*, horses of noble-breed, race-horses."

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE*

By SH. INAYATULLAH

CONSIDERED from the point of view of philology and general human culture, the Arabic language is one of the most important languages of the world. Next to English and Spanish, it is the third most widely spread language of the globe in the extent of its geographical distribution. The Arab conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries and the subsequent Arabo-Islamic cultural influences, spread the Arabic language into many countries outside Arabia; and in one form or another it is spoken (sometimes, along with other languages) in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Malta, north Africa, and in certain districts further south, *e.g.*, in the Sudan, Nigeria, the western Sahara and Zanzibar. Arabic was formerly spoken in Spain, which made important contributions to Arabic literature,¹ in the Balearic islands and Sicily, in the island of Pantelleria and in Madagascar.

It is true that even in Arabia itself, the Arabic language shows dialectic differences; and such variations are still more marked in countries more remote from the land of its origin; but the written language—the language of literature and journalism—has almost invariably conformed to the old standard type, which has been conveniently called Classical Arabic, characterized by an extraordinary richness of vocabulary and the logical, systematic character of its grammatical structure. Classical Arabic has, unquestionably, passed through various stages of development: vocabulary and forms of expression have undergone considerable modifications, in accordance with the demands of a progressive civilization and the special needs of separate branches of knowledge; it would be still correct to say that the grammatical structure of the language, as written by educated men in the Arabic world to-day, is essentially the same as that of the language of the Qur'an and the ancient

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1. Not to mention al-Maqqari's great and well-known work, *Nafh al-Tib*, which is our principal authority for the literary history of Muslim Spain, I may refer the interested reader to the invaluable monograph on the same subject by Prof. Gonzalez Palencia entitled *Historia de la Literatura Árabe-Española* (Barcelona, 1928), which surveys the whole field of Arabic literature produced in Muslim Spain and incorporates the results of the latest researches of the modern school of Spanish Arabists.

Arabic poets

I propose to consider the importance of the study of Arabic from the religious, philological, historical and cultural points of view, and make a rapid survey of the grounds, on which such study commends itself to our serious attention

In the first place, Arabic is of supreme importance as the religious language of the Muslims, who constitute about one-fifth of the human race. Any serious student of religious history, who desires to specialize in the study of Islam and wants to understand properly the religious character of the Muslim Society and fathom its motive-springs, must learn Arabic, for the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet, which are the two main fountain-heads of the religious and cultural life of the Muslims—not to mention their numerous satellite disciplines—are in Arabic. Translations into other languages, however painstaking and accurate, cannot be of much avail in a first-hand study of the Islamic faith and Islamic civilization. Religious considerations enter into the daily life of Muslim peoples to a greater extent than, perhaps, in any other society or community on the surface of the earth. The religion of Islam claims to speak with authority in the domain of law, politics and social organisation, as much as in the sphere of theology and ethics, so that the wisest and the most carefully considered plans of statesmen and reformers are doomed to failure, if they neglect to take into account the deeply rooted religious ideas of the people about human conduct. In the world of Islam, the foundations of society have been set in religion, in a manner that is plain even to a casual observer. Islam has, accordingly, been well described as a Church-State, that is, a state whose very constitution is ecclesiastical, in which the Church comes first and the State rests upon it. And here comes in the importance of Arabic. Without Arabic, Islam has no meaning, that is to say, Islam and the Muslims cannot be properly understood. Again and again, emphasis is laid in the Qur'an on the fact that the word of God has been revealed in the Arabic language, and from one end of the Muslim world to the other, whatever may be the living speech of the people—whether it be Berber, Hausa, Hindustani, Pashto, Persian, Turkish, Javanese or Malay—prayers are everywhere repeated five times a day in Arabic, the faithful greet one another in familiar Arabic phrases, and the sacred text, though translated into many other languages is read in the original Arabic. The Arabic words of the Islamic creed (*La ilaha ill Allah, Muhammad Rasul Allah*) are whispered in the ear of the new-born babe, these are among the first sentences the growing child is taught to utter, and these should be the last words on the lips of the dying.

It is true that in countries where Arabic is not the mother-tongue of the people, there is among the uneducated often little real comprehension of the meaning of the words repeated, but for any understanding of the thoughts that sway the lives of Muslim peoples, of the beliefs that they hold most sacred, the principles of theology and ethics on which they

are nurtured, we must go to Arabic. In non-Arabic countries, it may be a foreign tongue; but it is studied there by all the learned, and the learned constitute whatever clergy Islam possesses; and from them the unlettered multitudes derive their knowledge of their faith. But on the other hand, so large a part of the Muslim world, from the banks of the Tigris to the shores of the Atlantic, thinks and speaks in Arabic, that it fittingly takes rank among the living and the most widely spread languages of the world. It is a living language not only in its influence on the minds of men, but also in the continuity and vigour of its literary expression, and in its capacity for adapting itself to the changes and developments of each successive age.¹

Besides this religious aspect of the importance of Arabia, the written language is also of the utmost value to the Muslims of the world as a great cultural link and medium of communication between the various Muslim peoples. Islam gives to every believer the sense of common fellowship in its universal brotherhood. Next in importance to the faith of Islam itself comes the classical Arabic as an instrument, as well as a symbol and expression, of whatever measure of unity and corporate feeling at present exists among the far-flung Muslim populations of the world. Arabic is studied more or less extensively in all the Muslim lands, and it lies in the hands of the Muslims themselves to strengthen this bond of union, by promoting the study of Arabic among them with greater zeal than is the case at present. The international character and position of the Arabic language is, indeed, a fact that is pregnant with great possibilities, only if the Muslims realize it and care to seize the opportunities that lie in this direction. As I have already pointed out, the Classical Arabic is the language of literature and journalism in all the Arabic-speaking countries; and despite a few minor local peculiarities, it retains its position as an international language. The peoples of the various Arabic countries however, make use of different dialects of Arabic in their everyday conversation. Whether any of these dialects will succeed in developing an independent literature of its own, seems doubtful. Attempts have been made on behalf of Egyptian Arabic for more than a century; but they have been of a sporadic nature. A few enthusiasts have produced books in the Egyptian dialect, but they have been frowned upon by the learned, and have received little encouragement from those to whom they were addressed. Certain European Orientalists have also sought to persuade the Arabs to develop these dialects into literary languages, in place of the classical Arabic. These suggestions have not been received with favour, since such a develop-

1. In demonstrating the importance of Arabic as the religious language of Islam, I have freely drawn upon the public lecture that was delivered by my revered master, the late Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, at the School of Oriental Studies, London, on March 14th, 1917, and was published in an abridged form in the Bulletin of the said School, Vol. I, pp. 106-117, under the heading of 'The Study of Arabic'.

ment is fraught with grave danger to the literary and cultural unity of the Arabic world. Speaking at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Athens in 1912, an Egyptian representative strongly disapproved of such a regional development, saying: You Westerns try to facilitate your mutual relations with the aid of artificial auxiliary languages, such as Volapuk, Esperanto and Ido; and you ask us to throw away a magnificent and perfect instrument for the exchange of thought that is already serving 200 million individuals! We shall show that we are better advised.

If the Arabic language is indispensable for the full and satisfactory understanding of Islam and the Islamic civilization, it is also of considerable importance from the point of view of Biblical studies; for Arabic has afforded valuable help to scholars in the study of the Old Testament. Not only did the analytic works of Arabic grammarians served as models for Jewish philologists, who submitted the Hebrew language to grammatical analysis in the early centuries of Islam; but during the last century also there has been constant recourse to Arabic for the explanation of rare words and forms in Hebrew; for, although, Arabic literature is junior to the Hebrew by more than a thousand years, the Arabic language itself is the senior philologically by countless centuries. "Perplexing phenomena in Hebrew can often be explained as solitary and archaic survivals of forms which are frequent and common in the cognate Arabic. Words and idioms whose precise sense had been lost in Jewish tradition, receive a ready and convincing explanation from the same source. Indeed, no serious student of the Old Testament can afford to dispense with a first-hand knowledge of Arabic. The pages of any critical commentary on the Old Testament will illustrate the debt that biblical exegesis owes to Arabic."¹

The close relation that exists between Arabic and Hebrew languages will also explain why among the past and present European Arabists there are so many who are either Jews or of Jewish extraction. Noldeke, Goldziher, Munk, Steinschneider, Glaser, Weil and Horovitz may be mentioned as examples. Among prominent living Jewish Arabists, we may mention G. Levi della Vida, E. Levi-Provençal; and among young promising scholars Paul Kraus, Martin Plessner, S. D. F. Goitein and S. Pines, besides Ilse Lichtenstædter and Leo Strauss, two charming young ladies, who have already made their mark as Arabists. It is also interesting to note in this connection that some eminent Orientalists, such as Chwolson, Sachau, Reckendorf and Margoliouth, who profess or professed Christianity, have been converts from the Jewish faith. The explanation of the large rôle that Jewish scholars have played in the prosecution of Arabic and Islamic studies, lies in the fact that during the Middle Ages, the Jews, being neutrals, were the chief intellectual and commercial intermediaries between Christian

1 Alfred Guillaume in his preface to *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1931), p. ix.

Europe on the one hand and the Muslim world on the other. Moreover, Muslim theology and philosophy exercised a great influence upon Jewish thought. The result was that a close relation came to subsist between the Jewish and Islamic literatures; and the Jewish scholars, who were engaged in the study of their own literature, were naturally and easily led to Arabic and Islamic studies.

Arabic is important not only for Hebrew philology and Biblical studies; but it holds a key-position in relation to all other Semitic languages as well, and is thus the starting-point for Semitic philology. It may not closely represent the proto-Semitic, for it has evidently passed through certain changes; nevertheless, it has been free from the more violent changes, which have taken place, for example, in Assyrian and Hebrew as a result of the clash of nations and cultures. The comparatively isolated position of Arabia has saved its language from contamination by non-Semitic languages; while the absence of any considerable number of aliens has preserved it from a too rapid change or extensive corruption.

Arabic literature also possesses a unique significance for ancient Greek literature, and has been of great help to scholars in their classical studies in two ways. Firstly, there is a number of Greek authors, whose works have been lost in their original language, but have been preserved in Arabic translations. I may mention, for example, three books of the Conics of Apollonius, the Spherics of Menelaus, the Mechanics of Hero of Byzantium, a short book on the balance attributed to Euclid, a short work on the clepsydra attributed to Archimedes, a treatise on agriculture by Anatolius of Berytos and a number of the medical writings of Galen. The enlightened Caliphs and other notables caused the works of many Greek authors to be translated into Arabic. These translations have been instrumental in restoring some of the lost glories of the ancient Greek world. Secondly, they are affording invaluable help to scholars in the critical study of ancient Greek texts; for they date from an earlier age than the oldest extant Greek manuscripts, and reference to them is found to be very helpful in fixing the original Greek texts.

The Arabic language is also very important for purposes of Universal history. The subject of history, as is well known, furnishes one of the most copious departments of Arabic literature. It was, in fact, the last branch to wither away for want of proper cultivation. The Arabs have always had a great liking for historical narrative; and the vast extent of the literature they produced in this field may be gauged from the fact that when the indefatigable Wüstenfeld made a survey of the Arabic historians, who had flourished during the first thousand years of Islam, in his well-known work, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, the total number of authors noted by him came up to 590. Many of these historians are credited with numerous works, each of a colossal magnitude. The importance of the Arabic historical literature does not,

however, lie merely in its voluminousness. What must be realized in this connection is the fact that the history of the Arabs is not the history of an ordinary people. In the Middle Ages, the Arabs were the ruling nation of the world and the pioneers of progress, who inherited and carried on the traditions of ancient cultures and ultimately transmitted them, with rich additions of their own, to Mediæval Europe. No universal history can, therefore, be said to be complete, which does not give them their proper and rightful place as the leading nation of the world and as the van-guards of civilization through several centuries.

Moreover, the Arabic writers have not only preserved a full record of their own history as few other nations have done, but their chronicles also shed valuable light on the life of the neighbouring peoples, who came into contact with them. We may cite, as an instance, al-Birûnî's *Tarikh al-Hind*, which gives an authoritative account of the religion, philosophy, literature, chronology, astronomy, laws and customs of India about 1030 A. C. What patient research in Arabic sources can reveal is also well illustrated by Reinaud's excellent *Memoire sur l' Inde* (Paris, 1849).

These considerations will, I hope, enable us to appreciate the remark of the famous German historian, Leopold Von Ranke, who has observed that leaving aside Latin, of all the languages of the world Arabic is the most important for universal history. The remarks of the Scottish theologian and historian, the late Professor Robert Flint, in his *History of the Philosophy of History* (p. 78) are also pertinent to the subject in hand. He writes: "It must not be forgotten that during the Middle Ages, there existed a Mohammedan as well as a Christian civilization, and a Mohammedan as well as a Christian historiography. The Christian mediæval world was only a part of the Mediæval world, and a part imperfectly intelligible without acquaintance with its Mohammedan counterpart and complement. It may be safely affirmed that our universal histories, histories of civilisation, and philosophies of history, suffer from their authors' defective knowledge of the history of Mohammedanism. Probably no class of scholars have it in their power to increase more the stock of generally useful historical knowledge than those, who are qualified to appreciate and utilise the Arabic historians. The histories of Mohammedan countries in the Middle Age have been as fully recorded by Mohammedan annalists as those of the various regions of Christendom during the same period; and consequently, a knowledge of the former as exact and ample as of the latter is recoverable, and may equally be made to enter into the common inheritance of educated mankind."

The Arabic language is also very important for the history of science. The history of the development and progress of general science and of its particular branches has, in recent times, become a very important branch of study, which has attained abundant fruitful results. But, unfortunately, most of the histories of science, written by Western writers of to-day, are vitiated by the fact that they do not pay adequate attention

to the contributions, which the Arabs made to various sciences. This is due either to their ignorance or indifference. It is also due to the circumstance that the scientific literature in Arabic has not yet been fully studied, though a good beginning has already been made in several directions.

Now, it is a well-ascertained historical fact that the Arabs were not slow to learn what the Greeks and other ancient peoples had to teach them. They not only preserved the sciences as handed down by the ancients, but also cultivated them further and on many points developed them to a considerable extent. They kept alive the study of sciences, as a part of the higher intellectual life, in an age when the Christian West was desperately fighting against barbarism. "The zenith of their activity may be placed in the ninth and tenth centuries, but it was continued down to the fifteenth. From the twelfth century every one in the West who had any taste for science, some desire for light, turned to the East or to the Moorish West. At this period the works of the Arabs began to be translated, as those of the Greeks had previously been by them. The Arabs, thus, form a bond of union, a connecting link between ancient culture and modern civilization. When at the Renaissance the spirit of man was once again filled with the zeal for knowledge and stimulated by the spark of genius, if it was able to set promptly to work, to produce and to invent, it was because the Arabs had preserved and perfected various branches of knowledge, kept the spirit of research alive and eager and maintained it pliant and ready for future discoveries."¹ No history of science can, therefore, be regarded as complete which fails to do justice to the rôle of the Arabs in the advancement and development of sciences.

But the Arabic contributions to science cannot be properly and satisfactorily studied without a knowledge of Arabic, which holds the key to the vast scientific literature of the Muslims. Not only the Arabs, but all other peoples who were associated with them in building up the composite Islamic culture, wrote in Arabic for religious, philosophical and scientific purposes. Al-Fârâbi and Ibn Sinâ were Turks by origin, but their principal works on philosophy and medicine and music were written in Arabic. Similarly, 'Omar Khayyâm, who is celebrated all over the world as Persian poet, wrote his Algebra in Arabic. So is the case with hundreds of other luminaries of Mediæval Islam. The result was that Arabic, which had already been the imperial language of the Muslim Empire, also became the language of science and culture and, in course of time, the depository of all that the best brains in the Muslim world thought and wrote for centuries.

Johann Beckmann, who wrote a history of inventions, refers to the scientific achievements of the Arabs and to the importance of Arabic in this connection, in the following words: "What a noble people were the Arabs. We are indebted to them for a great deal of knowledge and

1 Baron Carra de Vaux in *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1931), p. 377

many inventions of great utility; and we should have still more to thank them for, were we fully aware of the benefits we have derived from them. What a pity that their work should be suffered to moulder into dust, without being made available to us; what a shame that those acquainted with their rich language should meet with so little encouragement. Had I still twenty years to live and could hope for an abundant supply of Arabic works, I would gladly learn Arabic."¹

It was not given to Beckmann to realize his ambition of learning Arabic as a linguistic equipment for the study of scientific inventions and discoveries of the Arabs. A contemporary scholar, however, has been more fortunate in this respect,—I mean Dr. George Sarton, the well-known editor of *Isis* and the author of *An Introduction to the History of Science*, which is a monument of patient industry and vast erudition. This Belgian scholar, who has for many years past been settled in the United States of America, in the course of his researches into the history of various sciences, became increasingly conscious of the fact that he could not do justice to the Mediæval period in particular, without possessing a first-hand knowledge of Arabic. He was so strongly convinced of this that he went to Syria, stayed there for about a year; and then on his return, he wrote as a kind of by-product, a booklet on how to learn the Arabic language, which contains many useful suggestions on the subject. Almost all the present-day scholars, who have made valuable contributions to the history of Mediæval science, such as Ruska, Suter, Wiedemann, Schoy, Meyerhof, Paul Kraus, Holmyard and Farmer—all possess or possessed a good knowledge of Arabic.

The Arabic language also possesses supreme importance for most of the subsidiary languages of Islam, such as Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Urdu, Sawahili and others. No thorough study of these languages and of the literatures enshrined in them, is possible without a knowledge of Arabic language and literature. While the Arabic language has given these languages, along with the Arabic script, a considerable part of their vocabulary, the Arabic literature has more or less profoundly influenced their forms of literary expression. This is well illustrated by the personal experience of the late Professor E. G. Browne, who thus writes in his *Literary History of Persia* (Vol. I, p. 90): "I began my Oriental studies with Turkish, and was soon driven to Persian, since from the Persians the Turks borrowed their culture and literary forms. Soon I found that without a knowledge of the Arabic language and literature and of the Arabian civilisation and culture, one could never hope to be more than a smatterer in Persian." Modern Persian emerged and its literary forms originated and developed under the direct influence of Arabic.² No

1 Johann Beckmann, *Beuräge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*.

2. See in this connection U.M. Daudpota, *The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry* (Bombay, 1934), where the author has shown, with numerous illustrations the multiplicity of ideas and literary forms borrowed by Persian poets from Arabic poets.

wonder, then, that a knowledge of Arabic is indispensable for any one, who desires to become a good scholar of Persian. In the principal universities of the world, students are not allowed to proceed to higher Persian studies, without their previously possessing or acquiring a good working knowledge of Arabic.

It is amazing to find what a large number of Arabic words are in current use in Persian. A movement has been afoot in present-day Persia to efface, as far as possible, all traces of Arab domination and influence from the various spheres of national life. It also seeks, as a part of its programme, to purge the Persian language of Arabic words. This part of the programme does not, however, seem to have succeeded to any considerable extent. The movement, the real strength of which has been variously estimated by various observers, may have produced in the literary sphere curiosities like that of *نامه خسروان*, which, owing to the forced employment of little-known and obsolete words of Persian origin, is hardly intelligible even to an average literate Persian; but the movement does not appear to have otherwise achieved any solid results. If we take up a Persian paper, magazine or book, not specially written by a propagandist or a nationalist crank, we shall find that the proportion of Arabic words used is as large as ever.

Almost the same is the case with Ottoman Turkish, which has been permeated through and through by Persian, as well as by general Islamic cultural influences.¹ The Turks may abolish the use of the Arabic script; but they cannot undo the work of centuries. To take an example at random, out of the four words inscribed above the entrance to the National Assembly Hall at Ankara, two are Arabic. It will not be rash on our part to say that, if the extremists in the Turkish ranks succeeded in divesting themselves of Arabo-Islamic cultural elements, they would be left little more than the black tents, in which their ancestors came from the steppes of Central Asia. The late Prof. Paul Casanova (d. 1926) relates in his inaugural lecture an anecdote told him by a Syrian gentleman. An old Arab Shaikh sat chatting one day with a number of Turks. The latter were decrying the Arab race and exclaiming again and again: "The Arabs have no faith; they do not know what is honour." The Arab Shaikh calmly asked them: What is the Turkish word for honour? They replied: 'İrd (عرض), pronounced *eurz*.—Any other word?—No, we have no other word.—No other word! But this word does not belong to you; it is one of the oldest words of our ancient language. If the Arabs do not know what is honour, then how about your ancestors, who never conceived the idea, when they wandered in the deserts of Central Asia.² The

1. See M. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische. Eine philologische Studie*. Wien, 1900.

2. Paul Casanova in his *Leçon d'ouverture*, 26 avril 1909, printed in his *L'Enseignement de l'Arabe au Collège de France* (Paris, 1910). The above anecdote may be supplemented by the following passage from D'Ouhsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 373, "Ceux qui ont prétendu que le mot d'honneur

moral of the story is that whereas neither the Arabs nor the Turks are, in fact, without the sense of honour and self-respect, the Turks on entering the sphere of Islam were so completely surrounded by Arabo-Persian influences that they could not help drawing upon the current speech, which was saturated with words of Arabic provenance, with the result that they partly forgot the characteristic tongue of their rude ancestors and assimilated in its place Arabic words, which bore the hall-mark of dignity and culture.

The extent, to which Urdu is indebted to Arabic for its vocabulary need not be emphasized in this place. That debt is so obvious that it will be superfluous on my part to dilate upon it on this occasion.

Likewise, I should perhaps be going too far afield if I dealt with the Arabic element that is to be found in the European, especially the Romance, languages such as Spanish and Portugese. Suffice it to say that this element possesses great interest and value, furnishing us with philological evidence, and reminding us, of the migration of culture from the East to the West during the Middle Ages.

Lastly, the Arabic language deserves to be studied for the sake of its literature. And what an attraction there is in this literature of thirteen centuries that touches on every theme of human thought and activity! There is hardly any subject within the whole range of human interest, to which some part of Arabic literature has not made its contribution; and it possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, which commend it to a very special place among the literatures of the world, —and this expressed through the medium of a language of marvellous richness, power of expression and subtlety.

In India there is need of a wider knowledge of Arabic, need of persons, who will read the great collections of Arabic books that remain untouched on the shelves of so many public and private libraries in this country and who will make their contents available in a suitable garb to the public at large. An acquaintance with Arabic would remind us that we are heirs of a great civilization, to whom have been bequeathed ideas of law, ethics and social order that have played a great part in the world as civilising influences and that are still capable of acting as regenerative forces. These ideals should be fostered and encouraged; but to know them fully, we must be acquainted with Arabic.

Some such class of persons is also needed to produce a body of opinion to counteract the common, ignorant and hostile attitude towards Islam and things Islamic that is, unfortunately, characteristic of a certain influential section of the Indian people and that is so unfitting in those who consider themselves the custodians of the welfare

n'existe pas dans la langue des Othomans, n'ont prouvé que leur parfaite ignorance . . . Comment n'ont-ils pas connu les mots d'irz, de namouz (lire: namous), de schann, de scheuhhreth qui répondent à ceux d'honneur, de dignité, de réputation, de considération?"—All these four words are Arabic not Turkish!

of this country. If we desire to live side by side in peaceful harmony, we must be generous enough to recognize each other's virtues and excellences. On the basis of such recognition alone, a common activity towards noble aims is possible; for peoples come to respect one another and approach each other's problems with intelligent sympathy, only when they have learned to understand each other's ideals. In the midst of much that is sordid and ugly in daily life and intercourse, ideals are apt to become obscured, and they can be seen more clearly in literature than in the market-place.

Now, the student of Arabic who cares to learn what the ideals of the Muslim world are, comes in touch with a culture and an ideology, which excite admiration and sympathy. I cannot attempt here to analyse these in full; but among them I may mention a theory of an organized system of human society, with a detailed body of laws and institutions,—a corporate life, in which the functions of the various sections of society are defined and developed; in the intellectual sphere, an ardent love of learning, and a thirst for knowledge that has left no field of human interest untouched; in the moral sphere, a stern sense of duty, implying a serious outlook upon life and its responsibilities,—and permeating all this, a sense of the Divine Presence, ever recognized in the commonest acts of daily routine and adding dignity to human life. This is in brief the ideal of the followers of Islam; and it is in order that we ourselves remember and cherish this ideal and enable others to recognize and appreciate it that I have ventured to speak to you on the importance of the study of Arabic.

AL-FARABI'S POLITICAL THEORIES

By H. K. SHERWANI

Fārābī's education. Political conditions. Sayfu'd-Dawlah's court. Administration. Fārābī's versatility. His position in the world of Learning. His political works. Human Intellect and Powers. Natural and artificial barriers to human unity. Theory of mutual Renunciation of Rights. Sovereignty. Internal organisation of the State. Communism and Individualism. Varieties of States—Empires. Colonization. The ideal Head of the State. Conclusion.

Fārābī's Education

ABŪ NAṢR Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Tarkhān al-Fārābī, one of the greatest philosophers that the Muslim world has produced, was a Turk by birth and was born at Wāsij in Fārāb, a district of Transoxiana. When he arrived at Baghdad for the first time he was still in his teens, and it is said that he was then not conversant with the Arabic language. After gaining enough proficiency in that language he became the pupil of the Christian savant, Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus,¹ well-known as the translator of a number of works by Aristotle and other Greek writers from Syriac (in which they had already been rendered) into Arabic, and as the commentator on Aristotle's *Categories* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*. Not satisfied with what he had learnt with him, he went to another Christian philosopher, Yūhannab. Jilād² at Ḥarrān, from whom he acquired further instruction in philosophical sciences.³

Political Conditions

Those were the days of great turmoil in the Islamic realm. Fārābī was born in 257/870 in the reign of Aḥmad abu'l-'Abbās al-Mu'tamid

1. Died 328/939.

2. Or "Khaitān". Vide Qifti, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 277.

3. Authorities for Fārābī are Qifti and Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III. There are references to his political thought in Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, and in such works as the *Encyclopædia of Islam* and the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, but to my knowledge no one has so far attempted to elucidate his political philosophy in any detail.

'ala'llāh,¹ dying in 339/950 in the reign of Abu'l-Qāsim al Muti' li'llāh,² and was thus the contemporary of two great *ṣūfis*, Abū Bakr ash-Shibli and Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, as also of one of the greatest Arabic poets, one who, in the pride of his poetic art, was foolish enough even to lay claim to Prophethood (a claim which he later discarded)—namely, al-Mutanabbī.³ The Islamic State was rent as under by a number of causes, religious, racial, philosophic and cultural, and new dynasties were springing up within the Abbasid realm which were destined to weaken the Caliphate to such a degree as to make the Caliph a puppet in the hands of any adventurer who might seize his person. These dynasties were mostly Persian or Turkish and differed from the Abbasids in their racial, and sometimes in their religious tenets, for most of the scions of the new houses belonged to the Shi'ah, while the Caliph was the centre of orthodox Sunnism. It was during Fārābī's lifetime that the last Imām, Muḥammad al-Mahdi, aged thirteen, had disappeared while looking for his father Ḥasan al-'Askarī⁴; this event must have created a deep impression on the upholders of the hereditary Imamate, and it is no wonder that the Shi'ah Buwayhid, Mu'izzu'd-Dawlah, took the opportunity of his triumphal entry into Baghdād in 341/952 to declare the 10th of Muḥarram each year to be a day of mourning in memory of the tragedy of Karbalā.⁵

This order was promulgated a couple of years after Fārābī's death, but another house had been in control of affairs at Baghdād long before. The members of this house, named Hamdanid after its progenitor, were different from their successors the Buwayhids in that they were at least half Arab and hailed from Mawṣil. The Hamdanids, specially Husayn b. Ḥamdān and his brother Abu'l-Hayjā' 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Ḥamdān, played the kingmakers in the time of Ja'far abu'l-Faḍl al-Muqtadir bi'l-lāh⁶, Muḥammad abu'l-Manṣūr al-Qāhir bi'l-lāh⁷, Muḥammad abu'l-'Abbās ar-Rādi bi'l-lāh⁸ and Ibrāhīm abu'l-'Abbās al-Muttaqī bi'l-lāh⁹, whom they worked to set up, depose, reinstate, and redepose as they liked. Of the Hamdanids we are mostly interested in 'Alī, one of the three sons of Abu'l-Hayjā', who proved to be one of the greatest patrons of learning of his day. 'Alī had led a successful expedition against the Greeks in 936 when he was but twenty-one years of age, and it was he who tried to save the Caliph Muttaqī from the clutches of the Baridis¹⁰,

1. 334/946-363/974.

2. 247/861-334/945.

3. 303/915-334/965.

4. 265/878.

5. Ameer Ali, *A short History of the Saracens*, p. 303

6. 295/907-320/932

7. 320/932-322/934.

8. 322/934-329/940

9. 329/940-333/944.

10. *Baridis*, so called because they were descended from a postmaster. They played an important political part in the time of al-Muqtadir. One of them, Abū 'Abdu'l-lāh, was appointed *wazīr* by Amīru'l-Umarā Bejkem the Turk

taking him to his own capital, Mawṣil. Muttaqī was so pleased with 'Alī's conduct that he conferred on him the title of *Sayfu'd-Dawlah*, and it was as Sayfu'd-Dawlah that he is known to all students of the history of Abbasid Caliphate.

Sayfu'd-Dawlah's Court

Sayf held a brilliant court first at Mawṣil and then at Aleppo where he had to move in 333/944, the year before the Buwayhid¹ occupation of Baghdād. This court was thronged with philosophers, savants, poets and *literateurs* much in the same way as the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent at Florence in the fifteenth century. It has already been mentioned that the Abbasid Caliphs of this period were regarded as the centres of orthodoxy, and it is no wonder that there was no place at Baghdād for all that seemed new or outlandish in the tenets current there. Those were the days of religious unrest, and the Ḥanbalite doctrine², which leant towards the puritanism of the type of early Islam, was increasing its influence. On the other hand, Greek works were being translated into Syriac and Arabic, and the century was the "Golden period of Arabic translations"³. The work had really begun in the reign of Ma'mūn⁴ in 217/832, when he founded the Academy called *Baytu'l-Ḥikmah*, and from that date onwards myriads of books had been translated from Greek into Syriac and Arabic. These works could not but have a direct influence on Muslim thought, and it was natural that those in the ascendant in the centre of the Caliphate should look askance at precepts which they considered to be, if not wholly, at least in part opposed to the principles on which Islam was supposed to stand.⁵ The scions of the new dynasties, however, had no such scruples, and it is remarkable what a large patronage was given to science and philosophy, literature and art by men like Sayfu'd-Dawlah, who created an atmosphere of great tolerance in their respective centres. While Shibli⁶ was being persecuted and Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj⁷ done to death, Sayfu'd-Dawlah nurtured at his court persons of the mettle of Fārābī and Mutanabbi, one a prince among poets and the

1. The *Buwayhids* or *Buyids* were descended from Abū Shujā' Buwayh of Daylam. They attained great eminence during the period with which we are concerned.

2. *Ḥanbalites*, followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the fourth orthodox Imam, 164/780-241/855.

3. O'Leary. *Arabic Thought*. ch. 4.

4. 198/813-218-833.

5. It is remarkable that in spite of this seeming influence of what was regarded as anti-Islamic thought by a section of the Muslims, there was most complete toleration of non-Muslim religions, and the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians were free to worship as they liked.

6. 247/861-334/945

7. 244/858-301/913.

other the doyen of Muslim philosophers. It was with feelings of real praise, not of vain flattery, that Mutanabbi sings of his patron:

وَمَجْهِي يَا عَاذِلَ الْمَلِكِ الَّذِي أَسْخَطْتَ كُلَّ النَّاسِ فِي أَرْضَانِهِ
الشمس من حساده والقمر من قرانه والسيف من اسمائه
أَيْنَ الثَّلَاثَةِ مِنْ ثَلَاثِ خَلَالِهِ مِنْ حَسَنِهِ وَأَبَائِهِ وَمُضَانِهِ¹

Administration

Here it is well to say a few words about the administration of the State in which Fārābī flourished, so that we might be able to gauge what difference there was between the actual condition of affairs and the ideal which he propounded. The division of the *diwānu'l-'aziz* into various *diwāns* or offices has been described elsewhere,² and here it will suffice to mention the transition of this form of administration to the authority of the *amirs* and *sultāns* who were just beginning to appear side by side with the Caliphs. Baghdād had, during the years under consideration, some truly great ministers like Ibnū'l-Furāt, 'Alī b. 'Isā³ and others, but they could not withstand the onslaught of new forces which were then making themselves felt. It was in the time of Rāḍī that ar-Rā'iq was made *amir*, and later the Turk Bejkem was made *Amīru'l-Umarā*, a title which was henceforward granted to almost everyone who got the upper hand at Baghdād and thus denoted the actual political power in the capital. It thus entirely eclipsed the wazirate which had been the connotation of the chief executive officer of the Caliphate almost from the beginning of Abbasid administration. From now onwards the *wazīr* had to bow down to the will of the *amir* who happened to be the actual custodian of the Caliph. It was in this sense that 'Alī, the grandson of Hamdān was created *Amir Sayfu'd-Dawlah* by Muttaqī in 942. The first to adopt the title of *sultān* was Aḥmad b. Buwayh; he was also created *Mu'izzu'd-Dawlah*, and his name was inscribed on the coins of the realm along with that of the Caliph Muṭṭi'.⁴ Yet another title appears, *i. e.*, that of *malik* or king, and the same *Mu'izzu'd-Dawlah* liked to be addressed as *malik*,

1. Mutanabbi, *Diwān*, *qasidah* I:

"O thou who tauntest me, thou shouldst understand that I am willing to sacrifice my very life for the King whom I have tried to please in the face of all others

Sun envies him, Success accompanies him and Sword is a part of his very name. But there is no comparison between these three and his great qualities, namely his Resplendence, his sense of Honour and his Alacrity "

2. Sherwani, *el-Mawerdi and the Qabās-nāmeḥ*, p. 9.

3. *Vide* the fine work, Bowen, 'Alī b. 'Isā, *the good Vizier*, Cambridge, 1928

4. Photo of the coin in Bowen, *op cit*, opposite p. 392

although the first to receive it at the hands of the Caliph was Nuru'd-Din Zangī, son of the famous 'Imadu'd-Din Zangī who was created *al-Maliku'l-Ādil* or the "Just King" by the Caliph Muktafi'. But that was much later than the period we are scanning, though even now the office of the Caliph was becoming more and more like that of Medieval Popes with little political authority than that which a powerful *sultān*, *amir* or self-styled *malik* might leave to his credit. The Caliph became a pawn on the chessboard of politics, highly respected and revered as one with the mantle of the Apostle of Islam on his shoulders, but fit only to be passed from hand to hand and to be placed on the boards much as his actual guardian liked.

Fārābī's Versatility

Such was the general condition of the Abbasid Caliphate during Fārābī's lifetime. The versatility of Fārābī knew no bounds, for he found time to study philosophy, logic, politics, mathematics and physics, and not only wrote books on music but actually composed musical pieces. Among numerous books which he has left behind him he has to his credit commentaries on practically the whole of the current Organon, works on logic, a summary of Plato's *Nomoi* or the Laws, commentaries on Aristotle's *Nichomæchian Ethics*, books on Natural Sciences such as commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*, *Metereology*, the *Sky* and the *World* as well as independent works on the movement of heavenly bodies. He wrote, besides, a number of books on psychology and metaphysics, and in mathematics, commented on some of Euclid's problems as well as on the famous *Almagest* of Ptolemy, apart from treatises on Plato and Aristotle¹. A man with such learning had no place in the ninth-century Baghdad, and as we have pointed out, we find him regularly attached to Sayfu'd-Dawlah's court. In 334/946, Sayf took Damascus and Fārābī became a permanent resident of that delightful place, spending his time in the gardens of the erstwhile Umayyad capital, discussing philosophic questions with his friends and writing down his own opinions and compositions sometimes in a regular form, sometimes on merely loose leaves. It is said that he was so indifferent to worldly matters that he never tried to obtain any sumptuous livelihood and was content with the four *dirhams* which the Amir paid him as his daily honorarium. He died in 339/950 at the ripe age of nearly 80 years.

Fārābī's Position in the World of Learning

In pure philosophy Fārābī became as famous as any philosopher of

1 530/1135-555/1160

2 For a complete list, vide Qiftī and O'Leary, *op. cit.*

Islam, and it is said that a savant of the calibre of Avicenna found himself entirely incapable of understanding the true bearing of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* until one day he casually purchased one of Fārābī's works, and by its help he was able to grasp the purport of the other work. Thus it may well be asserted that "al-Fārābī was in the truest sense the parent of all subsequent Arabic philosophers"¹, so that it is only natural that he is regarded by the Muslims as the *Mu'allimu'th-thāni*, the Second Preceptor, the First Preceptor being Aristotle himself. We are here less connected with general philosophical and logical principles propounded by the Master than with his political philosophy. It is to be noted here that the Arab world was not cognisant of Aristotle's work on Politics, while the other political work ascribed to him, namely the *Constitution of Athens*, has been unearthed only in our own time, and the only Greek material available on Politics in Arabic in his days consisted of Plato's *Republic* and the *Laws*. It may be granted that he drew on the Arabic version of the *Republic* and was so much conversant with the *Laws* that he actually prepared a summary of that important work, but there is no doubt that he was himself solely responsible for all other political material found in his political treatises, and it was the result of his own considered thought, not a mere copy of the Platonic ideal depicted in the *Republic* and modified in the *Laws*. It is necessary to bear this in mind for the reason that most of what has been written on Fārābī has been from the point of view of pure philosophy, and there is no doubt that he had to draw on neo-Platonic ideas current in the Arab world of those days in his commentaries on Aristotle, Porphyry and Ptolemy, although even in the realm of pure philosophy there is much that is original, a fact which is amply proved by his original works on Plato, Aristotle and Galen.² We might accept the proposition that "he was inspired by Plato in his setting up of the Ideal City", but there is a mass of new material in his political writings not found in Plato and taken from local sources, and it is therefore a matter of importance that such material should be analysed, and Fārābī be given his rightful place in the scheme of political philosophy.

His Political Works

The list of Fārābī's works which has come down to us contains five on Politics, viz., A summary of Plato's *Laws*, the *Siyāsatu'l-Madaniyyah*, the *Ārā'u Ahli'l-Madinati'l-Fāḍilah*, the *Jawāmi'u-s-Siyasah* and the *Ijtima'ātu'l-Madaniyyah*. Unfortunately, I could not lay my hands on the last two, while the summary of Plato's *Laws* need not detain us. Moreover, it is the *Siyāsah* and the *Ārā'* which form the most import-

1. O'Leary, p. 171

2. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, art. "Fārābī".

ant political contribution of the Master, so much so that Qifti says in his *Tārikhu'l-Ḥukamā'* that these works "have no equal"¹. Of these it is interesting to note that the *Madinatu'l-Fāḍilah*, the "Model City", was written in 331-332/941-942, a few years before Fārābī's death, when he was living the life of a recluse at Damascus, enjoying Sayfu'd-Dawlah's patronage, and thus the work may be said to be the result of his mature thought at a time when he had torn himself away from the turmoil of the world around him.

Of the two treatises, the *Siyāsāt* consists of the enunciation of practically the whole of the exposition of the political theory which Fārābī wished to propound. It starts with the differentia between men and animals, dealing with the need for collective action, the contentious natures of man and its effects, the need for the existence of the model "City" or State² and the ideal Head of the State, and goes on to other forms of the State among the ancients and in the Days of Ignorance³, such as tyrannies, aristocracies, republics etc. The other work, the *Ārā'*, as its full title shows, concentrates more on the Model State. Besides covering more or less the same ground from another and more particularised viewpoint, it deals with such aspects of political question as Sovereignty, forms opposed to the Model State, and theories of Communism and Individualism, touching on what came to be called the Patriarchal theory, and describing in certain amount of detail what might be named the Theory of Mutual Renunciation of Rights. Thus it will be seen that, although the two treatises are not very large, they contain quite a lot of material for deep thought and show us the new drift of the Islamic political ideas in the middle of the tenth century A.C.

Human Intellect and Powers

We will take both the treatises together and try to analyse them as far as political philosophy is concerned.⁴ After enumerating the underlying principles of all bodies, ethereal and physical, Fārābī goes to say that the differential between man and other terrestrial animals is what he calls *al-'aqlu'l-fa'āl* or the Agent Intellect, which is really an emana-

1. Qifti, p. 278.

2. Fārābī, following Greek writers, makes the "City" identical with the State, while his "nation" (*millah*) means an aggregate of States politically distinct but culturally similar.

3. "Days of Ignorance" is a technical term denoting the period of Arab history before the rise of Islam.

4. The text of *Ārā'u Ahli'l-Madinati'l-Fāḍilah*, referred to in this paper as *Ārā'* has been edited by Dietrich and printed by Brill in 1895. The edition used by me is that of the Nil Press, Cairo. The *Siyāsatu'l-Madaniyyah*, referred to as *Siyās* has been published by the Dā'iratu'l-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad Deccan in 1346 H.

tion from the First Cause and which raises man to the highest heights. It is this Agent Intellect which inspires man's intelligence to be aroused to activity which Fārābī names *al-'aqlu'l-mustafād* or Gained Intellect. The Agent Intellect is likened to the Sun which "gives light to the eyes, and without which the power of sight is only latent, while with the help of the sun's rays it becomes patent"¹.

Man's powers can be analysed into power of Reason *al-qawwatu'n-nātiqah*, power of Thinking, power of Feeling and finally power of Contention *al-qawwatu'n-nazū'iyyah*. It is the power of Reason through which he conquers knowledge and differentiates between good and bad in morality and in actions, between profit and loss, while power of Contention makes him want something or get away from something else and is the basis of love and hate, truth and untruth, anger and mental rest. The power of thinking necessitates another power to retain traces of feeling after the thing felt has passed away, while this again resolves into the well-known Five Senses. It is to be noticed, says Fārābī, that the last three powers are found in man as well animals while the powers of Reason and Contention are peculiar to mankind.²

Human Groupings

From the very nature of his being and of his needs as well as for the sake of amenities of life and for attaining the highest possible degree of progress, it is incumbent for men to gather in large groups. And this is not peculiar to any particular set of men, but is alike in the case of all men.³ There are many kinds of human groupings, but they can all be divided into the Perfect and the Imperfect. The imperfect groupings are those of the village, of the wards of a city, and collections on the road and the halting place. All these are really in the service of the City,⁴ which is larger than all these and is at the same time the smallest perfect grouping of men. After the City comes the middle grouping, that of the Nationality or *millah* which is resident in one part of the earth, evidently without any political cohesion, while the largest human grouping is, of course, mankind inhabiting the terrestrial globe. All these perfect and imperfect groupings are really connected with one another, for the halting place is a part of the road, the road a part of the ward, the ward a part of the City, the City a part of the Nationality, the Nationality a part of Mankind.⁵

1. *Syds*, 6. This division is found in al-Kindī as well. For an exposition *vide* O'Leary, p. 248.

2. *Syds*, 4, 5.

3. *Syds*, 39, *Ārd'*, 77. Ghazālī has developed this idea to a fuller extent in his *Iḥyā'*, III, 6, v. This is described in Sherwani, *el-Ghazzālī on the Theory and Practice of Politics*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1935.

4. *Ārd'* 78.

5. *Ārd'*, 77

Natural and Artificial Barriers to Human Unity

Although Fārābī demonstrates in a remarkable manner the essential unity of man, he is careful to describe the reasons why one nation differs from another naturally, and what kinds of artificial barriers have been set up between them. The natural differences between nations arise in their relation to celestial bodies, or, as we should say, owing to geographical factors, resulting from the relation of the particular part of the earth to heavenly bodies, causing heat, cold and vapoury substances to change the climatic conditions of the place.¹ This reacts on the habits and customs of the people causing a bar to appear between one nation and another nation. The artificial barriers consist mainly of differences in language which make mutual communication difficult as between one nation and another.

Thus in spite of obvious need for co-operation, mankind is divided into numerous groups. Fārābī says that the greatest good and the highest culmination is attained in the unit of perfect assemblages, *i.e.*, the City or the State², and it is on this that he concentrates his attention.

Theory of Mutual Renunciation of Rights

It is remarkable how Fārābī anticipates Hobbes by many centuries and lays down the principles under which men tacitly enter into what might be called a Compact of Mutual Renunciation of Rights. The need for the insistence on fair dealing and justice is necessary because some men are cruel, overbearing or clever, while others are naturally weak either mentally or physically. When men first realise that society cannot be maintained with such discrepancies in their condition, "they gather together, consider the state of affairs, and each of them gives up in favour of the other a part of that by which he overpowered him," each making it a condition that they would keep perfect peace with each other and not take away from the other anything except on certain conditions.³ Thus it is the contract of mutual renunciation of rights which is at the bottom of all peaceful occupations and the incidents of Statehood, and if it comes to pass that in spite of this tacit compact a citizen tries to press down a section of the population, all the others join hands, and by mutual help retain their liberty.⁴

It will be seen that this compact is a great improvement on what

1. *Siyās*, 41.

2. The word used is *Madīnah* or "the City", but from all that Fārābī has written we must conclude that what he means is the smallest political integration, *i.e.*, the State, whether large or small.

3. *Arā'*, 113. Cf. Hobbes *Leviathan*, part II, ch. 17.

4. *Arā'*, 113.

was to be enunciated in Europe by Hobbes and others of his ken, for, instead of artificially making it the basis of the State Fārābī makes it the basis of all transactions in the State and presupposes human groupings. He thus really takes off most of the wind from the sails of those who might not agree with the principle of the artificiality of the State. And then, instead of an artificial and a purely autocratic sovereign as the result of the utter helplessness of the people as Hobbes would have us to believe, he makes the people realise their strength earlier, makes them unite and put an end to any of those who were out to enslave them by underhand methods.

Sovereignty

We now come to the question of the Ruler, or as the later European political scientists would call him, the Sovereign. No doubt Plato had already developed the matter of the government of his ideal City in his *Republic* and the *Laws*, and had made the all-knowing and all-powerful "philosopher" sovereign in the former, one who should have no interests but those of the State¹; but when he felt that such a philosopher was not available, he replaced him in the *Laws* by a board of *Phylakes* or Guardians and proposed to give them the education which would make them wise governors of the State.² Fārābī starts from the nature of the work of leadership and impresses on his readers that what is wanted for the office is the power of making proper deductions. "There are some who have the intellect to draw conclusions more than the others, while some can convey their deductions to others with greater facility." Now this power of deductions is at the bottom of all leadership. Those who can draw conclusions from given facts can lead those who cannot, while such as have not the capacity to convey to others what they have themselves learnt have not got the true mark of leadership. It is not necessary that a leader should lead the whole people in every branch of life, but only such persons as have a lesser capacity to deduce and convey their deductions in the branch in which he excels them. In the same way there can be a first leader and a second leader in the same branch, for the first leader would lead the second who is his inferior in the power of deduction, while the second would lead his own intellectual inferiors.³

And now we come to the *Ra'isul-Awwal*, the Foremost Leader or Sovereign of the State. This *Ra'is* should be one who by his very nature and bringing up does not want to be instructed by others,⁴ and also has

1. Plato, *Republic*, 414 B For an enunciation of Plato's views on the Philosopher King, vide Nettleship's *Lectures on Plato's Republic*, Lecture 1

2. Chance, *Until Philosophers are Kings*, ch 4

3. *Styds.*, 45-47.

4. *Arā'*, 86 ff.

the inherent capacity of observation and of conveying his sense to others. Here Fārābī anticipates his doctrine of Sovereignty which was for the first time detailed in Europe by Bodin in the seventeenth century A. C.¹; but the former's Sovereign is more logical, perhaps more autocratic than that of the latter, and comes very near John Austin's Sovereign. Fārābī says that there is no human superior to the head of the Foremost Leader for if there is one, then that one would be the Foremost Leader, and the other sink to the position of the Second Leader.²

If the Foremost Leader be the Model Head of the Model State, he should be able to control the actions of all in the state and should be the possessor of the Latent Intellect (*al-'aqlu'l-munfa'il*) as well as the Gained Intellect (*al-'aqlu'l-mustafād*) and these two aroused to activity by the Agent Intellect would make Fārābī's ideal sovereign. He says that the ancients, i.e., the Greeks, put the ideal so high that no ordinary human being would be found to fulfil it, and the honour would be reserved for those who are the chosen of God the Almighty.³ Instead of being dogmatic after the Platonic fashion, he enumerates twelve attributes of the ideal sovereign, but himself says that if this ideal is ever attained its possessor would become the proud ruler of the habitable globe.⁴ The following are the twelve attributes of Fārābī's ideal sovereign: Perfection in physical organs; great understanding; visualization of all that is said; a perfectly retentive memory; power to get at the root of things with the least argument; power to convey to others, exactly according to his wish, a deep love of learning; shunning of playfulness; a lack of desire to excess in eating, drinking and sexual intercourse; love of truth and hatred of lying; breadth of heart and love of kindness; love of justice and hatred of force and tyranny; power to distribute justice without any effort; fearlessness in doing things as he thinks ought to be done; and possession of enough wealth.⁵ Fārābī knows well that all these fine qualities cannot be found in a single human being,⁶ so he says that one with just five or six of these qualities would make a fairly good Leader. If, however, even five or six of them are not found in a person, he would have one who has been brought up under a Leader with these qualities, and would thus seem to prefer some kind of hereditary Leader-

1. 1530—1596. Bodin qualifies his theory of Sovereignty by supposing fundamental laws which cannot be changed by the sovereign. To the modern man it is more a question of policy than that of power whether the sovereign changes them or not.

2. Fārābī comes remarkably near Austin (1790—1859) who says that "a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like sovereign is sovereign in that society". What a small difference is left between this conception and that of Fārābī who wrote a thousand years before Austin!

3. *Siyās*, 49

4. *Ārā'*, 86.

5. *Ārā'*, 88. Vide Plato's *Republic*, 485—487 analysed in Nettleship, *op cit*, p. 199

6. *Ibid.*

ship, with the important condition that the heir should follow in the footsteps of his worthy predecessor. In case even such a person is not available it is preferable to have a council of two or even five members possessing an aggregate of these qualities, provided at least one of them is a *ḥakīm* i.e., one who is able to know the wants of the people and visualize the needs of the State as a whole.¹ This *ḥakīm* is to Fārābī a desideratum of every kind of government, and if such a one is not procurable, then the State is bound to be shattered to atoms.

Fārābī no doubt indulges in a certain amount of idealism. But he must be credited with the knowledge of the impossibility of attaining the ideal set forth in the form of the twelve attributes and to find means of getting over practical difficulties. These means are, firstly, a council of efficient men, efficient in certain definite traits of character which, to Fārābī, go to form the minimum desideratum for the smooth working of the State, the supervision of Chief with the right amount of knowledge and feeling for the welfare of the people, and lastly, respect for the basic laws and traditions of the State. His solution is more practical than that of Plato, for example, when Plato becomes hopeless of finding his "philosopher king", he only substitutes him with a number of phylakes or guardians, each of them excelling the others in attributes which were not found in one.² Moreover Fārābī takes care to make his substitute Leaders respect, and conform to, the laws laid down by greater Leaders in days gone by.

I have given Fārābī's theory of Sovereignty and of the model Sovereign in some detail, as it contrasts very favourably with the state of affairs in the Caliphate of his day. As has been stated earlier, the Caliph had become a mere puppet first in the hands of his own capable *wazirs*, and later on all real political authority had passed into the hands of Turkish or Persian nobles who had come to control the affairs from the Oxus and the Indus to the extreme western limits of the Caliphate. What Fārābī does is to analyse the causes of weakness in the body politic and to enunciate the attributes of his ideal sovereign, thus bringing into prominent relief the contrast between his ideal and the actual before him. Besides the lack of intellectual toleration, then the order of the day at Baghdād, one of the reasons why he must have migrated to Sayfu'd-Dawlah's court must have been that this Amīr saw in him a person coming nearer to his ideal than the puppets who bore the mantle of the Apostle of Islam, puppets who lacked practically all that went to make even a decent substitute for the ideal.

1. Here Fārābī comes very near the Platonic "Philosopher King". However, there is visible difference between the Platonic "personification of reason" which Plato himself negates in his *Laws* and the Fārābian *ḥakīm*. Vide Chance, *op cit.*, p. 135.

2. These "guardians" would be above the law, while the Fārābian "Councillors" shall have to take their cue from laws already laid down. Chance, *op cit.*, p. 135

Internal Organization of the State

Fârâbi is not satisfied with the appointment of the best man or of a committee of best men available for the helm of the State, but considers the internal organization of the State as well. He says that the dignities of the citizens in State services depend on their nature as well on their bringing up, and the Supreme Head should organize men in each larger service group according to their worth in matters of service. It is when the Supreme Head gives everyone the position he merits, only then is the State said to be properly organized. The Supreme Head ought to feel himself more or less as the likeness of the First Cause, i.e., God Almighty¹, and take lesson from His work in that He has put everyone and everything in the place best fitted, otherwise the work of the Creation would not run as smoothly as it does.²

It has been said that the Supreme Head, from his very nature, does not take orders from any human superior, but as you go down the ladder of superiority, the state of affairs changes, and except the Supreme Head each man becomes master and servant at the same time, taking orders from one superior in rank and authority and giving orders to one inferior, till the lowest rung of the ladder is reached.³

Here Fârâbi likens the whole structure of government to the human body and says that as in the human body the chief organ, that is, the heart should be the most perfect, so the *Ra'is* or Head of the State should be as humanly perfect as possible. It is the heart which signifies the stations of the various organs of the body, and it is through it that the different organs know which other organs should serve them, and which, in their turn, they have to serve; in the same way the Heart of the State, i.e., the Supreme Head should determine the status of various rungs of society, in a word the rights of the different classes which go to form the community. The body consists of organs the importance of which is decreased as they recede from the heart till finally we come to the lowest bowel and the bladder which are served by no other organ and stand no comparison with the pivot of the whole body, the heart. In exactly the same manner, says Fârâbi, in a well-organized Commonwealth the Supreme Head collects, arranges and organizes the different functionaries in a proper manner, and their status increase or decreases according to the distance between them and the Supreme Head.⁴

1. *Siyas*, 54

2. Plato says that "good life consists in a progressive assimilation to God as far as possible". *Vide* Chance, p. 136.

3. The analogy is found in Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 5, sec. 8 & 9; but there Aristotle uses it to establish the institution of slavery; Fârâbi, on the other hand, wants to ensure the proper government of the State in spite of the diversity of its component parts. *Vide* Chance, p. 179.

4. For further similes, *vide* *Arâ'*, p. 79.

We know that biological analogies have their strong as well as their weak points, and while they serve the purpose of explaining political problems in a facile manner they are apt to overshoot the mark by representing political institutions as being as mechanical as the organs of the human body. Herbert Spencer has been rightly criticised for not only *comparing* the body politic with the body physical but also of making political capital out of the analogy.¹ Fārābī, and after him Ghazzālī, use biological similes, Ghazzālī for finding an ethical basis of the State,² and Fārābī for simply showing the essential basis of the Commonwealth in spite of the obvious diversity of its component parts.³

Communism and Individualism

Although Fārābī has the translation of Plato's *Republic* by his elbow and says that the citizens of the Model City have things in common among them, he does not fall into the Platonic abyss of making everything—even women—the common property of male citizens. As a matter of fact it is quite clear that apart from common property to which everyone should have equal rights, each man and each class should also be allowed individual property apart from the opportunity of acquiring individual knowledge and scope for individual action.⁴ Moreover, he is shrewd enough to know the essence of individualistic theory and recognises that there are people who think that man is a natural hater of his own kin and that what unity there might be between man and man is through dire necessity. Such a theory discards communism as against the very nature of man and considers the sense of unity to exist only for some distinct avowed object.⁵

It will thus be seen that not only does Fārābī regard individualism to be a proposition worth consideration, but even his communism is opposed to the Greek or the Platonic idea under which human beings were to become mere chessmen without any individuality of their own apart from their individuality as members of the "City".

Motives for Collective Action

Fārābī enumerates the motives under which the Individualistic State, or as he calls it, "the State of Ignorance" comes into being, or, in other

1. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, part 2.

2. Vide Sherwani, *el-Ghazzālī*, p. 14

3. *Ārā'*, pp. 78 ff.

4. *Ārā'*, 93. How different is this "communism" from the Platonic ideal, where public men should have no houses, no land, no money of their own. *Republic*, 421c-422a. Vide Nettleship, p. 136.

5. *Ārā'*, 88.

words, the causes which lead men to form a political society.¹ According to him, the first cause of the co-operation of man with man is force, when one person who has resources, physical or moral, at his disposal makes a whole body of people subservient to him. The second possible motive as given by Fārābī comes very near what is called the Patriarchal theory, for, says he, some people consider that the very incident of birth entails co-operation between father and children as against all others, so that those descended from the same father are more likely to co-operate with one another than those not belonging to the group.² Another variety of co-operation is that caused by marital relationship between two groups, while a fourth alternative motive is the proper organization by the Supreme Head, the *Ra'isu'l-Awwal*. We have mentioned above that Fārābī has got a special theory of the Compact for Mutual Renunciation of Rights, and he says that, according to some, this would be the basis of political co-operation which would result from oaths and promises ensuing from the pact that no one would harm or hate his fellow men, and that all would be like members of the same body, if need arose, to defend the political society from a common enemy. Language and custom also form a strong bond for the union of men, while last, though not the least, comes the geographical factor, the habitation in the same City, which binds people together.³

Here is a fine analysis of the causes of the establishment and maintenance of States, and although Fārābī enumerates them as the opinion of different persons or groups in states other than the Model State, still what he really does is to give an analysis of the underlying factors which went to build the states in his own time, states, that is to say, which were not Model States according to the classical ideal but were practical, human institutions in regular working order. And as human institutions vary very little in their innermost essence, we would find that most of Fārābī's dicta hold true to-day much as they did a thousand years ago. We may well wonder at his modern trend of thought when we know that he flourished long before the almost puerile controversies between the Papists and the Imperialists during the Middle Ages of European history.

Varieties of States

While enumerating the varieties of the "City" or States other than the model commonwealth, Fārābī asks some questions which are alive even today. As has been said, at least when dealing with States

1. As has been mentioned above in Islamic ideology Ignorance means pre-Islamic state. But here this epithet is used to denote the condition of political societies which do not conform to the 'Model'. The term must not be taken to denote any prejudice whatever.

2. *Arā'*, 110.

3. *Ibid*

other than the Model City he is drawing on his own personal experience, and although the nomenclature of these political societies slightly differs in the two books before us, the principles underlying his thought are more or less the same. He divides States into a number of categories, such as States of "necessity", of "ease", of "desires", etc., according to the most prominent object of the citizens. Thus, in the States of Necessity the primary object of the Head is to arrange for the necessities of the citizens, in States of Desires it is to make the life of the people luxurious with plenty of resources in order that they might "eat, drink and be merry", while in the case of the States of Ease the citizens would be content if they are assured of a life of comfort and if their desires would not go beyond moderate limits.¹

Apart from this classification, which seems to be idealistic to a certain extent, Fārābī has a definite place for the trait of political character under which a nation aspires to hegemony over other nations. He gives definite reasons for this "mastery" (*ghalbah*) and says that it is sought for by a people owing to its desire for safety, ease or luxury, and all that leads to these pretended necessities. The integrated and powerful States want that they should control the resources of other States so that they might be able to get all that they want. There is nothing, says he, against human nature for the strong to overpower the weak, so nations which try to get other nations under their control consider it quite proper to do so—and say that it is justice both to control the weak and for the weak to be so controlled, and the subdued nation should do all it can for the good of its masters.² There is no doubt that all this seems jarring to our ears, but we must remember that this is not Fārābī's ideal, and secondly, that with all the lapse of centuries and with the international ideology which is the current coin of politics, the psychology of the nations to-day is much the same as that described by the Master centuries ago.

Fārābī says that the people of an Imperialistic state, the *madīnatu't-taghallub* as he calls it, excel in having mastery over others either physically or spiritually in such a way that the latter should be at their service in body and mind. But the more chivalrous among them are such that even when they have to shed human blood they do so only face to face, not while their opponent is asleep or showing his back, nor do they take away his property except after giving him proper warning of their intentions. Such a community does not rest till it thinks it has become supreme for ever, and does not give any other nation an opportunity of overpowering it, always regarding all other peoples their opponents and enemies, and keeping themselves on guard.³

1. *Ārā'*, 90.

2. *Ārā'*, 111 ff.

3. *Siyās.*, 64 ff.

Colonization

Fārābī is quite clear about the principles of colonization.¹ He says that it is possible for the denizens of a State to scatter about in different parts of the globe because they have been overtaken by an enemy or by an epidemic, or through an economic necessity. There are two alternatives open to the colonists: either they would migrate in such a way as to form one single commonwealth, or else divide themselves in different political societies. In any case these colonists would really form distinct communities owing to a uniformity in their character, their methods and their purpose, and (probably as they would have no local prejudices and local traditions) they would be at liberty to frame any laws according to their needs provided there is an agreement for such a change. It may, however, come to pass that a large body of these people are of opinion that it is not necessary to change the laws which they have brought from their mother country, then they would simply codify existing laws and being to live under them.² It will thus be perceived that Fārābī not only contemplates colonization but also self-government of a republican kind, a contemplation which is well in accordance with modern conception.

The ideal Head of the State

There is one very significant passage in which Fārābī gives us his ideal of the Headship of the non-model State. After enumerating the qualities requisite for the Headship of these States individually, he says that the best among the Heads is one who makes the citizens of the Commonwealth acquire independence, plenty and contentment, while he himself wants neither plenty nor self-aggrandizement but is content with praise his words and acts, and nothing would please him more than if his words and acts are spoken of kindly in his own lifetime and after him.³ This is truly a noble ideal but one which is seldom realized by even in the persons of the best of those who hold away over their fellow-men.

1 *Siyds*, 50

2. *Siyds* 62

3 There is contrast between the Eastern and Western conceptions in this respect. While in the West we come across numerous quarrels between the kings and the peoples in the shape of demands for supplies and redress of grievances, we find that the eastern monarchy is nearly always mellowed by a deep regard for the welfare of the subjects. The result is that even under despotism there is a greater love for the monarch in the east than is found in most European monarchies, and western monarchies have been allowed to exist only when they have ceased to interfere in all that is material for the welfare of the people.

It will thus be seen that most of what Fārābī says is just the sort of thing which we come across in our own day. Alliances and *ententes*, races for armaments, colonies for the sake of raw materials and as markets for finished products, mutual leanings and suspicions, are the order of the day in much the same manner as Fārābī contemplates in what he calls "States of Ignorance". The only difference between him and ourselves is that the citizens of his non-model States are quite frank about things, while we *say* one thing and *do* just the opposite to what we say. Fārābī's Imperialist frankly rules subject races for his own economic welfare, while the modern Imperialist does so as a great burden on his shoulders "for the good of the subject people" or for purely "humanitarian ideals". Fārābī says that the reasons for empire-building is the same as human nature which always craves to overpower the weak, and the modern mind might feel upset at this argument. But it must be remembered that slavery has quite recently been forbidden *de jure*, and even now it cannot be said that the ideal of the human race is equality of status and service. One is not quite sure which is preferable for the society, individual slavery where the slaves is well treated and protected like a member of the same family, or where so-called free men, women and children are bombarded, gassed, maimed, tortured and put to death through the greed for property and land.

Conclusion

We have given a few political theories propounded by Fārābī. As will be seen, their compass is very large, and they cover practically all that is connoted by the term "political theory", from the formation of the State, Sovereignty, criteria for sovereign power, integration of men in families, families in tribes, tribes in States, States in empires, with the enunciation of communism, individualism, the principles of Patriarchal theory, republicanism, colonization, as well as numerous other topics. Nodoubt the nature of the treatises before us demanded that these topics should be only lightly touched, but even that shows what a modern trend of mind the master had. There is no doubt that some of his theories are based to a certain extent on Greek thought, chiefly Platonic and neo-Platonic, current in his day, but it will be seen that much of what he wrote was also based on his own clear vision and political experience. He was definitely the first purely theoretical political scientist of the Islamic world, and his writings decidedly foreshadow theories such as those of the Social Contract and Sovereignty which were to be current in Europe centuries afterwards.

HISTORY OF DELHI TO THE TIME OF TIMUR'S INVASION

By SYED HASAN BARANI

MORE than twenty years of personal study and research have convinced me of the fact that the history of Delhi (like all other portions of the history of India) has to be written afresh from the original sources. I have all along been collecting materials to compile such history of the Imperial Capital for the first centuries of the Muslim Rule to the time of Timur's invasion. I had almost commenced the compilation, which should take time to finish, when the idea of writing a short essay on the subject struck me at the time when my friends of the National University, Delhi, extended to me the honour of reading a paper in their Urdu Academy.

On the evening of the 19th January I actually availed myself of the opportunity, and the present brief memoir is based on the original paper written for the Academy in the Urdu language. The obvious advantages of reproducing the materials in the English language as well have induced me to the present venture, and I would feel my labours amply paid, if this brief memoir in English proves of interest or use to the general reader or the specialists devoted to this particular period of the history of our Indian Capital.

The subject has constantly been under treatment now for more than a century, and I honestly feel myself under deep obligations to all those who have preceded me in the field. While thus acknowledging my debts to them all freely and frankly, I must, however, confess that I have always made it a point to go for my information to the original sources first, and prefer them to our modern authorities, where the latter derive their materials from secondary records or content themselves to accept uncritically the current views and traditions.

The short space at my disposal has prohibited me from including a critical bibliographical study as well as from the discussion of the theories about the art of the period or the statement of the grounds whenever I have ventured to differ.

All these will find due place in my extended work. In the meanwhile I beg my readers to favour me with their suggestions and corrections, which will all be most gratefully utilized in a subsequent edition of this memoir as well as in my larger History of Delhi, with which I am still occupied.

—S. H. B.

N.B.—For the sake of convenience all the references to the authorities cited or relied upon have been collected in one appendix at the end of this article, and the figures in the text always relate to these references.

WE HAVE the authority of the Moorish traveller ibn Battutah to the effect that up to the middle of the eighth century A. H. (the middle of the 14th A. C.), the name of Delhi was strictly confined to the city originally founded by the Hindus and later on conquered by the Musalmans and raised by them to the position of the Capital of their Indian Empire.¹ It retained that proud privilege for full one century. But the next hundred years saw the birth, growth and also decay of five more capitals, having their separate names; so that at the time of Timur's invasion (801 A. H.-1398 A. C.) there existed the following cities also known by the general name of Delhi:

Shahri Nau Kilokhari, "The new city of Kilokhari", founded by Kaiqubad and completed by Jalal-Uddin Khilji—Capital for about ten years only.

Siri or Darulkhilafat founded by Alauddin Khilji and completed by Qutbuddin Mubarak-Shah Khilji.

Tughlaqabad built by Tughlaq and also the capital in the early times of the reign of his son, Mohammed.

Jahan Panah entirely built by Mohammed Tughlaq.

Firozabad built by Firoz Shah and the capital for more than forty years.

The increasing population as well as the desire of raising memorials to their fame were responsible for these incessant changes in the capitals during the comparatively short period of hundred years only. Ibn Battutah has explicitly stated that it had become almost a custom with the Sultans of Delhi to erect new palaces on their accession to the throne and desert the old ones, which were allowed to decay with their valuable movables. He actually found Balban's "Red Palace" in this wretched condition, which drew the pity of himself and his companion, a Spanish Arab then residing in India.²

Barani mentions that the same fate had betaken another "Imperial Palace" known as the "Green Palace", which was put to public service in the times of Alauddin Khilji.³

Of these old capitals Kilokhari and Siri have totally disappeared, but some vestiges of the other three have survived to our times.

In their original condition all these cities were defended by their separate fortifications; everyone of them had Imperial palaces, grand Friday mosques, colleges, monasteries, caravansarais and hospitals as well as the tombs of the Sultans, the grandees of their Courts and the eminent saints, all with extensive charitable establishments (Waqfs) connected with them. To understand the real nature of these Waqfs a reference to the account of Qutbuddin Khilji's tomb by Ibn Battutah, who had personally manages its affairs, is very illuminating.⁴

The Grand Mosques vied with one another in their grandeur and extensiveness, but the priority in all respects went to the first and also the biggest Friday Mosque of Old Delhi, the few remaining vestiges of

which hardly suffice to give a real idea of its original magnificence. Evidence abounds to show that these mosques were the sources of wonder to the strangers, and I believe have served as models not only for the later mosques of the Eastern, Western and Southern portions of India only, but also for those of Central Asia and other adjoining countries. It appears almost certain that the mosques of Jaunpur, known as belonging to a distinct "Eastern school" of Muslim architecture, and the oldest mosques of Gulbarga and Bidar were imitated from the Delhi models of Tughlaq's times, as was also Timur's mosque of Samarkand, on which Indian architects and masons were largely employed.

Some of these magnificent structures must have suffered damages by the ravages of time, but most of them, if left to themselves, would have easily resisted destruction. Greatest damage, however, was done to them by human hands in times of war as well as in times of peace. Some were destroyed in war madness, but many more were demolished to furnish materials for the newer structures of Firoz Shah, Sher Shah, Akbar and Shahjahan. I believe that the materials of the Imperial palaces of Kilokhari and other buildings have been utilized in Humayun's tomb, while those of many other buildings were used in the magnificent structures of Shahjahan's Delhi. It is difficult to say if our gains have in all cases outweighed the losses. The Moghal monuments, no doubt, are our proudest possession of the past art, but from the historian's point of view the buildings of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi were the original sources of inspiration to the succeeding generations. We have the testimony of history as well as a few remaining monuments to show that the buildings of the Khilji period, which drew admiration from the world-conqueror Timur, were the best specimens of the Indo-Islamic art, erroneously called "Pathan art", a term which has no sense or reality about it. Ibn Battutah says that the incomplete Imperial mosque of Siri, built by the last Khilji Sultan, would easily have been an unparalleled structure in its grandeur and beauty throughout the world.⁵ Firoz Shah's grand mosque extracted the praise of Timur, although judging from the remains of the period of that Sultan's reign, we are led to believe that art had somewhat declined in his time. The masters of the Slave and Khilji periods had not perhaps left many equally worthy successors behind them, and most of these had already dispersed, owing to Mohammed Khilji's change of capital, generally in the Deccan, where they laid the foundations of the art and architecture of the Southern Muslim capitals, earliest art of which is decidedly indebted to the Delhi models.

The early Muslim conquerors and rulers of Delhi are termed "barbarians". This judgment is based on entirely wrong conceptions. The truth of the matter is that Islamic culture had already reached its zenith centuries before the arrival of the Muslims in India and had more or less civilized nearly all the races, nations and countries that had come into its fold. The Ghauri Sultans were patrons of art and

literature. The famous philosopher and theologian, Iman Razi, had lived at the court of Ghayasuddin Ghauri who was very fond of building mosques and colleges and was buried in the mausoleum erected near his Imperial mosque in Herat.⁶

It was impossible for the Muslims in India to neglect the numerous Hindu monuments found all over the country. Many had no rivals anywhere else, and are still among the wonders of the world. However, the Muslims could not always copy those monuments just as they were. Firstly, the Mohammadans naturally leaned to their own models, of which there existed so many in the other Islamic countries. Then some of the Hindu features, *e. g.*, the plan of the temple suitable for individual worship, could not be serviceable to the plan of a mosque where the Islamic ideals of mass-worship necessitated a wider area for the congregation. Nor could the specific Hindu ornaments, consisting of the statues and representatives of the deities and other living creatures, be acceptable to a community with avowedly iconoclastic beliefs.

The first Muslim builders at any rate had no scruple in utilizing and adapting Hindu materials as best as they could under the circumstances. The earliest monuments of Ajmere and Delhi particularly betray this feature in their structures. The mosques are raised on pillars, the statues and bas-relief figures have been disfigured or obliterated, the low and conical domes are built in old Hindu manner of corbelling. While standing beneath the roofs the view is similar to that obtained in the interiors of the Jaini temples of Mount Abu.

It appears that the similarity was noticed even by those early architects, and, as if to hide it, they raised high arches overtopping the interior portions. These arches are distinctly Muslim in form and ornament. They are all pointed, and their surface decorations consist of Kufic and Naskhi inscriptions and floral designs. This kind of ornamentation, and particularly the Kufic inscriptions, which are of a rather complicated nature, required expert hands to deal with.

It is, therefore, clear that they were inscribed by Muslim calligraphists. But it is also equally clear that no expert Muslim architects, masons and sculptors from outside were available in sufficient numbers at that time. The work was, therefore, often carried out by Hindu workmen, who did not till then know to construct a true arch with key stone and built these arches, therefore, in the Hindu manner, by arranging their slabs in parallel layers.

Thus one can easily notice a combination of the Hindu and Muslim styles even in the Qutbminar. The Indian architect and sculptor have united in creating an altogether new model of its own kind. The first minarets of Islam were square in their plan, and this type has throughout persisted in Spain and the Moorish West. Some of the towers in Europe are derived from these Islamic models. In the East the types of round towers in stages or plainly cylandrical had already prevailed; but the telescopic type on a star plan and with conical and panelled sides,

giving free play to light and shade, is obviously derived from the pattern of the ancient Hindu temples, of which the best models exist at Khajuraha and Bhuvaneshwar. The immediate precursors of the Qutbminar are considered to be the two minarets of Ghaznah, built on the plan of a star, but even in their case the idea seems to us to have been borrowed from the Hindu temples, and carried out by Hindu masons, whose assistance was available to Mahmud and his successors in their own capital. The raised inscriptions of the Qutb and its projecting balconies are nearer to the Indian style, and so far as I have been able to ascertain the use of the balconies in the various stages of the minaret even in other Islamic countries is most probably borrowed from our first Indian model. The stalactite decoration beneath the balconies, however, is of a purely Islamic kind, and is a proof that by the time that the Qutbminar was under construction the help of the Muslim masters, architects and masons had also become available. The decoration is not far removed from the contemporary stalactite decorations of the Hispano—Mauresque structures. The form of the pointed arch is admittedly Islamic, though it is found in some ancient Hindu monuments. It has rightly been suggested that the same in India was originally derived from the form of the *pipal* leaf.

These Hindu arches are all cut out of stone and none are known to have been constructed in masonry. It is possible to imagine that the suggestion of the pointed form was in the beginning derived from the Indian types, but in any case at the time when the Muslim Rule was established in India, the form was already quite familiar to the Muslims, who had also invented a number of other forms, *e.g.*, horse-shoe, trefoil and indented, of which some of the most beautiful examples are found in the Umayyad buildings of Syria and Spain. The forms of such arches were known to the ancient Hindus as well, but there is no evidence of a direct connection between the Indian and the Islamic examples.

Judging from these early monuments it appears that the Indian Islamic architecture had from the outset chosen its own course in India. The Musalmans had determined to build in their own way, and had decided to combine the Hindu and the Muslim artistic conceptions. In about a century the art of Delhi had matured, and reached its zenith in the time of Alauddin Khilji. The monuments of this period are wrongly styles as purely Saracenic. The correct designation would be Indo-Islamic, as in the meanwhile both the styles had been combined and harmonized in wonderful perfection.

By the advent of the Tughlaq dynasty a clear reaction is noticeable which had its own reason. Within the century, owing to the social and economic intercourse, the Muslims who had come from outside were themselves being Indianized. The process was still on the increase, when the usurper Khusraw's insurrection put a check to it. Tughlaq came with different notions, and the few remains of the times of his dynasty strengthen our belief that his artistic conceptions were more purely

Islamic, particularly betraying Egyptian influence. *e.g.*, in the sloping walls.

It is difficult to judge the loss to Delhi of the experienced masters and true artistic sense due to Mohammad Tughlaq's change of capital to Deogiri. The monuments of Firoz Shah's period confirm the idea of decay in the artistic quality in his times. Firoz Shah repaired the Qutb-minar which had been struck with lightning, and made some changes and additions in the original structure. This portion is distinctly marked out and in its general quality—for instance, in the stalactite decorations—is much inferior to the original work in the minaret. The addition has raised the minaret a bit higher than its original stature, but it has thereby suffered as regards its proportions. The Christian architects committed the same mistake in respect of the Giralda, the one-time minaret of the Grand Mosque of Seville (Spain). An old representation of this minaret is preserved, which easily shows how much this famous tower has suffered in beauty and proportion owing to the misdirected zeal of the ignorant hands.

The three specific features of the Islamic architecture, the pointed arch, the dome and the minaret, appeared in India immediately after the Muslim conquest. In the reign of Alauddin the pointed horse-shoe arch also came into vogue, but the simpler pointed arch has always maintained its popularity till our own times. The arch acquired greater dignity and beautification in the Moghul period, but it is just a more developed form of the first arches. The dome had not yet obtained that predominance and grandeur which it had enjoyed with the Roman and Byzantine builders, or later on with the Moghuls. It was, however, gradually emerging from its humble levels. The domes of the Slave period are low and petty; even in the times of the Khiljis their outline is still segmentary. In the Tughlaq times it is nearly semicircular. The Qutbminar had presented an example which could not be easily excelled or copied. In the times of the Khiljis, who had a desire to excel in every field of activity, unsuccessful efforts were made by Alauddin and his successor, but apparently the idea was generally given up on account of the difficulty of its execution, and the courts of the provincial Mosques, built in the period, are almost free from this important feature. The Kufic ornamentations became rare after the slaves, and their place was rapidly taken by the Naskh. The Tartar invasions nearly put an end to the use of the old script. The Kufic inscriptions of the Qutb, Ajmer and Sultan Ghorî (Delhi), therefore, deserve special attention. They belong to that last phase of the Baghdad Caliphate when the Arab civilization and the arts of its past centuries were being destroyed with no chances of their revival in the subsequent ages.

THE PRE-ISLAMIC history of Delhi is mostly wrapped in darkness. The oldest city connected with this historic plot of land on which in Muslim times so many new capitals were to arise was Indraprastha, which

is mentioned in Mahabharat, and had subsisted in flourishing condition at least up to the time of the Guptas, the relics of whose time have been dug out from beneath the earth. In the mediæval times, however, it had sunk to the level of a mere village, and as such it is mentioned by the Muslim writers and historians under the name of Indpat. In the time of Firoz Shah it had the status of a town which was completely incorporated in the new city of Firozabad. Later on the citadel of Sher Shah, of which the ruined walls and the beautiful mosque still exist, was built on its site. It can not, therefore, be doubted that the site of Indraprastha was separate and at a considerable distance from that of Delhi, and it is altogether wrong to regard both the sites as identical.

It is difficult to fix with certainty the actual time when Delhi acquired its present name. Various theories about its derivation have been advanced from time to time, but I am personally inclined to believe that it is derived from the word *dhili*, i.e., loose, being the description of its soil, as were also the names of *gili* (wet) and *siri* (pasture), the neighbouring plains which later on served as sites for the cities of Darulkhilafat and Jahan Panah.

A Sanskrit inscription coming from village Palam in the neighbourhood of Delhi and dated in the year 1337 Vikrami (1280-81 A. C.) also mentions it as *Dhilli*⁷.

The Iron Pillar is the oldest monument extant in Delhi, and even though it was set up on its present spot by some subsequent builders, as the archæologists are inclined to imagine, the theory that it was brought from some other place does not seem to be acceptable. It is more probable that it belongs to the very site where it is found and had stood in the old Hindu temple as an ancient monument. It is, however, possible that the Muslim conquerors, respecting it as a curious article, had set it up in the courtyard of their first mosque on its present spot.

Judging from the script as also from the bell-shaped capital of the pillar, it is ascribed to the Gupta period. Its oldest inscription mentions one illustrious Rajah Chandra, but his identity with the known historical personage is not yet conclusively established. Delhi is not at all mentioned in it. It only relates that the Rajah, a worshipper of Vishnu, had erected this tall flagpost of Bhagwan Vishnu on Vishnupadigri (the hill of Vishnu's feet).

The Moorish traveller Ibn Battutah saw it where it stands now, and says:

"In the central courtyard of the mosque is situated a pillar of unknown metal. Someone said to me that it was composed of seven metals melted together. Somebody had cut off from it a piece measuring a span only. The surface at that spot is quite smooth, and no iron would affect or scratch it. It is thirty hands high with a circumference of eight hands. I measured it with the help of my turban cloth."⁸

The dimensions in the above are a bit exaggerated, the real height being only 22½ feet above and fourteen inches below the ground.

Chemical analysis has shown it to be made of pure iron not subject to rust.

The most valuable inscription on the pillar relating to Delhi is as follows:

“Samvat Dihali 1109
Anangpal bhal.”

which has been interpreted to mean that in that year of the Vikrami era (corresponding to 1052 A.C. and 443 A.H.) Anangpal populated Delhi. This king belonged to the former line, who were succeeded by the Chuhans, to whom belonged the famous Prithvi Raj of Ajmer, the last king of the line.

Other historical facts and circumstances also lead us to believe that the first city of Delhi was populated in the middle of the eleventh century A.C., the middle of the fifth A.H., and had no position as a well-known locality of India in the times of Mahmud and Masud I. Thus, the greatest scholar of the time, al-Beruni, has not mentioned it either in his *Indica*, in which he has given almost all the important places of India, or in *Qanun-i-Masudi*, a book on Astronomy, in which he has given the longitudes and latitudes of such localities.

The first reference to this name I have come across in the course of my study is found in the *Travels* of Nasir Khushraw (446 A.H.), who says in his account of Cairo (page 67):

“And a crowd of the sons and nobility and princes of the various parts of the world were living there, having come from the West, from Yaman, Byzantium, [the country of the] Slavs, Nubia, Abyssinia, and also the sons of the Emperor of Delhi.”

The inscription next in importance to that of the Samvat 1109 is that of the Samvat 1114 (1067 A.C.), said to belong to the period of the Second Anangpal, a contemporary of the Ghaznavide Sultan Ibrahim. This indicates the year of the construction of the great temple of Delhi.

The reality of the matter is that with a view to defend Hindustan, the Hindus had constructed a double line of forts on either side of the Jumna, on the west being Delhi, Panipat, Kaithal, Sunnasu, etc., and on the east Meerut, Baran (now Bulandshahr), and Kol (now Aligarh), etc. Amir Khusraw writes in the *Nuhsipar* that Anangpal had a palace in Delhi with two lions on the gate wearing a chain of justice that was being pulled by the oppressed to draw the Rajah's attention.

At the time of the invasion of India by the Ghauris Delhi did not occupy the position of an Imperial capital. It was the seat of the local governor Govind Rao, a brother of Prithvi Raj⁹, Ajmer being the real Capital of the Chauhars. But as the author of *Tajulmaathir* says—and it is later on corroborated by the statement of Ibn Batturah—that the fortifications of Delhi were deemed to be matchless for their strength and loftiness throughout the seven climes of the world.¹⁰

The Muslims besieged Delhi for the first time in 588 A.H., but it

was then left in the hands of the Hindus by a treaty. The Muslims, who had remained encamped at Indarpat, seized it, however, next year, and made it their capital.¹¹

It appears from the inscriptions that the work of raising new buildings in the capital was taken up without delay and continued briskly throughout these two centuries.

The Friday mosque was probably the first building, the foundations of which were at once laid by Qutbuddin Aibak, and the inscription of its eastern door reads:

"This mosque was founded by Aibak. May God bless the person who prays for the founder of this work of public utility."

The second inscription on this very door purporting to give the date of the conquest as 587, by mistake read by Ibn Battutah as 584 (12), appears to have been set up just to explain the first inscription. It is not, however, possible to say with certainty as to when and by whom it was affixed; if in the time of Aibak, then the mistake is due to the scribe or the sculptor, and if in the times of Iltutmish, which in my opinion is more probable, then it is due to a slip of memory. From the inscription on the northern door of Aibak's mosque it is clear that the building was still going on in the year 592 A.H., and Mohammed Ghauri, then present in Delhi, had ordered its continuation. The screen arch of the mosque bearing the date Dhu'l-Qadah 594, shows that in that year the arches and probably also the mosque were completed.

The work on the minaret was taken up at once after this. Fortunately, the whole history of the construction of the Qutb Minaret is preserved in its own inscriptions. In the two small Sanskrit inscription on both sides of the door in the lowest storey of the minaret is inscribed Samavat 1256 (1199 A.C. or 595-596 A.H). In the inscriptions on the first storey are inscribed the Imperial names of Ghyasuddin and Mohammed Ghauri as well as the name of their general, Qutbuddin Aibak.

This by itself is a conclusive proof of the fact that at the time of the building of the first storey all these three persons were alive. The names are ranged in accordance with their respective position in life; that of Ghyasuddin being placed highest, and lowest being that of the general, while between them stands that of Mohammed Ghauri, the real conqueror.

There can be no doubt that the minaret was meant for calling people to prayers. The Quranic verse, *wa idhā nūdiya li's-salāti* ("And when the call is raised for the prayer") is found in the second inscription on the second storey. The geographer and historian Abul-Fida calls it a *ma'dhana*, as does also Amir Khusraw in his *Qiranussadain* (pp. 30-31).

The second, third and fourth storeys were completed by Iltutmish; inscriptions bearing his name are preserved on them. No changes were made in the minaret for 125 years till the time of Firoz Shah. Abul-Fida states that the minaret originally contained 360 stairs, i.e., 19 less than

their present number. Ibn Battutah had the opportunity of seeing the minaret in its original condition before it underwent repairs and alteration at the hand of Firoz Shah, and says:

"To the north of the mosque is situated a *Saumaa*, which has no match in any country throughout the Muslim world. It is built of red sand-stone, although the mosque is built of white marble. The stone slabs of the minaret are inscribed. The upper *chhatra* of the mosque is built of white marble, and the balls at the top are in real gold. The staircase from inside is wide enough to allow an elephant to ascend it."¹³

Amir Khusraw's earlier account in *Qiran* also confirms the statement that the minaret had golden balls at the top: "There being a golden crown on the top of the minaret it appears that the stone has become golden on account of its nearness to the sun. The stone of the minaret, having so constantly rubbed against the sun, the gold of the sun has proved its own purity by employing the minaret's top as its touchstone."¹⁴

The two other highest *ma'dhanas* of the Islamic world also belong to this period, i.e., those erected in 590 A.H. (1194 A.C.) by the Berber Sultan Almohade Yaqub al-Mansur in connection with the mosques of Seville (Spain) and Kutubia (Marocco), the former being about 308 ft., and the latter 350 ft. high. The height of the Qutb Minaret as it stands now is 238 ft., and must have been about the same originally.

The superintendent of the mosque in the times of Aibak was one Fazl bin Abul-Maali, the inscriptions of whose name are found on both the buildings. On a pillar of the mosque is inscribed: "Under the superintendence of the servant Fazl bin Abil Maali." To the right of the door of the minaret is inscribed: "The superintendent of this minaret was Fazl Abul Maali."

On the third storey of the minaret is inscribed: "Finished this building under the care of the sinful servant, Mohammad Amir Koh"—showing that in the times of Iltutmish the superintendent had been changed.

A few Sanskrit inscriptions are found in the various parts of the minaret, showing that Hindu masons, of whom a few names are also mentioned, had marked on it. They also indicate that some repairs were done to it in the times of Alauddin, as also in Samavat 1389 (1353 A.C.), in the time of Mohammad Tughlaq on account of a damage caused by lightning in Samavat 1384 (1338 A. C.)

In Samavat 1425 (1369 A. C.-770 A. H.) the minaret was once again damaged by lightning in the reign of Firoz Shah, who carried out some repairs, and also raised its stature by additions at its top.

In its present condition the minaret has suffered in its proportions, beauty and the setting of its historical records on account of the changes and additions of Firoz Shah's time, and the substitution of railings in place of its original parapets on the balustrades, the misplacement of portions of the inscriptions; and the removal of the dome from the top,

and the erection of a modern door at the lowest storey at the time of the unimaginative Major Smith's repairs in the early part of the last century.

From the inscription on the eastern door we learn that Aibak's mosque (apparently including the lowest storey of the minaret) cost 5 crores and 40 laks of *Diliwals*, which amounts to about 10 lacs of Rupees, being an amount equivalent to the costs of Shahjahan's famous Juma mosque of Delhi. But the whole mosque, including the additions by Iltutmish and Alauddin of which we shall speak later on, ought to have cost at least ten times as much, *i.e.*, about a crore which ranks next only to the cost of a crore and a half estimated to have been expended in the completion of the Great Cordova mosque, and is probably the highest amount ever spent on any single mosque in the world.

Iltutmish extended this mosque and added two screens of three arches each on both sides to the north and south of the mosque, the whole work completing in the year 627 A. H. a date which is inscribed on the big southern arch of his additions.

The arrangement of the mosque is the same as was in vogue in the Eastern parts of the Islamic world—*e.g.*, in the grand mosque at Samarra—with roofed areas all round, leaving an open courtyard in the middle. The same model was pursued in the mosque of Ibri Tulam, almost a square with each side measuring 530 ft.

From the description of Ibn Battutah it appears that the mosque had twelve prominent domes; Amir Khusrav's account in *Qiranussadain* shows that in the time of the last Slave Sultan, Kaiqubad, that it had nine domes, which indicates the addition of the remaining three in the time of Alauddin in the parts built by his order.

Mr. Page, the superintendent of the Archæological Department, has written a valuable memoir on the Qutb, in which he has also attempted to present the picture of a conjectured restoration of the mosque in its entirety.¹⁵

He has imagined the tops of the arches as altogether flat in their treatment, but from a reference in *Fawaidul-Fuwad* of Amir Hasan I infer that they had parapets on them, an ornamental feature which persisted even in subsequent ages. The middle ones had golden parapets¹⁶ and also small minarets like those which we find in the central arch of the Ajmere mosque of the same period, another feature which also continued in subsequent times.

Besides the mosque and the minaret, which rank as masterpieces of the Slave Period, there were a number of palaces that were erected in these times, of which the most ancient was the *Daulat Khanah*, of which the foundations were laid in the times of Aibak, and in which the crowning ceremony of Il-tut-mish took place. Till the time of Mohammed Tughlaq the palace was always used for the same purpose by the subsequent sultans on their ascension to the Delhi throne.

The contemporary historians and Ibn Battutah have referred to this

palace, but the modern histories of Delhi do not mention it at all, and it was, for the first time that I give a brief but corrected history of this Imperial Building, considered almost sacred in those times on account of its past associations, in an article published in an Urdu magazine.¹⁷ The building remained intact at least upto the middle of the Ninth Century A. H., and the word "Daulat Khanah" current generally in our country as an honorific term for house is apparently derived from the name of this ancient building.¹⁸

Other palaces are named the "White Palace", the "Firozi Palace" and the "Green Palace". From Aibak to Muizuddin Bahram Shah, (i.e., 639 A.H.) the "White Palace" remained the Imperial residence; the Durbars of the Slave Kings Alauddin and Nasiruddin were held in the Qasri Firozi in which was also received in his time with the display of much éclat the Mongol ambassador.¹⁹ Barani states that the Palace was situated inside the fort of Delhi in front of the Badaun Gate.²⁰ while according to the statement of Ibn Battutah, the Koshiki Firozi was situated near the Great Mosque.²¹

Of all the palaces, the most famous, however, was the "Koshaki Lal", the "Red Palace", which was constructed by Balban in the reign of his master Nasiruddin Mahmood, and which became the Imperial Palace on his ascension. The best account of this palace, in which occurred many important incidents, is given by Ibn Battutah, who has, however, wrongly ascribed its erection to Sultan Jalaluddin:

"Sultan Jalaluddin's palace is famous by the name of Koshaki Lal and is situated inside the Delhi city. It is a big palace, with an extensive courtyard inside and a very high gateway with a dome, from which are visible the courts inside as well as outside the palace. Sultan Jalaluddin used to watch the Polo game played in the inner court. When Amir Saifuddin was lodged there I had an occasion to see it. It was full of valuable articles of all sorts, which were all in a decaying condition. It is a custom in India that when the King dies, his palace is left to itself, and the new king builds for himself a new palace. The movables of the former palace are not taken away from there. I wondered freely in the Palace, and also went upon the roof. It was a pathetic scene. Tears dropped from my eyes. The jurist Jalaluddin Maghribi of Granada, who had come to India with his father in his childhood was also with me there, and read the following verse:

"Ask the account of these Kings from the earth, their big heads have been reduced to mere bones."²²

Just a century after the conquest of Delhi, the account of the capital given by Amir Khusraw in his *Qiranussadain* shows that Delhi had three fortifications of which one was called the "new fortification", and was probably built in the Mohammedan period. A reference to it is also found in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, where the movements of a rebellious army are described, indicating that the walls of the fortification ran to the north of the Great Mosque.

Amir Khurram says in his own peculiar poetic manner:

"The two worlds are gathered inside its three forts... The outermost fortifications are beyond the extent and the outside world is situated within the inside fort. The heaven said to the new fort, "Oh thou 'new skies', keep my friendship old for long!"

Besides the mosque and the minaret two more buildings belong to the same period. One is the tomb of Sultan Ghauri situated at Malakpur wherein is buried Nasiruddin, the eldest son of Iltutmish, who died in 626 A. H. The inscription on the door bears the year 629 A. H. as the date of its erection. Next to the Qutb Buildings this is the oldest building of note belonging to that period. In the middle of the courtyard was a dome probably of marble, now destroyed or removed in after times. Below is the roof of an underground cell which has given the tomb its present name, Sultan Ghauri *i.e.*, the grave of the Sultan buried in a Ghâr or pit.

The tomb generally known by the name of Sultan Iltutmish is certainly wrongly ascribed to him. The account of the repairs as given by Firoz Shah in his memoirs leaves no doubt that the original tomb was built exactly on the plan of Sultan Ghauri. Its striking constructional features and ornamentations leave no doubt about its proximity in time to the buildings of the mosque and the minaret and priority to those of the Khilji period, but on the basis of the present information it is not possible to say with certainty who is really buried there or when it was actually built.

A slight uncertainty also pertains to the grave of Sultana Razia, situated in the Mohallah Bulbuli Khanah. Ibn Battutah says that he had seen her tomb situated on the bank of the Jumna, while Afif in his *Firoz Shahi*²³ relates that it was located in the city of Firozabad²⁴. I am, however, inclined to prefer Afif's statement, which is also confirmed by the current local tradition.

There is yet no internal evidence or historical clue available to confirm the tradition about the identity of the remains of the so-called Balban's tomb outside old Delhi. Ibn Battutah has left the following account of Balban's tomb:

"Balban had built a house called 'Darul Amân' the 'Place of Refuge'. The king used to pay off the debts of any person who would enter into it, as also the indemnity money on behalf of any murderer or other culprit who would take refuge inside that building. The grave of this king is also situated within this house. I have seen his grave."²⁵

For the first hundred years the Musalmans kept Delhi as their only capital, and devoted great energy to its expansion and development.

Kaibabad, the youthful and pleasure-loving successor of Balban, for the first time thought of leaving the old city and erecting for himself a Palace in Kilokhari on the banks of the Jumna on the site where in later times was built Emperor Humayan's Tomb. This change proved ruinous to himself and to the Dynasty. Jalaluddin, the founder of the

Khilji dynasty, completed the palace and made it the Imperial Residence. He encircled it with a new Hisar, fort, and built a grand imperial mosque. Amir Khusraw has praised it in the following couplet:

"O King! thou hast built a fort in the new city (Kilokhari) which is so high that the moon is touched by the stones of its parapets."

The historian Zia Barani states:

"Within these eighty years the people of the city of Delhi had grown up under the favour and patronage of the Turks. They disliked the kingship of the Khilji clan. Sultan Jalaluddin, therefore, did not venture to go inside Delhi. All the prominent citizens, whose number was large in Delhi of those times, used to go in groups to Kilokhari. Jalaluddin made Kilokhari his capital and ordered for the completion and ornamentation of the Kilokhari palace, founded by Sultan Muizuddin Kaiqubad. All the leading personages also constructed their houses in Kilokhari, and magnificent buildings thus appeared there. Some shopkeepers also shifted themselves to Kilokhari, and the bazars of that city were thus fully populated. Kilokhari was called 'the New City'. A very high fort was built round it of stones, as were also its high domes. The parts of the buildings were distributed. People did not sincerely like to build these houses, but on account of the Sultan's residence there, the houses were constructed quickly and the Bazar was filled."²⁶

From an account in the *Siyarul-Auliya* it appears that the Juma Mosque of this city was very extensive and was visited for prayers by the Sultanul Mashaikh (the saint Nizamuddin) who preferred it as being the nearest to his place at Ghayaspur.²⁷ In the time of Alauddin separate Kotwal and treasury were kept in this city.²⁸

Alauddin Khilji claimed to be the second Alexander of his times. He had unlimited ambitions in all fields of activity. In the first period of his reign he resided in the Red Palace in old Delhi.²⁹ He added an eastern court to Aibak and to Iltutmish's parts of the old mosque of Delhi; and then extended it further to the south, this doubling its former area, which made the mosque very extensive indeed.³⁰ Including the roofed and open areas in the times of Alauddin, this mosque was probably the largest mosque in the whole Islamic world, being 736 feet long and 449 feet broad. The largest roofed mosque of the world is, that of Cordova, 620 ft. by 420 ft.

Alauddin had intended to erect another *ma'zanah* in the centre of the northern court, having twice the height of the Qutb Minaret³¹. The modern historians of Delhi have wrongly imagined that he had left it in its present uncouth and unfurnished condition with a height of 80 ft. only. We have the authority of Ibn Battutah showing that about one-third of it had been quite completed rising to the height of the Qutb Minaret.³² If this minaret had been completed to its intended height it would have had no match anywhere in the Muslim world. Its full height would have been above 700 feet. It was preserved in its original unfinished condition till the time of Babar, who has praised it in his *Memoirs*. In later

times stone slabs were removed both from Alauddin's mosque and minaret, although these later must have been superior in magnificence and beauty of design to the buildings of Aibak and Iltutmish's times. The construction of this *ma'zanah* had continued upto the time of Qutbuddin Khilji. Its one-third as seen by Ibn Battutah had taken about ten years to finish!

Ibn Battutah says:

"And Qutubuddin Khilji had intended to build another minaret higher than the previous one. He had built about one-third of it, when he was assassinated. Sultan Mohammed Tughlaq wanted to complete it, but gave up the idea considering the work as inauspicious. Had this minaret been completed it would have been one of the wonder of the world. It is wide enough from inside to admit three elephants abreast; and this third part is equal to the whole minaret in the North. I once ascended to the top of the incomplete minaret and looked round. The tall buildings of the city and the ramparts, in spite of their heights, looked very small, and the people standing at the base of the tower appeared like small children. From its base the incomplete tower looks lower than it really is on account of its huge massiveness."³³

After Alauddin the mosque received no further extensions. Ibn Battutah's description of it in the times of Mohammed Tughlaq is as follows:

"The Juma Mosque of the city is very extensive. Its walls and roofs are all made of white stones, bound together with iron cramps. Wood is nowhere employed. It has thirteen domes all built of stone. The *minbar* is also made of the same material. It has four courts."³⁴

Alauddin had repaired the fortifications of Delhi in his time. Ibn Battutah has lavished unqualified praises on these fortifications:

"The circuit wall of the city is unparalleled in the whole world. It is eleven cubits high. It contains cells and houses in which reside the watchmen and the gate-keepers. Grain is also stored therein. The war machines (*manjaniqs*) and other war materials are also stocked in them. Grain stored there is protected from every damage and change of colour. Once rice was being taken out from there stores in my presence, it had become blackish from outside, but tasted alright. Maizes (*makai* or *jwar*) were also being taken out. People told me that they had been stored there eighty years ago in the time of Sultan Balban. The ramparts are wide enough to allow several horsemen to ride abreast thereon. The store-houses have windows towards the interior to give access to light. Some part of the city wall is built of stones, while the upper one is built of bricks. The domed towers are very close to one another."³⁵

It appears from the statement of Amir Khurram towards the end of the Slave Period that the wall had altogether thirteen gates and one hundred large windows.³⁶

Barani has mentioned twelve gates³⁷ and Timur ten only³⁸.

Alauddin laid the foundation of a third city by building at Siri a new

Imperial Palace then surrounded by wide spaces. Barani says that Alauddin's choice was made on account of military exigencies, Siri had always served as a pasture land and camping ground. The military organisation on a large scale during his reign led him to leave the old Delhi and reside close to his Imperial camp³⁹. His successor, Qutbuddin, completed the palace and bounded the city of Siri by new fortifications. The building of *Hazar Sutun* (the Thousand-pillared Hall) was also erected in his time. The Imperial Palace had also a golden structure (Qasri Zarrin). Amir Khusraw has praised it in an ode in his Divan, *Nihayatul Kamal*, and from the wordings of the eulogy it can also be inferred that on its walls were painted the portraits of the kings, and a tank was situated inside it.

"Oh Heavens, look at the Golden Qasr of the King shedding light like the Paradise. The golden Iwan reflects faces just as a mirror does. Also look at the pictures of the kings painted and reflected on various parts. The *hauz* (tank) is like the clear Kausar (the river in the Paradise), and its water nourishes life like the *Ab-i-Haiwan* (the miraculous living water). (*Nihayatul-Kamal*)

Ibn Battutah has given an account of the palace and the city of Siri which had been gifted by Mohammed Tughlaq to the Abbaside *Ibnul-Khalifa*.⁴⁰ We have Amir Khusraw's authority to show that Qutbuddin had also laid the foundation of an Imperial mosque and minaret in Siri.

"The minaret was founded in the court of the mosque. The hard stone began to rival the very gems."⁴¹

In *Siyarul-Auliya* it is stated that the opening ceremony of this mosque was performed with much eclat.⁴² Ibn Battutah has bestowed much praise on this mosque, which had remained as incomplete up to his time:

"Sultan Qutbuddin had intended to build in Siri a mosque like that at the Qutb but had completed only the western hall and the *mihrab*. He had employed in its construction white, red, green and black stones. If it were completed, it should have had no rival anywhere in the world. Sultan Mohammed Tughlaq had a desire to complete it. He ordered the architects and craftsmen to submit an estimates which amounted to thirty-five lacs. He desisted owing to the heavy expenditure, but one of his courtiers told me that he did not begin the work as he considered it inauspicious on account of the fact that the founder had died soon after its commencement."⁴³

It is noteworthy that, against the tradition in favour of the Abbasides, Qutbuddin had abrogated the right of the Islamic Caliphate to himself, entitling himself Caliph and naming his Capital *Darul-Khilafah* (the place of Caliphate). Siri was known as such even in later times, says Ibn Battutah:

"Siri which is also called *Darul-Khilafa*."⁴⁴

However, the palace and the city survived him for a long time. Alauddin had also constructed a water reservoir known as *Hauz-i-Khas*,

which rivalled in its dimensions the Hauz-i-Shamsi, built by Iltutmish outside Delhi. Some remains of the Alai Reservoir are still preserved; the tomb and college of Firoz Shah are situated on its banks.

The situation of Siri has been subject to the discussion of the archæologists for a long time. It has generally been identified with the walled village of Shahpur. Ibn Battutah has explicitly stated that the Hauz-i-Khas was situated midway between the old Delhi and Siri. Timur and the author of *Zafarnamah* concur⁴⁵ in stating that the city was a round one. Shahpur is neither round, nor is the Hauz situated in the middle of the two capitals. Till we have more reliable finds or inscriptions to justify the identity, the site must remain doubtful. It is, however, apparent that it could not be very far from the Hauz-i-Khas.

Besides the ruins of Alauddin's *m'azanah* and some vestiges of his mosque at the Qutb, the Alai Gate to the North of the Qutb Minaret as well as the mosque at Nizamuddin, which according to a Persian manuscript was erected by the direction of Sultanji himself, but later received polish to the slabs of its outer walls in Akbar's time, are the only monuments extant of the Khilji Period. The central part of the Nizamuddin Mosque, certainly built in Alauddin's reign, and ascribed by some to the munificence of his eldest son Khizar Khan, who was also the saint's disciple, is very striking in its structure, ornamentations, pendentives of the dome, inscriptions and floral patterns. It is almost unrivalled in its own way, while the Alai Gate has suffered a good deal in its original beauty and proportions on account of the clumsy repairs. The central parts of its four sides were certainly higher than those on the either side, and had all along parapets at the tops. The dome at present looks mean and sunken. The true idea of the adjustment of the domes of these times can best be had in the Nizamuddin Mosque where the original features and true proportions have remained almost intact.

Behind the mosque is situated a building which is claimed to be the tomb and college of Alauddin. There is no internal and external evidence to justify this identity. I am inclined to believe on the authority of Barani that Alauddin's tomb must have been situated somewhere near his southern extensions⁴⁷. The style of construction appears to be certainly posterior to the Slave Period, but we are not in a position to identify it with any particular King's works. From *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* we learn that attached to the mosque was a college known as Madrasai Muizi⁴⁸ which most probably had its name after Sultan Muizuddin Mohammed Ghauri.

Ghyasuddin Tughlaq built the fort of Tughlaqabad. "Within the fort he had a golden palace gilded with pure gold", according to Amir Khusraw, and of which Ibn Battutah has the following account:

"Within this town (Tughlaqabad) the king had his treasures and palaces. He had constructed a palace, the bricks of which were gilded with gold. When the sun rose no one could gaze towards it with fixed eye. This king had hoarded much treasures and had filled a tank with

molten gold which had solidified into one whole bloc. His son Mohammed Tughlaq spent the whole of that gold."⁴⁹

The fortifications, palaces and all other structures of Tughlaqabad are in ruins now. Tughlaq's tomb alone has survived nearly intact. Ibn Battutah says that it was built by that king himself in his own life time⁵⁰. Firoz Shah calls this tomb also as Darul Aman, which shows that the kings of Delhi used to build their tombs in their own lives, and adopted the same manner to earn salvation in future life as Balban had done in respect of his own tomb, which was also known by the same name.

By comparing this tomb with the Alai Gate and the central portion of the mosque of Nizamuddin we find that the architecture of Delhi had taken a new turn with the advent of the Tughlaq Dynasty. The Indian elements mostly occupied secondary position, and the style tended to simplicity, and more durability, so that you will find even the tomb without any inscriptions, which occupied such a striking place in the style of the Slave period.

Mohammed Tughlaq was first enthroned in Tughlaqabad, and later formally in Daulatkhana. Soon after his ascension to the throne he began to think of new plans. He transferred in bloc the whole population of Delhi to Deogiri which he raised to the position of the Imperial capital. He repeopled Delhi with the outsiders. Delhi had to struggle hard to survive this severe blow. I have already discussed in detail the facts relating to this change of capital in a separate memoir, in the *Jamia*, the magazine of Islamic National University at Delhi.

On the soil of Delhi itself Mohammed Tughlaq raised another new city, which occupied the vast expanse between Siri and old Delhi. He gave it the name of Jahanpanah. Recently some vestiges have been discovered of an old building deemed to be the Hall of Thousand Pillars (*Hazar Sutun*) of Mohammed Tughlaq's times. Badi Manzil, and the mosques of Khirki and Begampur, which, in my opinion, are wrongly ascribed to Khani Jehan, the vizir of Firoz Shah, are all situated within the area of Jahanpanah and belong to that city. Ibn Battutah has written a detailed, lucid and extremely interesting account of the Delhi of his times which every student of the history of India and Delhi should carefully follow. The contemporary Arab historian, the author of *Masalikul-Absar* has given the following account of Delhi, which deserves consideration:

"I asked Sheikh Mubarak about the city of Delhi, and its Imperial court. He told me that Delhi consisted of several cities, all combined, only one of them having the name of Delhi which has been extended to all the rest. It is vast and wide, with a circuit of about forty miles. The houses are built with stones and bricks, having floors of white stones, resembling marble. No house has more than double stories, some having only one storey. Sheikh Abu Bakr, son of Jalal, says that Delhi is a combination of 20 cities. On all the three sides of Delhi

extend gardens upto twelve thousand paces. The western side alone has none on account of the hills on that side. Delhi has one thousand schools of which one alone belongs to the Shafiites, while all the rest belong to the Hanafites. It has seventy hospitals called *Darush-Shifa*, two thousand monasteries, many very extensive, and a number of vast open spaces, and numerous baths.

"Sheikh Mubarak says that inside the Imperial palaces live the king, his queens, and their servants and slaves but none of the nobility, who all have to attend the court in the morning and the noon."

From the odes of Badri Chach, written in praise of Mohammed Tughlaq, and also from some other historical sources, we learn that Mohammed Tughlaq's Imperial Palace was known as the "Auspicious Castle". (*Qasr-i-Humayun*). The Durbar hall was known as *Hazar Sutun*. Ibn Battutah has described the palace in the following words:

"The Imperial Palace is known in Delhi as *Dari Sarai*. One has to pass through several gates. On the first gate are posted the watchmen and the men in charge of the musical instruments played at the entrance. Between the first and the second gate there is a large space, on both sides of which sit the drummers, and stand the watchmen. Between the second and the third gate there is a very big platform on which sits the chief herald who has a golden cane in hand and a studded golden cap with the peacock's feathers. The remaining heralds are furnished with golden belts, golden caps and hunters with gold or silver handler. There is a big *divan-khanah* in the second gate meant for visitors. On the third gate are posted officials who keep a record of the visitors. Every nobleman has a prescribed number of camp followers, and the officials put down in the Diary the fact that such person came at such time with so many followers. The king reads the Diary in the early part of the night after the night prayers."⁵¹

Once again he writes:

"When we had entered the third gate we found a big *divan-khanah* which is called *Hazar Sutun* in which the king holds his general assemblage."⁵²

He has also stated that these pillars were made of polished wood.

Firoz Shah was very fond of buildings. He began to build Firozabad in 754 A.H.⁵³ Just a year before he had built the Imperial mosque on the bank of the Jumna near his palace and also his college on the bank of the Hauz-i-Khas.⁵⁴ The mosque within the Kotlah near the Asoka's pillar is not the Juma mosque, but the palace mosque like those inside the Moghul forts of Agra and Delhi.

The historian of that reign, Afif, has described the city in the following words:

"Sultan Firoz thought of founding Firozabad city. He began to look for the proper site for it. Having found the vicinity of Delhi occupied all around by the sites of the capitals of the preceding generous kings, he at last selected the area of the village Kavin on the banks of the Jumna

for the construction of his Koshak. The officials in charge of the constructions and the experienced and well-informed craftsmen busied themselves with the buildings. All the nobles selected plots for their own houses as well. Five miles from the city of Delhi a big city grew up. It is related that the land of eighteen villages is included in the city of Firozabad.

"By the grace of God the city of Firozabad became so much populated that from the village of Indpat to Koshaki Shikar it occupied a distance of five *kos*; every *kos* was well inhabited. It had innumerable mosques for daily prayers. Out of these eight were Juma mosques, one built by the king himself, two by Khani Jahan (the vizir), one in the city and the other in Hajnagar, another by Nizamul-Mulk, another was the mosque of the Hunting Palace, Koshaki Shikar, and again another in Indpat. Thus there were altogether eight Juma mosques in Firozabad. They were all very big, each being extensive enough to accommodate ten thousand persons attending the prayers.

"It is still stranger that during the full forty years of the reign of this good-named king all along the five *kos* between the cities of Firozabad and Delhi, every day many people used to ply to and fro on account of their necessities and their connections. On the route all along these five *kos* people flocked like ants and locusts. Beginning with the time of morning prayer, carts, donkeys and horses were ready for hire. As soon as any one desired he obtained conveyance on fixed hire for the donkey or the horse to reach his own destination. The *kahars* had the *dolas* in readiness, and any one could have the same for conveyance. One had to pay four *jitahs* for the cart, six for the donkey, twelve for the horse and half a *tanka* for the *dola*. Thus the way was being traversed for the forty years, and all the labourers from the neighbourhood earned good wages and had a happy life during this period."³³

There were two more palaces built by Firoz Shah, the "Hunting Palace", Koshaki Shikar, and the "Alighting Palace" Koshaki Nuzul, both now obliterated. The site of the Hunting palace is indicated by the second pillar of Asoka, which Firoz Shah had fixed there³⁴. The celebration of Shab-i-Barat and the annual prayers of the two Ids took place near this palace.³⁵

Of the times of Firoz Shah the important existing monuments are the Kotlah, the palace, the pillars of Asoka which were placed on their respective sites by Firoz Shah³⁶, the small Kali Mosque in Shahajahanbad built by the Vizir Khani Jahan, son of Khani Jahan, as also the remains of Firoz Shah's college on the banks of Hauz-i-Khas.

At the time of Timur's invasion Delhi had reached its greatest extent and highest grandeur. Timur and his historians narrate that Siri was a round city with high buildings all surrounded by a fort, built of stones and bricks. The old Delhi also had a similar strong, but still larger fort. There was a vast distance between Siri and Delhi forts. A wall built of stones and lime united the two sites. The space within this wall was

called "Jahanpanah" and was situated in the midst of the populated parts. The surrounding fortifications of these three cities had thirty gates, Jahanpanah had thirteen—seven towards south and east and six to the north—Siri seven—four towards the outside and three towards the inside of Jahanpanah. The old Delhi wall had ten gates, some opening outside and the rest inside the city. Firozabad built by Firoz Shah was situated on the bank of the Jumna. Timur said his prayers in the Juma mosque, and then proceeding further encamped near the Hunting Palace.

The author of *Zafar Namah* says:

On the 8th Rabi II, 801 A. H. (17th December, 1938), Timur planted the standard of his conquest on the walls of Delhi. He sat in the Idgah. The gate of Jahanpanah faced the Hauz-i-Khas. Before his departure he ordered all the Syeds, judges, learned and pious men to gather in the Juma mosque of Jahanpanah. On the morning of 22nd Rabi II, 801 A. H., he began to march and reached Firozabad, 3 kos from Delhi. He stayed in the mosque of Firozabad built with hewn stones on the banks of the Jumna. Then he camped near Vazirabad beyond Jahan-Nama. Vazirabad is six kos from Delhi.

The pillage and ruin of Delhi at Timur's hands had already taken place on the 16th. On the 17th a number of the palaces of Jahanpanah and Siri had already been destroyed. The pillage continued on the 18th as well. On the 19th the whole of the old Delhi was looted. Of the captives of these cities thousands of the craftsmen and architects were set apart for transportation to Samarkand, where the invader had a mind to build a great Juma mosque.³⁹

Afif, the author of *Firozshahi*, on recalling this tragic episode of Delhi's history, speaks with sorrow and feeling in the following manner:

"Praised be the Almighty! Such a big and populous city as the capital of Delhi, the seat of the exalted throne, is beneath the heavens, and has, by the eternal doom and abiding order of God's ordination, been destroyed in so many ways; the inhabitants by God's order taken away as prisoners by the Mongols and the remaining dispersed in various parts. All these have been ordained by Divine wisdom. No one can venture to criticise it."

It is all true. Nature works in strange ways. Who could say at that time that two centuries or so after Timur one of his own descendents, Shahjahan, would again raise another Imperial city of Delhi and leave his name behind to be remembered with gratitude in later times?⁴⁰

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ISLAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO ZOOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY

By AIJAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN MASWANI

WHEN the storm raised by the bursting of the tinder-box of Arabia had finally settled down, and the desert-raiders had finished their conquests east and west, they sat down to enjoy their booty, and inculcate in themselves the traits laid down by their religion as befitting for a true Muslim. They transferred the application of their energies from war and bloodshed to intellectual pursuits enjoined with great stress by the Holy Prophet of Arabia. The bearded leader, a doughty warrior in the field, after he had obtained the surrender of kingdoms and empires, found in the latter treasure-houses of literature and science well worth exploiting, and shrewdly gave the word to his soldiers to do the same. Thus the gluttons of knowledge unbuckled their belts of war and did full justice to the wealthy repast accumulated and prepared by the centuries of their groping predecessors.

The intellectual giants of the Arabs soon brought themselves to the fore as great leaders of science and literature. They moulded and formed the rich protoplasm of which the huge mansion of the modern science was to be constructed, and for centuries together remained the pioneers of learning of their age.

The Arabs, through their constant residence among foreign nations they had conquered, soon learned to appreciate the arts and sciences previously known to the latter, and their cultivation was greatly encouraged. Thus it was that, helped by a far more wealthy and superior language, a superior and philosophical desert mind and other facilities, they produced unprecedented varieties of works on different sciences, and in the course of a short time Alchemy, Astronomy, Mathematics, Physics and their various branches found way into their literature, and came to hold therein a position of some importance. Likewise Medicine and its allied sciences of Botany and Natural History gradually crept into the intellectual orbit of the Arabs; but concerning them they were, to some extent, content with simply imitating what had been previously written on the subjects, though a small advance may be discerned in their works. The main value of their contribution lies in the fact that they collected the knowledge that was scattered in several foreign languages, brought it into a compact form and thus laid the foundation of the exact sciences to be further advanced and probed

into by their successors.

The contributions of these Muslims to the sciences with which we are here directly concerned—that of Zoology and Natural History—had their origin in early philological and medical works. The Arabic language, before the advent of Islam, exulted in its rich phraseology and poetical wealth. But it was only after the startling development stimulated by Islam that Arabic entered the literatures of the world. It was just before the coming of the great Prophet that writing was introduced, while in the early period of Islam grammatical and syntactical rules were brought into being with the necessity of the same arising out of the contact of the Arabs with foreign cultures and languages. It was at this period that the Muslim intelligentsia produced the great philologists and grammarians who helped the evolution of Zoology and Natural History as special sciences, by naming and giving the classifications of the large number of animals known to the Arabs at that time, as also those imported from foreign languages.

The greatest of all the literary works in Arabic, the embodiment of linguistic perfection is the Quran. In the beginning, all energies of the great Muslim minds of the time were centred round the study of this Book, and the men of learning were probing into its linguistic beauties and looking for historical and scientific data possible contained in it.

Natural philosophy, as relating to phenomena and objects in Nature, had for a long time interested Arabic authors, especially physicians and men with a philosophical turn of mind. But, though for centuries, even before the advent of Islam, the Arabs had closely observed the animals they had come into contact with their habits and the conditions under which they lived, no attempt had been made to compile and to reduce to writing the knowledge they had thus acquired.

The first man who did this was Abu 'Ubaidah, who was born in 110 A.H. (728 A.C.). During his lifetime he compiled about a hundred treatises, out of which he claimed to have written as many as fifty volumes on the subject of the horse alone. But an equally great, or even greater, credit should be given to his versatile contemporary, Al-'Asmai, who contributed largely towards the task of compiling in book-form all the knowledge of Natural History possessed by the Arabs at the time. Al-'Asmai was born at Basra in 122 A.H. (720 A.C.); he was a great philologist, possessed the knowledge of nearly all subjects, and wrote many treatises on them, out of which the *Cosmography* and the *Kitab Khalq-ul-Insan* are famous.

Concerning this period Max Meyerhof writes; "In Natural History a special type of literature arose during the eighth century. It took the form of the accounts of animals, plants and stones, composed with a literary aim but containing useful information. One of the most prominent authors of such works was Al-'Asmai of Basra (740-828 A.D.). He composed books 'On the Horse', 'On the Camel', 'On Wild Animals', 'On the Making of Man'; and several other writers produced comparable

works. A book that caused much controversy is the 'Nabataean Agriculture' of Ibn Wahshiyya (c. 800 A.D.). It contains some useful information about animals, plants, mingled with forged translations and legends from Syriac and Babylonian sources. The Syriac version on husbandry (Geoponica) by the Byzantine scholar Cassianus Bassus (c. 550) was translated into Arabic by different scholars.

"Pharmacological and toxicological treatises were composed by many of the Arabic-writing physicians from Jabir ibn Hayyan onwards."¹

The great author of the age, al-'Asmai, was also a poet of great merit, "a complete master of the Arabic language, an able grammarian, and the most eminent of all those persons who transmitted orally historical narratives, singular anecdotes, amusing stories and rare expressions of the language".² Some idea of his vast and varied attainments may be formed from Ibn Khallikan, who writes in his Biographical Dictionary:

"Al-'Asmai composed treatises on the following subjects: the human frame, the different species of animals, on the *anwa'*, on the influence of the stars, on the weather, on the frame of the horse, on horses, on camels, on sheep, on tents, on wild beasts, ... etc."³

After al-'Asmai and Abu-Ubaidah, the name of al-Jahiz, the "goggle-eyed", stands out prominent amidst the galaxy of writers. He died in 255 A.H. and was one of the greatest writers on Natural History whose names have come down to us. His "Book of Animals" (*Kutab-ul-Hayawan*) to which Damiri, a later writer of great prominence, makes frequent references, was, however, a book of philological nature only, giving the grammatical structure and meanings of the names of animals rather than their descriptions.⁴

From the remotest times in world's history, a general belief in the physiological properties of animal products, based partly on clinical experience and partly on speculative imagination, has existed in all countries. The materia medica of the Greeks consisted of many substances of an animal organic origin, and the Arabs in translating works on medicines from the languages of their foreign neighbours, not only copied their ideas but also their beliefs in the virtues of the drugs and substances mentioned in those works. The Hindus and Chinese also used animal substances in the treatment of disease, and held a strong belief in their properties.

We may be disposed to attribute this extravagant belief in the properties of the animal products to the great credulity which characterized a simpler and more ignorant age, but the recent researches into the value of organic principles of animal origin, such as those obtained from glands, hormones and secretions, vindicate the endeavours of the

1 *Legacy of Islam*, p. 321.

2 De Slane's Translation of Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary Vol. II, p. 128.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

4 Jayakar, Trans *Hayat-ul-Hayawan*.

early pioneers in the healing art. It is true that the recent discoveries are based on more rational and scientific principles, but that is no reason why we should not recognize, at least in some of these early attempts, the germs of rational therapeutics.

From this class of pioneers came Jerjis ibn Bakhtyishu, Chief of the Hospitals in Syria, and later physician at the court of the Abbasside Caliph Harun al-Rashid. Originally a medical man, he made researches in the organic structure of man and the animals, and brought forward valuable results. But no work of his of a strictly zoological importance has come down to us. Another famous name is that of the Andalusian Abu Merwan ibn Zuhr (corrupted by medieval Latin scribes into Abhomeron Avenzoar), a celebrated physician of Spain. The famed physicians like Avicenna (Abu Ali ibn-Sina), and al-Kindi also wrote on the subject.

With the dawn of the seventh century of the Hijra was born an eminent contributor to Natural History. Zakarya bin Muhammad bin Mahmud al-Kazwini (c. 600 A.H./1203 A.C.). He remained for some time the Qazi of Wasit and Hilla, and left many works. His *Cosmography*, *Ajaib-ul-Makhlukat wa Gharaib-ul-Maujudat*, is divided into three parts. The first part contains a description of the heavenly bodies, the second of the terrestrial and the third one is devoted to Natural History. Kazwini used in his writings *Ajaib-ul-Makhlukat*, the work of Ahmad of Tus.

Hamdulla Mustaufi, also called al-Kazwini, was born probably in the year 680 A.H. (1281-82 A.C.). He wrote the important work named the *Nuzhat-ul-Qulub*, which was completed in the year 740 A.H. It is quite a great work, and is divided into three *maqalas*. The first *maqala* or discourse is on Natural History which is important from our point of view. The second discourse is on Anthropology and the third on Geography, followed by a conclusion.

As-Suyuti, frequently referred to by a later writer, ad-Damiri, was a Cairene Scholar born in 849 A.H. (1445 A.C.). He was a versatile genius, and had the ambition of acquiring mastery over every branch of knowledge which could be attained in his time, and in it he was successful to some extent. He wrote an important encyclopædic work, *An-Nukaya*.

To this galaxy of eminent scholars we must add that most brilliant star, the common name of Kamal-ud-Din Muhammad ibn Musa ad-Damiri, the author of the celebrated encyclopædic Dictionary of Natural History, entitled *Hayat-ul-Hayawan*. He was born at Cairo in 750 A.H., according to one account,¹ or in 742 A.H. according to another.² He studied at al-Azhar and after attaining a degree of excellence in Tradition and natural sciences, became a professor of Tradition at the Rukniyya at Cairo, and also at the mosque of al-Azhar. He wrote a commentarv

1. Wüstenfeld.

2. Lucien Lucert

on the *Minhaj-ut-Talibin* of an-Nawawi, but is better known in the history of literature for his "Life of Animals", which treats, in alphabetical order, of 931 animals mentioned in the Quran, the Traditions and the poetical and proverbial literature of the Arabs.¹

The chief authorities upon whom Damiri relies are Aristotle, Kazwini, Ibn al-Baithar, Bukhtyishu, Abu Hamid who does not disdain the marvellous, Avenzoar who is as credulous as Pliny. The facts and observations collected by Damiri in his work, when denuded of certain superstitions and phantasies which surround them, bespeak highly of Arabs as close observers of the habits and natures of animals. The author placed before his readers the facts then known about the animals in a lexicographical form, with a view, as he suggests in his preface, to correct some of the false notions about the animal kingdom entertained by some learned men of his time. Although he commenced his self-imposed task with this simple and modest motive, he has accomplished a work not only of a high order as regards Zoology, but also replete with information and guidance for the student of nearly every branch of Arabic and Islamic lore.

Among the aforementioned authorities quoted by Damiri, he frequently refers to Aristotle's "Descriptions of Animals", (الحيات). Several quotations are also found in the book.

Owing to the voluminous nature of the book, compendiums have been made out of it. One of these, *Hawi-ul-Hisan min Hayat-ul-Hayawan*, was compiled, according to the Paris Catalogue of Arabic MSS, by one Muhammad ibn Abdul Kadir ibn Muhammad ad-Damiri.

Another compendium, *Ain-ul-Hayat*, was composed by Muhammad bin Abu Bakr Umar al-Makhzumi ad-Damamini and finished by him at Naharwala (Gujrat) in the Punjab, in 823 A.H., fifteen years after Damiri's death.

Other compendiums were made by Umar ibn Yunus ibn Umar al-Hanafi, Sheikh Zakiuddin ibn Ahmad al-Fasi and Ali al-Kadri, and as-Suyuti, who divided his work into two parts, the first being named the *Diwan-ul-Hayawan* and the second, *Dhail-ul-Hayawan*. Besides these compendiums, a supplement to the original work was written by Kazi Jamaluddin Muhammad al-Makki who died in 837 A.H. He named it *Tib-ul-Hayat*.

IT IS interesting to note that the Muslim thinkers very early turned their attention to the questions as to the origin and the evolution of mankind. How did man first emerge? The suggestive argument embodied in the passage of the Holy Koran quoted below, in fact, opened a new vista to Muslim philosophers. The Book says (56: 60—62):

"Yet are We not thereby hindered from replacing you with others your likes, and from producing you in a form which ye know not. Ye

1 Encyclopaedia Britannica.

have known the first creation: will you not reflect?"

It was Jahiz (d. 255 A.H.) who first hinted at the changes in animal life caused by migrations and environments generally. The association known as the "Brethren of Purity" (*Ikhwanu's-Safa*) further amplified the views of Jahiz. Ibn Maskawaih (d. 421 A.H.), however, was the first Muslim thinker to give a clear, and in many respects a thoroughly modern, theory of the origin of man.¹ He asserts that animality finally arrives at the frontiers of humanity in the ape, which is just a degree below man in the scale of evolution.

It was only natural and perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Quran, that Rumi, the great mystic philosopher (d. 1273 A.C.), regarded the question of mortality as one of biological evolution, and not a question to be decided by arguments of a purely metaphysical nature, as some philosophers of Islam had thought. His inimitable lines may be quoted here:

"First Man appeared in the class of inorganic things,

Next he passed therefrom into that of plants.

For years he lived as one of the plants,

Remembering nought of his inorganic state so different;

And when he passed from the vegetative to the animal state,

He had no remembrance of his state as a plant,

Except the inclination he felt to the world of plants,

Especially at the time of spring and sweet flowers:

Like the inclination of infants towards their mothers,

Which know not the cause of the inclination to the breast.

Again the great Creator, as you know,

Drew Man out of the animal into the human state.

Thus Man passed from one order of nature to another,

Till he became wise and knowing and strong as he is now.

Of his first soul he has now no remembrance,

And he will be again changed from his present soul.²

1. Adopted in his theological work, *Al-Fawz ul-Asghar*.

2. Rumi, *Mathnawi Ma'navi*.

IQBAL'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY*

By KH. GHULAM SAIYIDAIN

(Continued From January Number, 1938)

THE DUALISM OF THE REAL AND THE IDEAL

IN analysing the process of the development of individuality, Iqbal has given considerable thought and attention to the dualism between the real and the ideal which has traditionally coloured all philosophic speculation. Philosophically it is a very important issue whether the ideal and the real, the material and the spiritual, the physical and the mental are to be regarded as mutually disparate terms which exclude each other. Educationally, in order to define our objective and the process of its realization it is necessary that we should understand their mutual relationship and significance. If following the traditional philosophers and ethicists we are to regard the actual world of physical realities as either a mere illusion or as unimportant or as a hinderance to the development of the spirit, we shall have to work out a corresponding theory of education. If, on the other hand, like the materialists of to-day we reduce the entire life and creative activity of man into terms of chemistry and physics and deny the distinct entity of the human spirit, then education will have to be shaped accordingly. Against these two alternatives there is a third view which does not regard the real and the ideal as mutually exclusive and does not consider either of them to be unimportant, but takes the real to be the starting point for the realization of the ideal. It will be obvious, from what we have so far indicated Iqbal's philosophic position to be, that he subscribes to the last of these views. In view of the intrinsic importance of the issue, it is necessary to examine his position in some detail.

We have seen that the growth of the self requires that the individual should evolve the inner richness of his being. This cannot, however, be brought about by withdrawing from the world of matter into the seclusion of one's own contemplative activity but by establishing numerous fruitful contacts with the facts and forces of his environment. It is as a result of such contact that man has gradually won his ascendancy over the world of Nature—a great creative achievement. Thanks to this stimulating contact, he has sharpened his intellect and built up

* The book from which the following pages are reproduced will be shortly published by Ararat Publications, Model Town, Lahore

a great civilization and opened up the possibilities of still greater triumphs. To this indomitable spirit of conquest and adventure in man, he pays a stirring tribute in a recent poem entitled "The spirit of Earth welcomes the advent of Adam"

کھول آنکھ، زمین دیکھ، فلک دیکھ، فضا دیکھ
 مشرق سے اُبھرتے ہوئے سورج کو ذرا دیکھ
 اس جلوۂ بے پردہ کو پردوں میں چھپا دیکھ
 ایامِ جدائی کے ستم دیکھ، جہنم دیکھ
 بیتاب نہ ہو معرکہٴ بیم و رجا دیکھ
 ہیں تیرے تصرف میں یہ بادل یہ گھٹائیں
 یگسبِ افلاک یہ خاموش فضاں
 یہ کہ یہ صحرایہ سمندر یہ ہوائیں
 تھیں پیشِ نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی ادائیں
 آئینۂ ایام میں آج اپنی ادا دیکھ
 سمجھے گا زمانہ تیری آنکھوں کے اشارے
 دیکھیں گے تجھے دور سے گزروں کے تنہے
 ناپید تیرے بحرِ تخیل کے کنارے
 پہنچیں گے فلک تک تیری آہوں کے شرارے
 تعمیرِ خودی کو اثر آہ رسا دیکھ

خورشیدِ جہاں تاب کی صورتِ تیرے سرِ تریں
 آباد ہے اک تازہ جہاں تیرے ہنریں
 بچتے نہیں بجھے ہوئے فردوسِ منظر میں
 جنتِ تری نہاں ہے ترے خونِ جگر میں
 اے پیکرِ گلِ کوششِ پیہم کی جزا دیکھ
 نالسدہ ترے عود کا ہر تارِ ازل سے
 تو جنسِ محبت کا حسدِ یادِ ازل سے
 تو پیرِ مسمِ خانۂ اسرارِ ازل سے
 محنتِ کش و خوں ریز و کم آزارِ ازل سے
 ہے راکبِ تقدیر جہاں تیری رضا دیکھ
 (بالِ جبریل)

In conformity with the general trend of Islamic thought in this direction, Iqbal is emphatic that, in his development, man must take account of his material conditions which set the stage for the greater part of his conscious activity. Islam, as he puts it, "is not afraid of its contact with matter" but recognizing clearly the intimate and fruitful relation of the ideal with the real says "yes" to the world of matter and exhorts us to use its great resources for the service of the highest spiritual ends:

دلا رمزِ حیات از غنچہ درِ یاب
 حقیقت در مجازش بے حجاب است
 ز خاکِ تیسرہ می روید و لیکن
 نگاہش بر شعاعِ آفتاب است

O heart! look for the secret of life in the bud
 Reality is revealed in its appearance.
 It grows out of the dark earth
 But keeps its gaze towards the rays of the sun.

Thus the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces and the affirmation of the spiritual self demands a willing acceptance of the world of matter with a view to making it an ally in the process of our development. "The relation of man to Nature must be exploited," he warns us, "in the interest, not of unrighteous desire for domination but in the nobler interest of a free upward movement of spiritual life".¹ The rank materialist and the narrow biologist may deny all reality to what the Quran calls *Alam-i-Anfus* (Self), but they will hardly find any support for that extreme position in the more advanced thought of their own sciences which have discovered, with amazement, old respectable "matter" turning in their hands into energy, electrons, a "mere projection of the consciousness of the perceiver". There is an undeniable tendency to explain things in terms of the mind. The extreme idealist may similarly refuse to assign any reality to the *Alam-i-Afaq* (World of Matter). But for all practical purposes it does exist and has to be taken into account in any comprehensive scheme of education.

The practical question which confronts the thoughtful educator in this connection is: what is the respective value and significance of the ideal and the real in the life of man? Granted that they have both to be taken into account, should we assign supremacy to the values of the spirit or to the needs and demands of material life? Here Iqbal parts company with some progressive thinkers of the modern age who deny the primacy of the spirit. "The evolution of life shows" he remarks "that though, in the beginning, the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental—as it grows in power—tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence". He elucidates his position further. "The ultimate Reality, according to the Quran, is spiritual and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunity in the natural, the material and the secular. All that is secular is, therefore, sacred in the roots of its being. The greatest service that modern thought has rendered to Islam and, as a matter of fact, to all religion, consists in its criticism of what we call material or natural—a criticism which discloses that the merely material has no substance unless we discover it rooted in the spiritual. There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self realization of the spirit. As the Quran so beautifully put its: 'The whole of this earth is a mosque'." Iqbal would, therefore, have it that the conscious purpose of education should be to see that man is not betrayed into the temptation of subordinating the mental to the physical and concentrating exclusively on the effort to gain the whole world, even though he may lose his soul in the process. Iqbal finds considerable support for this attitude in certain recent developments of thought in Psychology, Education and Biology. Professor Hetherington contributed some years ago a very valuable article

1 Lectures, p. 15.

to the *Forum of Education*, entitled "The Incidence of Philosophy on Education". The central thought which he has worked out in this article may be briefly summarized here. He points out that there is a certain meeting point of the recent work in education, philosophy and social reconstruction. This is the attempt to mitigate the sharpness of the distinctions which were held to prevail between "the world of true being and the temporal and changing world of ordinary experience, between the rational intellect and other powers of the soul". It is coming to be believed more and more that wherever reality is to be found, it is not by turning away from the world of appearances but by penetrating to the full meaning of what is latent there. The practical implication of this for education, as pointed out by the writer, is that the school should attempt to elicit the intellectual, æsthetic and moral significance of the ordinary occupations and interests of life and to "find the growing point of the mind in its effort to handle the every day, concrete problems". The reconstruction of curriculum and methods which aims at bringing the social activities and occupations of life into the work of the school and encourages methods of self-activity, problem-solving and projects may be interpreted as a recognition of this principles with which Iqbal is certainly in agreement.

Iqbal has, however, been criticized from another point of view. In his insistence on the value of the Ideal and Spiritual, he is accused of soaring so high as to lose all contact with the everyday world of matter in which the ordinary people have their being. Some of his poetry has also been interpreted to imply a dualism between the ideal and the real world, to the detriment of the latter. A superficial interpretation of some of his poems does, indeed, lend colour to this charge. Thus in a beautiful poem, included in the *Bal-i-Jibrail*, he makes a clear distinction between the "world of mind" (*دنیا*) and the "world of body" (*تن کی دنیا*), and defines the characteristics of each:

من کی دنیا بہ من کی دنیا سوز و مستی جذب و شوق
 تن کی دنیا بہ تن کی دنیا سود و سودا مکرو و فن
 من کی دولت ہاتھ آتی ہے تو پھر جاتی نہیں،
 تن کی دولت چھاؤں ہے آتا ہے من جاتا ہے من
 من کی دنیا میں نہ پایا میں نے افزگی کا راج
 من کی دنیا میں نہ دیکھے میں نے شیخ و برہن
 پانی پانی کر گئی مجھ کو قفس در کی یہ بات
 تو جھکا جب غیر کے آگے نہ من تیرا نہ تن

But if we examine the whole trend of his thought—in his poetical works and his lectures—we shall see that the allegation is incorrect. He is emphatically opposed to those pseudo-mystics, other worldly idealists and self-centred aesthetes who would cheerfully ignore the evils, injustices and imperfections of this world, this دنیا، abjure all active effort in behalf of its reconstruction and seek a cowardly compensation in cultivating their own selfish interests—intellectual, artistic or spiritual—in seclusion, he makes this clear in his *Lectures*, saying: "Such a being as man who has to maintain his life in an obstructing environment cannot afford to ignore the visible. The Quran opens our eyes to the great fact of change, through the appreciation and control of which alone it is possible to build a durable civilization." Thus his preoccupation is not with the Immutable and the Unchangeable alone but he is actively concerned with this world of changing phenomena. It is only by flinging ourselves like good crusaders into the struggle that we can fulfil the purpose of our life—not by shunning the struggle on earth because our is in the clouds! Listen to the lament of the "Indian disciple" to his saint, Rumi:

آسمانوں پر مرا فکر بلند،
 میں زمیں پر خوار و زار و دردمند
 کار دنیا میں رہا جتا ہوں میں
 ٹھوکریں اس راہ میں کھاتا ہوں میں

کیوں مرے بس کا نہیں کارِ زمین؟
ابنہ دنیا ہے کیوں دانائے دیں؟

To this Rumi replies:

اے کہ بر افلاک رفتارش بود
بر زمین رستن چہ دشوارش بود

meaning thereby that any one who is really gifted with the intellectual and creative activity of the spirit *must* make a good job of his life here and now. It is a false and degrading "spirituality" which weakly puts up with wordly degeneration and impotence for oneself and one's fellows. The proper cultivation and strengthening of individuality is equally necessary for the conquest of the two worlds—this is what is implied in one of the verses quoted above:

پانی پانی کر گئی مجھ کو قلندر کی یہ بات
جب جھکا تو غیر کے نگے نہ من تیرا نہ تن

If one is lacking in self-reliance and self-confidence and cultivates a mendicant's mentality, one is likely to forfeit both the worlds at a single stroke.

But while duly cognisant of the claims of the material world, he is unmistakably devoted to, and appreciative of the spiritual self in man and his entire philosophical thought is imbued with a deeply religious spirit. He refuses to believe that the world of matter alone constitutes the whole of Reality and that man should concern himself exclusively with its interests and problems. The goods of the mind and the riches of the spirit, always aspiring upward in man, are far too valuable in his eyes to be sacrificed at the altar of a crass materialism. Man's creativity is not confined to the re-shaping of matter alone; he has also "the capacity to build a much vaster world in the depths of his own inner being, wherein he discovers sources of infinite joy and inspiration"—in art and poetry, literature and science, philosophy and religion. In the pursuit of these cultural and spiritual values, he should make use of the physical world as his raw material and instruments and exploit all its possibilities for strengthening the upward movement of the human spirit. Education must keep this ideal in view if it is to fulfil its great mission in modern life.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

THE MODERN STRESS on Individuality, with which Iqbal has expressed his agreement, naturally raises several questions. What is the nature of the relationship between the individual and society? Does the cultivation of the individuality imply that the educated men and women will be unmindful of their social obligations and their dependence on the cultural achievements of their people? What is the respective importance of the individual and the group of which he is a member? Should the development of the individual be regarded as the supreme end of the life process and the state as merely an instrument of his development? Or should we subscribe to Hegel's view that the state is a super-personal entity whose strength and integrity are far more important than the rights of individuals? Iqbal, as we have seen, attaches the highest value to individuality but—and this is a significant characteristic of his philosophic thought—he is not betrayed into an extreme, untenable position and takes a balanced view of their respective claims. He duly recognizes the importance of the culture-patterns of community life which some of the "New Educationists" have tended to ignore in their eagerness to stress individuality as the end of the educative process and the goal of social institutions. They have been inclined to overlook the fact that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible except when it draws its spiritual sustenance from the culture of the group to which it belongs. This extreme view has been naturally followed by a violent reaction which the various totalitarian theories represent exalting the "type" wholly subservient to the state, above the free, self-determined individual. Discussing this issue in the *Year Book of Education* (1936), with reference particularly to its bearings on education, Professor Clarke points out: "For, whatever else education may mean, it must mean primarily the self-perpetuation of an accepted culture—a culture which is the life of a determined society. This is true whether the cultural process is regarded with the individualists as the maturing of a free personality through the cultural sustenance which the life of a society can offer; or, with the totalitarians, as the affirmation of the one spiritual whole, in its temporary and partial bearers and servants, the citizens."¹ Education must, therefore, produce the "type" but (he is careful to explain that) it is equally necessary that, in the words of Professor Hocking, "it must provide for growth beyond the type". Modern educational theory, therefore, must concentrate particularly upon "the critical issue of a double relation of the type to society—on the one hand the claim of the society to perpetuate itself in the type and, on the other hand, the claim of the type to become more than

1. *Year Book of Education* p 249

a type—a person—and so to react fruitfully, if critically, upon the society which has produced him.”¹ In the tragic conflict of political doctrines it must seek for its anchor somewhere between the disruptive and disintegrating influences of the one and the wholly repressive and inhibitory forces of the other.

Iqbal has discussed this issue with keen insight in his second *masnavi*, *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi* (“The Mysteries of Selflessness”), the whole of which is an eloquent presentation of the intimacy of relationship between the individual and the cultural life of the community in which he lives, moves and has his being. Alone, he is weak and powerless; his energies are scattered, his aims narrow, diffuse and indefinite. It is the active and living membership of a vital community that confers on him a sense of power and makes him conscious of great collective purposes which deepen and widen the scope and significance of his individual Self:

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ نہیں
سوج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں

This is Iqbal’s conception of their mutual relationship:

فردی گیسو ز ریت اہتمام
ملت از انسداد می یابد نظام
فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود
قطرہ وسعت طلب متلزم شود
در دیش ذوق نمود از ریت است
اعتساب کار او از ریت است
در زبان قوم گویا می شود
بر رو اسلاف پویا می شود

هر که آب از زفرم بخت نخورد
 شعله های نغمه در عودش فرد
 فرد تنها از مقاصد غافل است
 تو تش به شفقتی را مایل است
 قوم با ضبط آشنا گرداندش،
 نرم رو بمشعل صبا گرداندش

Having explained how the individual's powers and purposes take their inspiration and their characteristic colour from the life of the community, he exhorts him thus:

چون گهر در رشته او صفته شو،
 درخشان ماند غبار آشفته شو

"The individual who loses himself in the community"—i.e., in the service of its great and worthy ideals and purposes—"reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam which is infinite and everlasting."¹

What, it may be asked, is the right basis for the unity of a community? What is the cementing bond which gives coherence to its life and links up its members into one indivisible whole? The modern age is obviously characterized by a fervent acceptance of territorial patriotism and racial fanaticism as integrating forces in the life of a people. The nationalist movements of the 18th and 19th centuries had accentuated the sentiment of a narrow patriotism and, before more recent movements of international socialism could make much headway to break down national antagonisms, the new doctrines of Fascism and Nazism, with their ideology of race-worship and hatred of foreigners, have ushered in a still more reactionary tendency. Against this gloomy background, it is refreshing to study Iqbal's point of view which is but an expression of the political philosophy of Islam. He is strongly opposed to the ideas of race and colour and narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism because they are an obstruction in the path of evolving a broad, humanitarian outlook. According to him, it is not racial or geographical unity—mere accidents of time and space—which should be made the basis of a people's coherence. It is the unity of emotions

1. Preface to the *Secret of the Self*, p. XIV.

and outlook, of purposes and endeavour, a merging of individual selves in the service of great, co-operative ideals and objectives which cement a collection of individuals into a genuine community:

وقت از یک رنگی دہاتے
 روشن از یک جلوۂ سیناتے
 قوم را اندیشہ ہا باید یکے
 در ضمیرش مدعا باید یکے
 جذبہ بانہ در سرشت او یکے
 ہم عیسار خوب و زشت او یکے
 اصل ملت در وطن دیدن کہ چہ؟
 باد و آب و گل پر تنیدن کہ چہ؟
 برنسب نازاں شدن نادانی است
 حکم او اندر تن و تن منانی است
 ملت ہا اساس دیگر است
 این اساس اندر دلی ماضی است

And again, he defines *millat* (community) in psychological terms:

جلیست ملت مے کہ لونی لا لہ
 با ہزاراں چشم بودن یک نگاہ

اہل حق را بخت و دعوے یکے است
 خیمہ ہائے ما جدا دل ہائے یکے است
 ذرہ ہا از یک نگاہی آفتاب
 یک نگاہ شو تا شود حق بے حجاب
 یک نگاہی را بہ چشم کم مبین
 از تجلی ہائے توحید است این
 مردہ ہا از یک نگاہی زندہ شو
 بگذر از بے مرکزی پائندہ شو
 وحدت انکار و کردار آسبریں
 تا شوی اندر جہاں صاحب نگیں

When such a creative unity of outlook has been achieved, it becomes, for good or evil, a source of unlimited power for individuals as well as the community. Deprived of it, the community becomes disorganized, feeble, dead:

زندہ شدہ از ارتباط جان و تن
 زندہ قوم از حفظ ناموس کھن
 مرگ فرد از خستگی رود حیات
 مرگ قوم از ترک مقصود حیات

Of course, this unity of outlook and emotions is by itself just a source of power which may be used for any ends. The ethical value of this power depends upon the nature of the ideas and ideals to which it is wedded. These we shall discuss in a later chapter.

Unlike some modern thinkers, who are impatient and contemptuous of the past and its cultural achievements and would gladly wipe the slate of society clean in order to write on it anew, Iqbal, as we have seen, realizes the power of the past and is keenly aware of the value of History in the education and the general evolution of a people. He realizes that a community cannot gain a true understanding of its inner self without an intelligent study of its own history and historical evo-

lution. It is the gradual, cumulative appreciation of its manifold cultural associations which knits it into a strong unity and brings it to maturity:

ملت نو زاده مثل طفلک است
 طفلکے کو در کنار ملک است
 طفلکے از خویشتن نا آگے
 گوهر آلودہ خاک رہے
 بستہ با امروز او فردا نہیں
 حلقہ آئے روز و شب در پاش نیست
 چشم ہستی را مثال مردم است
 غیر را بینندہ و از خود گم است
 صدگرہ از رشتہ خود داکند
 تا سہ تار خودی پیدا کند
 گرم چہل اُفتد بکارِ روزگار
 ایں شعور تازہ گردد پائدار
 سرگذشت او گر از یادش رود
 باز اندر نیستی گم می شود

But the history to which he would assign a place of honour in education is not just an amusing story or a legend, recounting interesting happenings of bygone ages. It should vividly re-create the past, mirror, as in a looking glass, the sources and achievements of the people's culture and give them a true understanding of their place and function in the general march of mankind. The living assimilation of past history will give them a fresh sense of power and self-confidence and strengthen their individuality:

چیت تایخ اے ز خود بیگانہ،
 داستانے، قصہ، افسانہ؟
 ایں ترا از خوشتن آگہ کنند
 آشنائے کار و مرد رہ کنند
 ہم چو خنجر بر فسانت می زند
 باز بر روئے بهانت می زند
 شعله افسردہ در سوزش نگر
 دوش در آغوش امروزش مگر
 شمع او بخت اُمم را کوب است
 روشن از مے وی شب و ہم امشب است
 چشم پر کارے کہ بیسند رفتہ را
 پیش تو باز آسزید رفتہ را
 ضبط کن تایخ را پائندہ شو
 از نفس مے رسیدہ زندہ شو
 سرزند از ماضی تو حال تو
 خیزد از حال تو استقبال تو
 شکن ار خواہی حیات لا زوال
 رشتہ ماضی و استقبال و حال
 موجِ ادراکِ تسلسلِ زندگی است
 مے کشاں را شورِ تقللِ زندگی است

Iqbal also observes in this connection that, particularly in periods of decadence, a people can gain new vitality by turning to the healthy

sources of their past culture. By striking their feet, as it were, firmly on the ground of this culture, they gain, like Antæus, fresh power and inspiration. In such critical periods, he deprecates excessive individualism and unchecked freedom of thought:

مضیل گردد چو تقویم حیات
ملت از تقلید می گیرد ثبات
راه آبا رو که این جمیعت است
معنی تقلید ضبط ملت است
بجرگم کردی زیاں اندیش باش
حافظ جوئے کم آب خویش باش
اجتہاد اندر زبان انحطاط
قوم را برہم ہی پیچید بساط
ز اجتہاد عالمان کم نظر
اقتدا بر رفتگان محفوظ تر

If these verses are taken by themselves, without reference to the general trend of Iqbal's thought, they would seem to favour a static or conservative conception of culture and an obvious discounting of the dynamic, forward-looking forces. But, as a matter of fact, here Iqbal has, with the freedom of the poet, drawn pointed attention to *one* important aspect of the situation only. To get his position into proper perspective, it is necessary to take his ideas as a whole and evaluate them with reference to the general trend of his thinking. Such a comprehensive view would show that, like Goethe and Carlyle, he is keenly appreciative of the role of original, creative individuals in the development and progressive reconstruction of the life of a community. The social order always tends to be stable and stationary; it is such individuals, with independence of thought and originality of vision, who give it new values and bring a dynamic urge into its routine ways. When a community becomes lazy, slothful, disinclined to effort and averse to change:

سُست و بے جاں تار و پود کار او
 ناکشودہ غنچہٴ پندار او
 جان او از سخت کوشی رم زند
 پنجه در دامانِ فطرت کم نند

some great individual is born to give it a new impetus:

تا خدا صاحبِ دے پیدا کند
 کو ز حرفِ دفترے اِلا کند
 ساز پروازے کہ از آوازے
 خاک را بخشد حیات تازه
 تازہ اندازِ منظر پیدا کند
 گلستان در دشت و در پیدا کند
 عقلِ عرباں را دہد پیرایہ
 بخشد ایں بے مایہ را سرمایہ
 بند را از پاکشاید بندہ را
 از حنداوندانِ رماند بندہ را
 گویدش تو بندہٴ دیگر نہ
 زیں بتانِ بے زباں کم تر نہ

This idea recurs very frequently in his poetry and is to be found as a central motif of his thought in his earlier as well as later writings:

فرد بر می خیزد از مِثتِ کلے
 قومِ زاید از دلِ صاحبِ دے

Of such great and unique individuals, he sings with lyrical fervour:

مرد حق از آسمان اقد چو برق
 هیزم او شهر و دشت و غرب و شرق
 ما همه با سوز او صاحب دلیم
 در نه نقش باطل آب و گلیم

It need hardly be pointed out that Iqbal is using here the language of metaphor. He does not obviously look up to some great bloodthirsty conqueror who will be a scourge to the East and the West, the towns and the country side. As the second verse indicates, he is a man with a unique vision and intensity of feeling who broadens our outlook and our sympathies. He does certainly clear away the cobwebs of old, effete and outworn institutions and inspires mankind with a new message of hope and creative life, making them *sahib-dil* i.e., people with hearts alive. But with Iqbal this doctrine of individuality is not a mere academic thesis. In his later thought, at least, it is charged with an urgent practical significance. The reason appears to be twofold. On the one hand, he has a poignant realization of the general decadence that has beset the Muslim world for the last two centuries, due largely to the lack of the right kind of leadership. Secondly—and more recently—the recrudescence of certain political movements in Europe which seek to repress the freedom of the individual through the over-organization of collective life have made him doubly cognisant of the value of individuality. In his *Lectures*, Iqbal has given unambiguous expression to his attitude on the question. In an interesting and thoughtful discussion of the destruction of Baghdad in the 13th century, which brought general disintegration of the Muslim world in its wake, he points out how the conservative thinkers of the period had focussed all their efforts and attention on "the one point of preserving a uniform social life for the people by a jealous exclusion of all innovations . . . Their leading idea was social order, and there is no doubt they were partly right because organization does to a certain extent counteract the forces of decay. But they did not see, and our modern Ulema do not see, that the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization *as on the worth and power of individual men*. In an over-organized society, an individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole world of social thought around him and loses his own soul. Thus a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection—such as we see in many Eastern and Western countries to-day—constitute no remedy for the people's decay . . . The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. Such individuals alone reveal the depths of life. They disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires

revision."

The relevance of this argument is particularly striking with reference to certain collectivist states in Europe today where over-organization and a "false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection" have killed the freedom of thought and arrested the forward movement of the human spirit. A quotation which Iqbal gives from a modern historian—with his own approval—is particularly apt in this connection: "The verdict of history is that worn-out ideas have never risen to power among a people who have worn them out." In the light of such views, it would be wrong to accuse Iqbal of taking a static view of human culture. For him the development of individuality inevitably implies what he has called "the principle of movement in thought" without which the wings of human spirit become clipped and it begins to feed on fruitless, "worn-out ideas".

THE DEVIL'S DELUSION*

By ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THOSE WHO BELIEVE
IN MIRACLES WROUGHT FOR THE GLORY OF SAINTS.

WE HAVE SHOWN above how the devil only obtains power over a man in proportion to the man's ignorance; the more ignorant he is, the greater becomes the devil's power over him: the more the man knows the less control has the devil. At times a devotee sees a light or fire in the sky, and if it be in Ramaḍān declares that he has seen the Night of Qadar; if it happen in another month he declares that the gates of heaven have been opened to him. Or he may happen to obtain something which he had been seeking, and supposes this to be a miracle wrought in his honour, whereas it may have been an accident, or a case of probation, or a wile of the devil. A wise man will not feel easy about anything of this kind, even if it be a miracle in his honour: above, dealing with devotees, we have recorded how Malik b. Dinār and Ḥabīb al-'Ajāmī both said that the devil plays with Qur'ān-readers like lads with nuts. He has led many a weak devotee astray by showing him something resembling a miracle wrought in his honour, in consequence of which the man has claimed prophethood. It is recorded that 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Najdah al-Hawtī reported a tradition going back to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hassān' according to which the latter said: Al-Ḥārith the Liar was one of the people of Damascus, client of Abu'l-Julās and had a father in al-Ghūtah; the devil assailed him, he being a devout ascetic; had he donned a robe of gold, it would have seemed a sign of asceticism in his case. When he started the formula "Praise be to God" the audience had never listened to utterance more beautiful

* A selection comprising pp. 405—418 of the Arabic original.

1. Traditionalist. died 233. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb* VI, 453.
2. Probably the son of the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit is meant. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb* VI, 162, where his death-date is given as 104.
3. The story that follows is given by Ibn 'Asākir III, 443, on the same authority. He calls Abu'l-Julās al-'Abdārī al-Qurashī. but gives alternatively the name of another patron. Variations of importance will be noticed. Yāqūt. *Geogr. Dict.* II, 367, also copies it.
4. I. A. and Yāqūt, al-Ḥūlah.
5. The texts differ slightly, but the sense of all seems to be that anything which he did would have seemed suitable to an ascetic.

than his. He wrote to his father: "My father, come quickly, for I have been seeing things which I am afraid may proceed from Satan." His father led him further astray,¹ writing to him: My son, go forward to that which thou art commanded, for God says [xxvi, 221] *Shall I inform you upon whom the demons descend? They descend on every guilty fabricator.* Now you are neither guilty nor a fabricator, so proceed with that which you are bidden to do.—So he proceeded to go to the people in the mosque, one by one, tell them his experiences, and take from each man a solemn promise that if he saw what he approved, he would accept it, but if not, would conceal it. Now he would show them marvels; he would go to a marble slab in the mosque, tap on it with his hand, and it would utter the words "Glory to God"; he would give them summer fruits in winter and tell them to come out to be shown the angels. Then he would take them out to Dair Murrān² and show them men on horseback. He won many adherents, the affair became known, and his followers became so numerous that the report reached al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymarah³. Hārith said to al-Qāsim: I am a prophet.⁴—Al-Qāsim said to him: You lie, enemy of God!—Abū Idrīs⁵ said to al-Qāsim: You have done wrong in not being gentle with him, so that we might have caught him; as it is, he will escape.—Abū Idrīs left his court and going to 'Abd al-Malik informed him of the affair. 'Abd al-Malik sent people to search for al-Hārith but was unable to arrest him. The Caliph then went on a journey and alighted at Subayrah⁶, where he suspected the whole of his army of following al-Hārith's doctrine. Al-Hārith himself went off to Jerusalem, where he hid; his followers went about looking for men to bring to him. A man from Baṣrah who had come to Jerusalem was brought to al-Hārith,⁷ who started the formula "Praise be to God", then told the man about himself and how he was a prophet and apostle. The Basran said to him: Your language is fine, but I should like to think about it.—Al-Hārith bade him do so. The Basran went away, but came again, when al-Hārith repeated his discourse; the Basran said: Your language is fine, it has impressed me, I believe in you, and this is the correct religion.—Al-Hārith now gave orders that the Basran should not be refused admittance whenever he wished to come, and the latter became a frequent caller and learned about his going out and his coming in, and whither he fled; so he got to know more about him than anyone else. Presently he asked for leave of absence; and being asked whither he meant to go replied: To Baṣrah, where I shall be your first missionary.—Leave was given him, and the Basran hurried off to 'Abd al-Malik who was at

1. This seems better than the readings of I. A. and Yāqūt, which indicate how easily the Arabic script can be misread.

2. A large monastery near Damascus.

3. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb* VIII, 337, where his death-date is given as 100 or 101

4. Instead of this, which the context seems to require, I. A. and Yāqūt make him offer al-Qasim the same conditions as the others.

5. 'Ā'idh Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khawlanī *qadī* of Damascus, died 80; notice of him in the *Tahdhīb* V, 85.

6. The texts differ as to the name; Yaqut's reading has been adopted.

7. I. A. observes that the people of Baṣrah are fond of *kālam* (metaphysical theology), and the man was attracted by being told that al-Hārith was a *mutakallim*.

Subayrah; when he approached the Caliph's pavilion he cried out: Advice, advice!—The people in the camp asked what advice.—Advice, he replied, for the Prince of Believers.—'Abd al-Malik gave orders that he be admitted to his presence, and the Basran coming before the Caliph, who had his courtiers with him, cried out: Advice!—Being asked by the Caliph what his advice was, he requested a private interview at which no-one else should be present. Those who were in the apartment being sent away, he asked the Caliph to bid him approach. The Caliph, who was on a throne, bade him do so, and asked him what he had to communicate. He said: Al-Ĥārith.—When the Basran mentioned al-Ĥārith's name, the Caliph leapt to the ground from his throne and asked where he was.—He is in Jerusalem, the man replied, and I know his incomings and outgoings;—he proceeded to tell the whole story and his dealings with the man. The Caliph said: You are the man's associate, and governor of Jerusalem, and governor of us here: so give me any commands you please.—The Basran asked the Caliph to send with him some people who did not understand the language. The Caliph ordered forty men from Farghānah to go with the Basran and obey any orders which he gave them. He further wrote a letter to the governor of Jerusalem to the effect that the person whom he named was to be governor over the head of the former until he left, and that the governor was to carry out any instructions which he gave.

When the Basran reached Jerusalem he gave the governor the letter, and the latter said: Give me any orders you please.—He said: Collect all the candles you can in Jerusalem, give each candle to a man and post them in the streets and corners of Jerusalem. When I say, Light up, let them all do so.—The governor accordingly posted the men with the candles in the streets and corners of Jerusalem, and went by himself at night to the house of al-Ĥārith, where he asked the doorkeeper to obtain admission for him to the Prophet of God. The doorkeeper said: At this hour admission to him cannot be obtained; nor till morning.—The Basran said: Tell him that I have only returned out of desire for him before reaching my destination.—The doorkeeper went in and reported the conversation to al-Ĥārith who bade him open the door. The Basran then cried out: Light the candles!—and this was done till they were like daylight. He then ordered his men to arrest anyone who passed by them, whoever he might be. He himself went to the place which he knew, and searched for al-Ĥārith, but failed to find him; al-Ĥārith's adherents said: It is no use your wanting to put God's prophet to death; he has ascended into heaven.—The Basran then sought al-Ĥārith in a cleft which he had prepared as an underground chamber, and inserting his hand into the cellar found al-Ĥārith's garment, and pulled it and with it al-Ĥārith out. He then ordered the men from Farghānah to bind him, which they did. While they were taking him along on a mount belonging to the post he said, [xl, 29]: *Will ye slay a man for saying my Lord is Allah?*—Then one of the foreigners from Farghānah said: This is our Coran, produce your own Coran.—They proceeded with him till they had brought him to 'Abd al-Malik, who when he heard of their arrival ordered a post to be erected to which he was

1. The text of Yāqūt has been adopted. The foreignness was observable in the mispronunciation of the first letter of Qur'ān. The reading of Ibn 'Asākir and of our text "our miracle" etc. seems pointless.

tied; he then ordered someone to thrust a spear into his body. The spear struck one of his ribs which forced it back; the people began to cry out: Weapons have no power over prophets!—One of the Muslims, seeing this, seized the spear, and approaching the man started probing till he had found a place between two ribs, where he pierced, causing the man's death.

Al-Walid¹ added: I was told that Khālid b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiyah went to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and said to him: Had I been present, I should not have told you to put him to death.—Why? asked 'Abd al-Malik.—He was possessed by Madhhib², was the reply;—had you starved him, that demon would have quitted him.

It was narrated by Abu'r-Rabi',³ a shaykh who had known men of early times, how when al-Hārith was mounted on a post-mule, with an iron collar to which his hands were fastened round his neck, coming in sight of one of the hills of Jerusalem, he recited the text [xxxiv, 49]: *Say: If I err, I only err to my own harm, whereas if I am guided aright it is through what my Lord reveals unto me.*—Thereupon the collar shook and presently detached itself from his hands and neck and fell on the ground. The guards who were with him hastily replaced the collar on him; they proceeded with him and when they came in sight of another hill he recited another text; again the collar detached itself from his hands and neck and fell on the ground; and again they replaced it. When they came before 'Abd al-Malik he imprisoned the man, and ordered some jurists and men of learning to admonish him, bid him beware of Allāh, and assure him that what had happened was from Satan. Declining to accept their views, he was tied to a post. A man came and thrust at him with a spear, but it swerved aside. The people said that such a man ought not to be put to death. Then a guard brought a thin poniard, thrust it between two of the man's ribs, shook it and caused it to penetrate. I heard someone say that when the spear swerved aside 'Abd al-Malik asked the man who had aimed it whether he had mentioned the name of God when doing so. The man said he had forgotten. 'Abd al-Malik bade him mention the name of God and then strike. He did so and transfixed the man.

Many people have been deceived by the semblance of miracles. We have been told with a chain of transmitters from Ḥasan from Abū 'Imrān that the latter said: Farqad⁴ said to me: I was in trouble this morning about my tax, which amounts to six *dirhams*; the new moon has appeared, and I had nothing. I prayed, and while walking on the bank of the Tigris came upon six *dirhams*. I took and weighed them, and they were exactly six.—I said: Give them away in alms, as they are not yours.

I would observe that the Abū 'Imrān of this story is Ibrāhim an-Nakha'i, the jurist of Kūfah⁵; now consider the language of jurists and how immune they are from deception: notice how Ibrāhim explained to Farqad that this was treasure-trove, without paying any attention to the semblance of a miracle. He did not advise

1. One of the transmitters of the anecdote.

2. A demon who interferes with ablution.

3. The text has been corrected from Ibn 'Asākir

4. Probably Farqad al-Sabakhi, died 131; notice of him in the *Tahdhīb* VIII, 262

5. Ibrāhim b. Yazid, 46–96.

Farqad to advertise the find, because, according to the jurists of Kûfah, advertisement is not required for a sum less than a *ḍinār*. He bade Farqad give the money away in alms, so that it might not be supposed that he had obtained them miraculously to spend.

According to a Tradition going back to Ibrāhīm al-Khurāsānī he said: One day when I was in want of water for ablution I found a jug of precious stone and a silver toothpick of which the point was softer than *khazz* [tissue of silk and wool]; I used the toothpick, washed with the water, left them and went away.

I would observe that among the transmitters of this anecdote there are untrustworthy names, but if it be true it indicates the man's ignorance. Had he known the law he would have been aware that the use of a silver toothpick is illegal; not knowing this, he used it. If he supposed this to be a miracle, we may be sure that God does not miraculously put into a man's hands an article whose use He has forbidden in His code, unless indeed He showed it to the man by way of testing him.

The historian Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Faḍl al-Ḥamdānī records how he was told by his father that the teacher of Qur'ān-reading, ash-Sharmaqānī¹, used to read with Ibn al-'Allāf², and used to retire to the mosque in Darb az-Za'farānī³. It so happened that one day he was seen by Ibn al-'Allāf going down to the Tigris when he was hungry, picking up lettuce-leaves which his fellow-students had thrown away and eating them. Ibn al-'Allāf, being grieved thereat, went to the Chief of Chiefs⁴ and told him of the man's condition. This official ordered a retainer who lived near the mosque to which ash-Sharmaqānī retired to provide the door of the mosque with a lock and key, without the latter knowing, which the retainer did; he was then ordered to take thither every day three *raṭls* of wheaten bread, a chicken and some sweetmeat: and this he continued to do. On the first day ash-Sharmaqānī, coming to the mosque and finding these viands set down in the niche and the door locked⁵, was amazed, and said to himself: This comes from Paradise, I must conceal it, tell no one about it, for a condition attaching to miracles done in honour of a saint is that they must be concealed.—He recited to me [said the narrator] a couplet:

Whoso a secret told him once betrays

Forfeits like confidence for all his days.

When he got to look well and plump, he was asked by Ibn al-'Allāf how this had come about, the latter knowing the facts and meaning to amuse himself at the other's expense. Ash-Sharmaqānī would only drop obscure hints, veiling his meaning; but Ibn al-'Allāf went on questioning him till at last the other informed him that what he found in the mosque was a miracle wrought in his honour, since no human being could produce it. Then Ibn al-'Allāf said to him: You ought to bless the son of the

1. His name was al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Faḍl or b. al-Faḍl, according to *Kitāb Baghdād* VII, 402, where his deathdate is given as 451.

2. His name was 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (*Ghāyat an-Nihāyah*, ed. Bergsträsser, No. 2341). Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād* XII, 95, where his deathdate is given as 396.

3. This street is not mentioned in Le Strange's list of the streets of Baghdād.

4. This title occurs at a later period, whence it is not clear who is meant.

5. Presumably after he had entered.

Muslim woman¹, since he is the person who has done this.—This information made ash-Sharmaḡāni miserable, and he showed the signs of depression.

The wise, knowing the intensity of the devil's delusion, are on their guard against things which have the appearance of being miraculous, fearing they may be delusions wrought by him. We have been told by a chain of transmitters going back to Abu't-Ṭayyib² a Tradition according to which he said: I heard Zahrūn³ say: A bird talked to me. Once I had lost my way in the desert, when I saw a white bird, which said to me: Zahrūn, you have lost your way.—I said: Demon, deceive some one other than me!—It said the same a second time, and I made the same reply. The third time it sprang upon my shoulder, and said: I am no demon, you have lost your way and I have been sent to you.—Then it departed.

There is a Tradition told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qurashī⁴ after Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abi Ḥāṭim after Muḥammad b. 'Amr, according to which the last said: Zulfah said to me: I said to Rabi'ah: Aunt dear, why do you not admit visitors?—She replied: For what can I hope from people who, when they come to me, report about me things which I have not done?—Al-Qurashī proceeded: Another transmitter (not Ibn Abi Ḥāṭim) added: She went on to say: I am told that they say I find *dirhams* under my prayer-mat, that my saucepan cooks for me without fire; had I seen such things, I should have been alarmed thereby.—I [said Zulfah] said to her: People do indeed talk much about you, saying that Rabi'ah finds food and drink in her dwelling. Do you find anything of the sort there?—Niece dear, she replied, if I were to find anything in my dwelling, I should not touch it, or set hand upon it.

Al-Qurashī proceeded: I was also told by Muḥammad b. Idris⁵ after Muḥammad b. 'Amr after Zulfah that Rabi'ah said: One cold morning I rose fasting, and felt an inclination for something hot on which to breakfast. I had some fat, and said: If I had onions or leeks I could dress them.—Suddenly a sparrow came and alighted on the path⁶ with an onion in its beak. When I saw it, I changed my mind, fearing it might be from Satan.

According to a Tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Yazid⁷ he said: People used to suppose that Wuhayb was one of those destined for Paradise; when he was

1. Probably he meant himself.

2. This would naturally mean Ṭāḥir b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭabari, 348—450, of whom there is a notice in *Kitāb Baghdad* IX, 358. But he cannot have heard Zahrūn.

3. Notice of him in *Nafāḥat al-Uns*, p. 113, where he is called al-Maghribi, and said to have been a native of Tripoli. He is there made a contemporary of Muḥammad al-Kirmānshāhi, whose deathdate seems to have been about 300.

4. The most distinguished person of this name was a grandson of the Caliph 'Uthmān, and on the mother's side of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī; according to the *Kitāb Baghdad* V, 387, he was put to death in 145; since Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abi Ḥāṭim died 252 (*Kitāb Baghdad* III, 415), this person cannot be meant here.

5. Probably Abu Ḥāṭim al-Ḥanzālī, who died 277; notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdad* II, 73—77.

6. Probably the word has here some different meaning from those given in the dictionaries or is corrupt.

7. Probably the grammarian al-Mubarrad is meant.

told of this he shed copious tears, saying: I fear this may be from Satan.¹

There is a Tradition going back to Abū 'Uthmān al-Nisābūrī² according to which he said:³ A party of us went out with our master Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nisābūrī⁴ outside Nisābūr, and sat down; the shaykh discoursed to us and delighted us; presently we saw a chamois come down and kneel before the shaykh. This caused him to shed copious tears. When he grew calmer we asked him the reason and I said: Master, you discoursed to us and delighted us, but when this wild creature came and knelt before you, it troubled you and made you sob.—Yes, he said, I saw you gather round me and how delighted you were, and the thought occurred to me: If only I could slaughter a sheep and invite you to banquet on it! The thought had not taken shape before this wild creature came and knelt in front of me, and I fancied that I was like Pharaoh, who asked his Lord to make the Nile flow for him, and his Lord caused it to flow⁵. So I said: What assurance have I but that God will give me my whole fortune in this world, and that I shall be left poor and destitute in the world to come? It is that which troubled me.

The devil has further deluded some of the later Ṣūfis into inventing stories of miracles wrought in honour of the saints, in order, as they suppose, to strengthen their case. The truth, however, requires no falsehood to strengthen it, and God has exposed them through those who are learned in transmission. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a Tradition going back to Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ādamī according to which the latter said: I was told by my father that Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh had said that 'Amr b. Wāṣil had said—that is the record, but the correct form is 'Amr b. Wāṣil said that Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh said: I accompanied a certain saint on the Meccan road for three days⁶, when, being destitute, he turned aside to a mosque at the foot of a mountain. There he found a well, with a wheel, a rope, a bucket, and a washing-basin; by the well there was a pomegranate-tree, with no fruit on it. He stayed in the mosque till the evening prayer, and when the time for that arrived, there appeared forty men, clad in sackcloth and shod with palm-leaf. Having entered the mosque they saluted, then one of them uttered the call to prayer, then the starting formula, and then came forward and led prayer. When he had finished, he approached the tree, on which there were now forty fresh and ripe pomegranates, of which each of the men took one, and then went away. The saint said: I passed the night in want, and when the time arrived in which they had taken the pomegranates, they all of them came forward. When they had prayed and taken their pomegranates, I said: Friends, I am your brother in Islam,

1. The Wuhayb of this anecdote is probably Wuhayb b. al-Ward, who died 153 (*Shajarat adh-Dhahab* I, 236.)

2. Probably Sa'īd b. Ismā'il is meant; though called al-Ḥīrī he lived most of his life in Nisābūr. Died 298 (*Kitāb Baghdād* IX, 102).

3. This story is told in the *Luma'*, p. 327, with slight differences.

4. His name appears in *Kitāb Baghdād* XII 220, as 'Amr b. Muslim, though the father's name was doubtful. Died 265 or 270

5. Probably a story told to illustrate *Sūrah* xliii. 50, where Pharaoh claims possession of "these rivers which flow beneath me".

6. The order of the words in the original has been altered.

and in terrible want; yet you have neither spoken to me nor comforted me — Their leader said We do not speak to a man who is screened by what he has with him. Go and cast away what you have got behind this mountain into the valley, and then come back to us, when you will obtain what we obtain — I ascended the mountain, but could not bring myself to throw away what I had got, so I buried it and came back — The man asked me whether I had thrown away what I had. Yes, I replied — Then, he asked, did you see anything? — No, I said — Then, said he, you have not thrown anything away, so go back and throw it into the valley — I went back and did so, and lo, the light of sainthood covered me like a cuirass, and when I got back, there was a pomegranate on the tree, I ate it, and was relieved from hunger and thirst. I proceeded without further delay to Meccan, where I found the forty men between Abraham's Station and Zamzam. They all came forward to me, greeting and asking me how I was. I said I can dispense with you and your conversation finally even as God caused you to dispense with mine initially. There is in me no room for any save God.

I would observe that 'Amr b Wâsil was discredited by Ibn Abi Hatim, and al-Âdamî and his father are unknown. That the story is a fabrication is shown by their telling him to cast away what he had with him, for saints do not violate the Code, and the Code forbids waste of property. The man's saying that he was covered with the light of sainthood is also a fabrication and meaningless talk. No-one who has smelt the odour of knowledge could be deceived by such a story, it can only deceive the ignorant and unintelligent.

We have been told by Muhammad b Nasir a Tradition going back to Muhammad b 'Ali the Preacher' according to which the latter said. Among the things told me by one of the Sûfis after al-Junayd was that the latter said that Abû Musa al-Daybulî said I called on Abû Yazîd, and in front of him there was some water standing shaking, he bade me enter and proceeded to say. A man was asking me about modesty so I talked to him a little on the science of the subject*, when he began to spin round till he melted and became as you see — Al-Junayd added that Ahmad b. Khidrawayhî stated that a little bit of the man remained, like a piece of a gem; I made of it (he said) a jewel, and each time I spoke in the language of the community or heard it spoken it melted, till at last nothing of it remained.

I would observe that this is an atrocious absurdity, invented by ignorant people, were it not that they record it with a chain of transmitters and suppose it to be a fact, it would have been better to take no notice of it.

We have been told by Abû Bakr b. Habib a Tradition going back to 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Baghdâdî according to which the latter said. Once when I had been studying the stories of the Sûfis, mounting the roof, I heard someone say vii, 195] *And He befriends the saints*. Turning, I saw no-one. I flung myself from the roof and stood in the air.

I would observe that this is an absurd falsehood, as no sensible person will doubt, but if we supposed it to be true, it would be a crime to fling himself from the roof and to suppose that God would look after one who perpetrated a forbidden

1 Ibn al-'Allâf died 442. Notice of him in *Kitâb Baghdâd* III 103.

2 Qushayrî has a chapter about it III 144 foll.

action; for God says [ii, 191]: *And fling not with your hands to destruction.* How then can the man be a saint when he violates his Lord's command? But even supposing he was one, who told him that he was one of them? We have already cited the words of Jesus who, when Satan told him to throw himself down, replied that God tries His servants, but it is not for one of them to try Him.

Certain persons have passed themselves off as Šūfis, imitating them, have revelled in miracles and their claim to them, and shown the populace tricks whereby they have won their hearts. We have been told how al-Hallāj used to bury somewhere in the desert bread, sweets, and roast meat, then say to his followers: Suppose we go wandering.—He would then start out accompanied by a number and when they got to the place an accomplice would say to him we should like certain things.—He would then quit the company, go to the place, make a prayer of two inclinations, and bring them the things wanted. He would also stretch out his hand into the air and by legerdemain fling gold into people's hands. One of those present on one of these occasions said to him: These dirhems are familiar, I will believe in you if you present me with a dirhem inscribed with your name and your father's.—He continued to practise legerdemain till he was executed.

We have been told by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz a Tradition recorded by Abū Bakr b. Thābit¹ and going back to Abū 'Umar b. Hayūyah, according to which the last said: When Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj was led out to execution I walked among the crowd whom I jostled till I came in sight of him. He said to his followers: Do not be alarmed by this, for I will return to you after thirty days.—Hallāj's doctrine was evil; in an earlier part of this work we have expounded some of his doctrine and confused utterances, and shown how he was executed in accordance with the opinion of contemporary jurists.

Among the later Šūfis were some who daubed themselves with ointment of mica², then sat in an oven and pretended that this was a miracle.

Ibn 'Uqayl says: Ibn Shabbās³ and his father before him had carrier-pigeons of special velocity and friends in every place. When visitors came, he would immediately despatch a bird to their village, telling his partisan there of their arrival, and asking for information about them. The partisan would write a reply, and then Ibn Shabbās would meet the visitors and tell them those news, talking to them of their affairs in the style of one who had associated with them in their own country, and then recounting to them what had happened since their departure from home and even on that very day. "Just now" he would say "such and such things have happened". They would be amazed, and returning to their district would find the facts to be as he had stated.⁴ This would be performed repeatedly, and came to be regarded as

1. *Kutub Baghdād* VIII, 131.

2. This supposed property, rendering the body immune from fire, seems to be attributed to mica by one of Ibn Bayṭār's authorities; according to *Tāj al-'Arūs* the mineral had not this property but a plant, whose juice possessed it, in the opinion of some.

3. According to Yāqūt, *Geogr. Dictionary* III, 442, a man who came to Saymarah about the year 450 where he claimed divinity, and received worship owing to the deception which he practised. See below.

4. The mediums of our time have been supposed to obtain their information by similar methods.

irrefragable evidence that the man possessed mysterious knowledge.

He proceeds: And among the things which he did was to take a sparrow and attach a string¹ to its leg, putting a minute bit of paper on the string; he would also attach a string to the leg of a pigeon but tie to the end of the string a larger paper than the other, only containing the same as the smaller one. He would then take a slave upon the roof,² set him in front of himself, and place the sparrow in one of his hands and the pigeon in the other. He would then let the sparrow loose, and the people would see the paper flying in the air, while the pigeon would go to that village³ where it would be taken by his friend there, who would proceed to inform him of the affairs of the village and its inhabitants. When his meeting-room was full, he would point and call out Barish (as though addressing a demon of that name), take this letter to the village of So-and-So, for a dispute has arisen among them, and endeavour to reconcile them.—He would say this in a loud voice, and then the slave who was on the watch would release the sparrow in his hand, and the letter would rise skyward in the presence of the assembly, who would see it plainly without seeing the string. When it had risen high the slave to whom the sparrow was attached would pull it, breaking the string so that it could not be seen, and sending the sparrow off to reconcile the disputants. He would do the same with the pigeon, and then tell his slave to bring the letter. The slave on the roof to whom information had come about the affairs of the village to which the visitors belonged would throw him the letter; he would then write one to the chief of the village, attach it to a string and tie the letter to the leg of a sparrow in the manner which we have described, let the sparrow fly up to the roof of the place where the letter would be taken by the slave, who would attach it to the leg of a pigeon, which would bring the letter to the village and reconcile the people of whose dispute information had reached him. The people who belonged to the village when they came out would find that the shaykh's letter had arrived, that the village chiefs had assembled and reconciled the disputants, and here has he [Ibn Shabbās] been coming and telling them! They would not doubt that he possessed mysterious information, and the populace would feel certain of it.⁴ Ibn 'Uqayl proceeds: I have only produced such stories to make it known that these people go so far as to make a mockery of religion, and indeed how can the Code maintain itself under such conditions?

Now this Ibn Shabbās had the *kunya* Abu'l-Ḥasan, his name being 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, and he died in Baṣrah in the year 444. He, his father, and his father's brother were all resident in Baṣrah. Their doctrines were concealed from people, the prevailing view being that they followed the Imāmiyyah system of the Shi'ah, the fanatical Bāṭiniyyah. In my History I have recorded how one of Ibn Shabbās's followers got to understand his treachery and fabrications,

1. The word in the text, which is variously written, seems unknown to dictionaries, and of no obvious etymology. It has been translated conjecturally.

2. The text here is seriously confused, and the sentences have to be rearranged conjecturally.

3. He must mean the village to which his visitors belonged.

4. It is evident that the account of the trick is confused, and Ibn 'Uqayl's book whence it is quoted is not accessible.

which had been kept secret till a member of the Imâmiyyah-Bâṭiniyyah sect revealed them. When this man made his revelations one of the things he stated about Ibn Shabbâs was the following: One day, he said, when we were with him, he produced a roast kid, which he told us to eat, bidding us break the bone, but not break it up small. When we had finished, he told us to put it back into the oven, which he left covered; after a time he removed the cover, and we found a live kid, eating grass, neither could we see any trace of fire or ashes, nor any remains of the bone. So (said the reporter) I exercised my ingenuity till I discovered the explanation, which was that the oven opened into a cellar, separated from it by a copper plate with a screw. When he wanted to remove the fire from the oven he would give a turn to the screw, when the plate would come down and block up the oven, whereas the cellar would be opened; when he wished to exhibit the fire, he would replace the plate at the orifice of the cellar, so that the fire would be seen.

I would observe that in our own time we have seen a man point to the angels, saying: These are honoured guests, leading one to suppose that the angels had presented themselves, and that he was bidding them approach him. One of our contemporaries, finding a new jug, kept honey in it till the flavour of the honey had sunk into the earthenware. He would then take the jug with him on his travels, and when he dipped it into a river, and gave the water to his companions to drink, they found it had the flavour of honey.

Among all these people there is not one who knows God or fears censure where He is concerned.¹

ON THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE VULGAR

WE HAVE SHOWN how the devil's power of deluding is in proportion to the power exercised by ignorance; his methods of seducing the unlearned are very various, so that no exhaustive account can be given of his seductions and delusions; they are too many for that. We will only mention with God's help such of the chief categories as will indicate his general procedure.

One such is his approaching the unlearned man and inducing him to think about the nature and attributes of the Deity, so that the man begins to doubt. And indeed, according to a Tradition of Abû Hurayrah, the Prophet foretold this. The Prophet (he related) said: You will ask questions, even saying, This Allâh created us, but who created Allâh?—Abû Hurayrah said: I swear that one day when I was seated a man from 'Irâq said to me: This Allâh created us, but who created Allâh?—I put my fingers in my ears, then cried out: The Prophet of Allâh spoke truly: Allâh the One, the Only, the Eternal, neither begetting nor begotten, neither hath He any compeer.

There is a Tradition going back to 'Â'ishah according to which she said: The Prophet said: Verily, Satan cometh to one of you and saith: Who created thee?—

1. This phrase usually means to do right whatever people might say. Here the sense seems to be quite different.

The man will reply: Allāh.—Then he will say: Who created the heavens and the earth?—The man will reply: Allāh.—Then he will say: Who created Allāh?—When any one of you has this experience, let him say: I believe in Allāh and His Messenger.

I would observe that this trial only comes about through the predominance of sense-perception. I mean, because the man has never seen anything which had not been made. So this unlearned man should be asked: Do you not know that time was created when no time was and space where no space was? If then this earth and its contents are not in space neither is there anything below them, yet your sense rejects this because it is familiar with nothing that is not in space, then He who is not known by sense should not be sought by sense. So consult your intellect, a sound counsellor.

At times the devil deludes the unlearned when they hear the attributes of God, which they interpret in terms of sense, and so are led to anthropomorphism.

At times he deludes them by way of fanaticism. Thus you will find the unlearned man anathematize and take up arms for a cause with whose truth he is not acquainted. The fanaticism of one may have Abū Bakr for its subject, of another 'Alī; many a war has been waged on this subject; it would take long to enumerate the cases of slaughter and incendiarism which have taken place during a long series of years between the residents in Karkh and those of the Baṣrah Gate on this question.¹ You will find many of these champions wearing silk, drinking wine, and committing murders—acts for which Abū Bakr and 'Alī are not responsible.

At times the unlearned man senses in himself a sort of intelligence, and the devil suggests to him to dispute with his Lord, one asking his Lord why, having foreordained, He punishes, another why He straitens the means of the pious and lavishes on the impious; while some, though grateful for blessings, when trial comes repine and become ungrateful. Some too ask where is the wisdom in demolishing these frames, punishing them with annihilation after their construction?—Some regard the resurrection as improbable. Among these are some who when their schemes fail or they are tried with misfortune become infidel, saying: I do not want to pray! It may happen that an evildoer gets the better of a believer and kills or strikes him, and the unlearned say: The Cross is triumphing, why then should we say prayers, if matters are thus?—The devil makes use of all such disasters to get these people into his power, all through their remoteness from knowledge and the learned; were they to interrogate the learned, the latter would tell them that God is wise and in control, and therewith all objection would cease.

Among the unlearned there are those who are satisfied with their own intelligence and do not mind contradicting the learned. When an opinion of the latter does not suit such a man's purpose he argues against them and insults them. Ibn 'Uqayl used to say: I have lived all these years, and if I were to meddle with the work of an artisan, he would say: You are spoiling my work. Were I to reply that I am a man of learning, he would rejoin: A blessing on your learning, only this is not your business.—Yet his business is a matter for the senses which I could un-

1. Karkh was the Shi'ah quarter of Baghdād. Both these quarters are described at length in Le Strange's *Baghdād*.

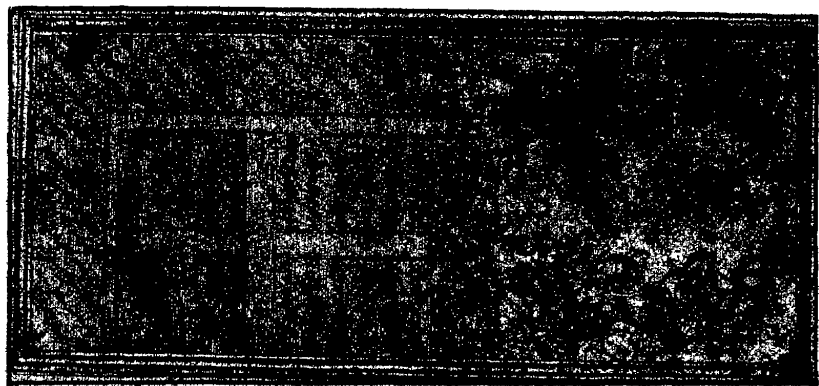
derstand were I to handle it, whereas my business is a matter for the intellect, yet when I give him an opinion he will not accept it

One of the delusions which he practises upon them is their preferring those who make show of asceticism to the learned. Were they to see a woollen garment on a perfect ignoramus, they would respect him, especially if he hung down his head, and abased himself before them. Compare this man, they would say, with that other, the man of learning, who is out for worldly gain, whereas this is an ascetic, who eats neither grapes nor dates, and has never married—This is due to ignorance on their part of the superiority of learning to asceticism, and to their setting those who make show of asceticism above the Code of Muhammad son of 'Abd Allāh. God was merciful to them in not making them live in the Prophet's time, had they seen him marrying repeatedly, eating chicken, and partial to sweets and honey, he would have won no respect in their breasts.

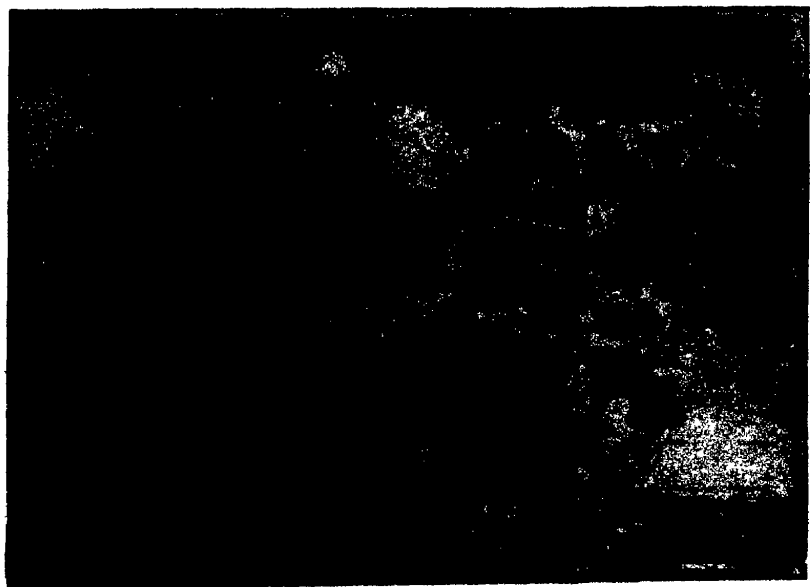
A further delusion which he practises on them is their finding fault with the learned for doing things which the Code sanctions a gross form of ignorance. Further they have a partiality for aliens, preferring the stranger to the fellow-countryman of whose ways they have had experience and of whose orthodoxy they are assured they like the stranger better, though he may be a Batini. But one's confidence should be given only to one who is known by experience. God says [iv, 5] *And if ye are familiar with discretion on their part, then hand unto them their goods*, and God to Whom be praise was gracious in sending Muhammad to mankind, in that they were acquainted with his character. He says [iii, 158] *Verily God hath been gracious unto the Believers in that he raised up among them a Messenger from among themselves* and [ii, 141] *They know him as they know their own sons*.

Respect for the professors of asceticism is carried to such a length by the unlearned that they accept the claims of the former even when they tear the Code to pieces and transgress its ordinances. You will find the hypocrite saying to the unlearned man "Yesterday you did such and such a thing and such and such a thing will befall you" and the man will believe him, he will say, "This man can tell one's thoughts", not knowing that the claim to mysterious knowledge is infidelity. Then they see these hypocrites doing unlawful things, such as fraternizing with women and meeting them in private, but make no objection, permitting them to do as they like.

One of the delusions which he practises on the unlearned is their abandoning themselves to transgression, and when they are reprov'd talking the language of atheists. Some of them say, "I am not going to sacrifice cash for credit"—if they only knew it, it is not "cash", because it is forbidden, and there is only choice between cash and credit when both are lawful. Their case is similar to that of an ignorant man suffering from fever, who eats honey, and when remonstrated with says "Appetite is cash and health credit"—Further, if they knew the truth of faith, they would be aware that the 'credit' is a faithful inviolable promise. And were they to act like traders who risk much money for a small profit which they hope to realize, they would know that what they sacrifice is small, and that for which they hope large. And if they could distinguish between what they have chosen and what they have forfeited they would perceive that their seizure of something immediate, involving as it does the forfeiture of permanent profit and hurling them into torment, is sheer irreparable loss.



THE ORIGIN OF POLO



ALEXANDER ON THE BANKS OF THE INDUS

ON THE MARGIN

MUGHAL PICTURES IN LONDON

MR. Y. DAWUD'S COLLECTION

PRECISELY how far our environment can govern our predilections in art is a moot point: but that we are all bound more or less to our surroundings, animate and inanimate, for the shaping of our views is a proposition which will hardly admit of dispute.

I have known those who were never suspected of harbouring any interest in Indian art in India, enrolled in the meagre list of enthusiasts if not experts on the subject in London—pillars of the hall-marked coteries which are allowed to handle this special subject in England.

I have met some, on the other hand, who as I remembered them in India were loud in their pro-Indian enthusiasm, who certainly seemed to have left the old allegiance behind them with their removal to the colder hemisphere. And yet these chameleon-like changes are perhaps more superficial than is apparent. For the hue of some great and special experience may enter so deeply into the texture of our thoughts and feelings, as to tinge and permeate with its subtle harmonies all the subsequent readjustments of life due even to transitions as great as that from Asia to Europe. Here, in the midst of the austere reticence of neutral-tinted London, it is easy to be reminded by any trifle, at every turn of the corner, of the great sun-flecked jewel-tinted land beyond the Indian ocean. A wafted perfume, a shaft of sunlight, a bit of drapery, a picture, a jewel, can set free on a sudden in my own mind certain perennialsprings of memory which are vigorous as ever, and can spread, and overflow the greyer Northern prospect; until I seem to see

white domes and minarets rising above the black forest of factory chimneys; a vision of the jostling multi-coloured humanity of the Bazaar surges past the drab Sunday crowds in Trafalgar Square; and even the tutelary deity of the Thames seems to do homage to the brilliant, broad-fronted goddess of the Ganges.

Among the most interesting of these nostalgic hauntings which have come my way since I left India last year, I can reckon certain pictures of India which I met with in Paris; and certain Indian collections in London, which are only among the lesser known exhibits of Oriental art because they are not to be seen in the public Museums.

One such group of Indian paintings in London in the possession of a private collector, which is of special significance and artistic value, forms the subject of the present article. The owner of these pictures, Mr. Y. Dawud, Professor of Oriental languages and art, has often hospitably displayed them to connoisseurs and friends; and when I availed myself of this privilege, roving at leisure, almost at random, through some of his valuable Indian and Persian albums in his London home, I soon found these as alluring as the Magician's book, and as potent to "call spirits from the vasty deep".

Some of these beautiful things lie on my table as I write. Outside the day is grey and louring. There is a rawness in the air, a keenness in the wind which belie the English poets' rhapsodies on that sad misnomer "the merry month of May"—and "feelingly remind me" that I am *not* in India. But in the cheerful glow of the fire these Indian pictures tell another story; their message, understandable by all, is perhaps more audible to one who has spent twenty years in

India. This Prince, for instance, taking a cheerful almost smiling farewell of the bevy of beauties on the threshold of a brilliant palace is a familiar figure. The subject does not belong to the long list of devastating adieux described by poets and artists of East and West—to the cycle of Leilas and Majnuns, of Romeos and Juliets.

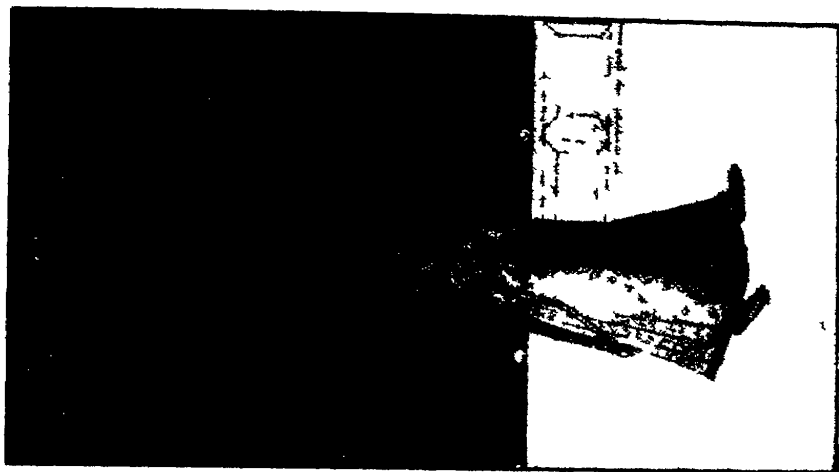
The principal maiden in the picture (a Princess, of course—who doubts it?) is presenting her Prince with a garland on the palace steps, not so much as a valedictory token but as a symbol of the lover's speedy return. And in this other picture the Princess (for it is always the same Princess in Mughal Art, even though she be multiplied ten thousand times, like the eidolons of Krishna's sweetheart Radha) is seated on her gadi on the terrace of the Palace (the same Palace though its exterior appears to have been transformed) in the act of accepting a crimson lotus at the hands of one of her ladies-in-waiting. And if all this were not enough to inform us where exactly we are, here is the unquestionable garden with its tanks on which the white swans are swimming, its causeways, stiff flower beds, prim pavilions, scarlet canopies, and jutting terraces, which things serve to confute the threat of the biting English weather beyond my door, unanimously proclaiming that here at least is India!

Mr. Dawud's Mughal and Persian pictures are very varied, and range from royal portraits, to *genre* paintings and "puzzle" pictures. One of these is a drawing illustrating what is believed to have been the origin of the game of Polo. It shows the Persian knights ranged on two sides, and fighting for a coat-of-mail (*Zirah Bazi*) which it is each man's object to transfix with his lance. This curious work is a vignette, drawn on a pale buff paper made from rags of silk; the original border having been destroyed, it is mounted upon thin paper. The upper part of the page has been finely engrossed in the Nastaliq hand by the Persian scribe; a triangle in the left-hand top corner encloses the lively outline of a bird, delicate in design, and resembling a green plover.

Its exceedingly fine line may well have been drawn with a brush of a single squirrel's hair, and is similar to the exquisite treatment of the manes of the horses in the picture below, the trappings of these steeds, the swords, daggers and turbans of the spectators, and the foliage of the bushes, all of which would not have discredited the Persian Master, Bihzad; though this picture is Indian, probably of Jehangir's period.

Another curious work is a beautiful drawing of the Rajput School in which Krishna rides on an elephant intricately composed of female forms, doubtless representing the Gopis, who so frequently accompany the god in the pictures of this School. The figures are draped in veils, *cholis*, skirts, or trousers. The elephant's tail is formed by the "pigtail" of one maiden; his trunk is even more ingeniously represented by the leg of another of these contortionists. This skilful puzzle, is a clever example of draughtsmanship and superior to similar works which I have seen in the Museums. It is drawn on a thin parchment, and touched slightly with yellow and gilt.

A third of these curious works is more unusual. This picture portrays Alexander the Great astride his charger on the banks of a river—presumably the Indus—and gazing longingly across the turbulent barrier at the country he had hoped to conquer. The face of the Macedonian hero is in profile, and has the look of having been taken from a Greek coin. The headpiece is a tolerably recognisable Greek helmet with a scarlet plume, while the caps of the soldiers resemble the plumes of the American Indians rather than the helmets of the Macedonian Phalanx! A member of the King's suite who stands in front of the horse is respectfully remonstrating with the impatient rider; his attitude suggests as a title for the subject:—"Thus far and no farther". A Greek galley of sorts, with a steersman, rides on the stream behind him; and the people of the country, in priestly garb, are offering the conquerors gifts of fish and coconuts. The horse and figures are in the style of Akbar's period of painting.



A MAIDEN ON A TERRACE



Among single-figure compositions there is one of a Rajput girl veiled in dark green, and wearing a purple vest and pale green skirt, promenading a terrace. In her right hand she holds a lamp, while with the other she guards the flame by drawing her veil to protect it from the night breezes. The flesh tones are of a soft nut-brown tint, applied to the paper with beautiful finish. The night sky is not the deep indigo so often seen in these Indian pictures, but a transparent grey, not unlike some of Whistler's nocturnes, forming a clever contrast to the rest of this subject; the opaque and solid painting of the figure and draperies suggest an oil rather than a tempera technique, and the sky has the luminous freshness of pure water-colour.

A more elaborate composition is a fine subject-picture which depicts a Prince (his sash indicates his high rank) in the act of handing a cup of sherbet to a very melancholy lady. She is attired in Mughal style, with striped trousers in red and gold, and the delicate overskirt of Dacca muslin, which is said to have been invisible in water. The Prince's head is obviously a portrait, and a fine one, with an ear drawn with Holbein-like minuteness. Green is the predominant tint in the colour scheme of this interesting picture, and this hue is shown in a rare variety of shades, from the jade of the Prince's tunic, to the deep tones of the tree, and the varied shades in the background. The reds are equally subtle, and the picture is a good example of Mughal painting under that enthusiastic patron, Jehangir.

There are several other pictures of the best period of Indian painting in Mughal times—notably one of a very Western-looking Princess whose fair curls rippling to the waist, are only rivalled by the brighter halo surrounding them. There are some very different illustrations to the *Masnavi* of the Per-

sian poet Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, one of which is a particularly fine decorative embellishment to the poem. This painting at the top of the calligraphic column, painted in a bold, fine style, and reminiscent of Chinese influence, shows a beautiful young woman in a purple tunic, seated, with an older woman on one side, who is apparently admonishing, with uplifted arm, the man on the other side. Shrouded in a white veil this person kneels on one knee, with "a countenance more in sorrow than in anger", while the girl, perhaps her daughter, gazes anxiously upon her lover who, with his golden turban and golden-hafted dagger cannot be less than a Prince.

The last of Mr. Dawud's Indian pictures which I shall here distinguish from the rest of this collection of beautiful paintings, represents a Princess at her devotions on the banks of a river. The background is a sombre vista of fields, and distant hermitages. It is night, and the brightest notes of colour which the Mughal artist allowed himself are in the gay skirts of the two ladies-in-waiting. The Princess, who lies prone before the sacred fire, is richly dressed in a skirt of gold with red horizontal bands, and a green hem, and is covered by a delicate veil beneath which the strands of her black hair are faintly seen. Her profile wears an expression of rapt devotion.

Of course in Indian and Persian painting, they are all Princes and Princesses! Those who accuse Shakespeare of snobbery for a similar liking for rank in his heroes and heroines, must fall foul of the poets, minstrels, and story tellers of Europe and Asia; and I for one cherish a respectful admiration for the Princes and Princesses who pass before us in the pages of the perfumed Mughal albums, and confess a sense of satisfaction that they will ever remain aloof and untouched by this democratic era of ours!

—W. E. Gladstone Solomon

Note:—Professor Y. Dawud who is known through his publications on various subjects and in several languages, to most of the Professors and the learned Institutions in England, France, Switzerland, America and elsewhere, has exhibited some of his valuable collection at the International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy, London, in 1931, and the City of Manchester Art Gallery in the same year.

PERSONALIA

GEORG JACOB
(1862—1937)

BY the death of Emeritus Professor Georg Jacob, who passed away on July 4, 1937, at the age of seventy-five, Germany has lost one of the most original, active and versatile personalities among its Orientalists. He did the pioneer's work in the most diversified fields of research; and collected a vast amount of fresh material, which he sifted and sought to build up into systematic works. These he was continually revising and improving, so that they are to-day considered the most authoritative on the subjects with which they deal.

He was born in Königsberg on May 26, 1862. Although he began with theology, he soon devoted himself entirely to Oriental, Germanic and ethnological studies. He studied at Leipzig, Strassburg, Breslau and Berlin; and from among his teachers, Reuss and Noeldeke influenced him most. He also studied with Fleischer, whose example induced him to combine the knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the three principal languages of Islam. In 1887, he was awarded a doctor's degree by the University of Leipzig for his dissertation entitled *Der nordisch-baltische Handel der Araber im Mittelalter*. He had already published in the previous year a preliminary study, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber des Mittelalters aus den nordisch-baltischen Ländern?*—which appeared later in a second revised edition in 1891. After serving as a lecturer in the Universities of Greifswald and Halle, he was appointed professor in 1901 at Erlangen, where he was able to display his extra-ordinary gifts as a teacher and writer, and where he soon gathered a circle of enthusiastic scholars and eager pupils around him. In 1911, he was invited to be a professor in

the University of Kiel, where he remained till his retirement.

His literary activity began with Arabic studies. His dissertations on the trade of the Arabs have been mentioned above. These were followed by his *Studien in arabischen Geographien*, Hefte I—IV, Berlin, 1891-92; and his *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, (4 Hefte). Probably, the most generally useful part of the latter series is *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen nach den Quellen geschildert*, (1st ed. 1895; 2nd ed. 1897), which besides being a marvel of elaborate and painstaking documentation, is an indispensable helpbook for all students, who would understand the whole moral and material background of ancient Arabian poetry in its main aspects. It bears favourable comparison with an earlier work of a similar character, also by a master of his subject, viz., Freytag's *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*. These two works, taken together, stand in a class by themselves, to which, so far as I know, there is nothing *simile aut secundum* in any other language.

Since 1896, Jacob had devoted himself more and more to Turkish studies; and it is, perhaps, in the field of Turcology that his chief service to science lies. In fact, he was the real founder of Turcology in Germany. In 1904, he founded the *Türkische Bibliothek*, of which 26 volumes have so far appeared. Besides this, he published a large number of longer and shorter essays, papers and communications on Turkish language and literature, religion and folk-life. He also brought out critical editions and translations of several Turkish texts, and studies of literary, cultural and religious questions. His editions of Turkish texts include the *Diwāns* of two Ottoman sultans—Sulaymān the Great and Muhammad II—with introductions, notes and glos-

saries. His publication of these royal Diwans gave him the opportunity to bring out in a masterly fashion the relation of Turkish lyrical poetry to its Persian models. The important position of Persian in Islamic culture had been often recognized; but it was Jacob who clearly perceived and emphasized the homogeneous character of, and the intimate relations between the Arabic, Persian and Turkish literatures, despite the different linguistic affinities of the languages, in which these literatures are enshrined; and he laid stress on this important fact at a time when Semitic philology prevailed almost exclusively in the domain of Islamic studies. In Persian literature, he was particularly attracted by poetry, and published metrical translations of poems selected from the *Dihān* of Hāfiz and the *Iskandar Nāmāh* of Nizāmi.

The problem of the influence of the East on the West occupied him throughout his life. In his earlier writings, he had dealt with the commercial relations of the Arabic world with northern Europe; but gradually he widened his canvas, till his researches into cultural influences and inter-relations extended to China on the one hand and Iceland on the other. The aims and ideas, with which he carried out his researches in this field, are clearly reflected in the following utterance of August Müller, which he had placed at the beginning of his doctoral dissertation (1887): "Wir sind heutzutage im Vollbewusstsein unserer modernen zivilisatorischen Überlegenheit über den im Verfall begriffenen Orient wenig geneigt, uns davon eine richtige Vorstellung zu machen, das in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters das Verhältnis zwischen Ost und West ungefähr das Umgekehrte war." In 1902, Jacob gave a lecture on "Oestliche Kulturelemente im Abendland", of which there is an English translation in Smithsonian Report, Washington, 1903. This subject was, however, treated by him at greater length in *Der Einfluss des Morgenlandes auf das Abendland vornehmlich während des Mittelalters* (Hannover, 1924), which work deserves to be better known. The vast amount of information, which the author

has managed to condense within ninety-eight pages of this booklet is simply amazing. I may be permitted to mention here that I translated several pages of it into Urdu, and they were published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, November 1926.

From among the cultural elements of oriental provenance, Jacob made a special study of the history of the shadowgraph play (*Khavāl-i-Zill* or *Zill-i-Khayāl*; Turk. *Karagöz*; Ger. *Schattentheater* or *Schattenspiel*; Fr. *Theatre d'ombres* or *Ombres chinoises*) which had its origin in China. In his younger days, Jacob had seen these plays during a trip to Constantinople, and he was so much struck by their novelty that he came to have an abiding interest in everything that pertains to this form of amusement, and reverted to this subject again and again throughout his life. His researches in this field include the publication of certain extracts from the dramatic plays of the Egyptian physician, Muhammad ibn Daniyāl (d. 1311 A. C.); while his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland* (2nd ed. 1925) gives a comprehensive survey of the whole subject.

A bibliography of the writings of Jacob till the year 1932 will be found in the Memorial Volume, which his friends and pupils presented to him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (*Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag 26. Mai 1932 geerdmet von Freunden und Schülern*, Leipzig, 1932). The first contribution to this volume is from the pen of C. H. Becker, under the caption "Georg Jacob als Orientalist", where he has depicted the literary personality of Jacob with his customary masterly touch and has given a fine characterisation of his principal works.

It was characteristic of the restless activity and indefatigable nature of Jacob that he continued his studies with unabated vigour even after his retirement. During this last phase of his fruitful life, it was his habit to make a few typewritten copies of his writings and send them to a limited number of his special friends. Let us hope that his literary executor, Professor Paul Kahle, will find it

possible to make them available to a wider circle of interested readers, by making suitable arrangements for their early publication.

—*Sh. Inayatullah*

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Unveiling of Arabia. The Story of Arabian Travel and Discovery. By R. H. Kiernan. London. George Harrap. 1938.

THERE are few countries of the world that wear such a forbidding aspect as Arabia. Its scorching sun, its rainless skies, its burning sands, its bleak mountains, its monotonous environment and its holes of brackish water that are few and far between—all these features combine to make the land unattractive to the outside world. And yet the roll of explorers and travellers, who have hazarded themselves in this uninviting land, is a long one and consists of men who were of too serious a turn of mind to have been tempted by mere love of adventure or the forbidden thing. What is, then, the secret of the spell that this land has been able to cast over men of varied and great gifts—men like Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Seetzen, Doughty, Musil, Thomas, and others.

The geographical conditions of Arabia, however, give us no hint of the extraordinary influence that this land has exercised on the spiritual life of mankind, for the tremendous social force of Arabia and the richness of its spiritual heritage are out of all relation to the poverty of its physical nature. The interest and importance that this country has for us is two-fold. Firstly, the Arabian Peninsula is the probable cradle of the Semitic race and has nursed those peoples, who migrated beyond its frontiers and subsequently became the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians and the Hebrews of history. After these peoples had played their part in the drama of human progress, they passed away in course of time; but the Arabs still live much the same as they have lived for countless centuries: they have persisted like the eternal sands of their desert and

stand firm like the picturesque and upright palm of their oases, perfectly adapted to their habitat. If we are, therefore, in search of the comparatively pure fount of Semiticism, we shall have to go to the sandy soil of Arabia, not only for the origin of those traits, which later developed into the well-delineated Semitic character and which are more or less common to all the Semitic peoples, but also for a better understanding of the life and institutions of these peoples, for the most part defunct, which can now be studied mainly in silent records. The study of the present-day Arabs, for instance, throws valuable light on the religious and social institutions of their cousins, the Hebrews; for the modern Arabians still retain to this day, in their conservative desert life, the mode of life and thought and many of the usages, which were once common to the peoples of the Semitic stock. Similarly, words and idioms whose precise sense has been lost in the Jewish tradition can often be explained by reference to the Arabic language. The first European scientific mission to Arabia of modern times, of which Carsten Niebuhr, the sole surviving member of the party, has left us a valuable record, was sent by the King of Denmark in 1761 at the suggestion of the learned Hebraist, Michaelmas of Göttingen, who had expressed an earnest wish that steps might be taken to resolve problems relating *inter alia* to Hebrew philology and the Bible; and the members of the mission were, accordingly, provided with lists of questions, of which they were expected to seek satisfactory answers. (For the questions raised, see Niebuhr's preface to his *Description de l'Arabie*, Copenhagen, 1773. On the whole question, see also Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1934).

Secondly, in the seventh century of the Christian Era, Arabia gave birth to the religion of Islam, under the ægis of which the Arabs, outstepping the frontiers of their homeland, extended their dominion to the utmost limits of the then civilized world, and in the course of their unprecedented expansion assimilated to their creed, speech and even physical type more aliens than any other racial stock before or since their time. Islam has, thus, played a rôle of first-rate importance in the religious and cultural history of mankind. It is still a living moral and political force in the world of to-day; and thanks to the strategic importance of their geographical position, the adherents of Islam, who constitute about one-fifth of the human race, carry much more weight in world affairs than their mere numbers would indicate. Islam had its origin in Arabia; and the Muslims all over the world are, naturally, bound to the land of its birth by ties of sentiment and of religious ceremonial. The first architectural requisite of every Muslim house of prayer is the niche or arch, which points with mathematical precision to the Ka'ba in Mecca; and guided by this, the faithful turn five times a day towards that central sanctuary of their faith, in earnest prayer to God. Moreover, the pilgrimage to Mecca still draws, year after year, Muslims by thousands from the burning sands of Africa, from the snows of Siberia, the rugged mountains of Afghanistan and the coral reefs of Malaya, towards a barren valley in Arabia, to raise their mind from the sordid life of the present to the memories of the distant past and the hopes of the far future. For thirteen centuries, Muslim pilgrims have been seen to leave their homes and kindred, facing unknown dangers and privations, that they might enjoy the sacred luxury, the ineffable religious rapture, of beholding the city hallowed by the early life-history of the Prophet, of praying within the sacred precincts of the Ka'ba, which he restored and dedicated once more to the worship of the One True God, and of standing in the plain of 'Arafât, where he delivered his last sermon and called upon his followers to

witness the faithful accomplishment of his mission.

It is, therefore, no wonder that Arabia and the Arabs make a strong claim on our attention and that men of serious and inquiring mind have devoted themselves to the first-hand study of the land and its people.

European knowledge of Arabia did not grow by a systematic process of discovery. It was a haphazard process, effected under conditions of opposition from nature and man, by a long series of persons of varied endowments, who seem to have had but two qualities in common—curiosity and courage. More than thirty years ago, the late Dr. D. G. Hogarth summarized their work in his *Penetration of Arabia* (London, 1904), wherein he told the story of Arabian travel and exploration from ancient times to the end of the 19th century, using Greek, Roman and Arabic writings and the later works of British and Continental explorers. While describing their explorations, he also attempted to solve the geographical problems in the light of their discoveries.

Mr. Kiernan's book is, however, not solely of geographical interest, but has been written primarily for the general reader. We read of the ill-fated Roman legions, under Aelius Gallus, pushing southward over desert and mountain, lured on by the fabulous wealth of the land of Sabâ'. We accompany Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian of Bologna, the first known European visitor to the Sanctuaries of Islam, on his Meccan pilgrimage and his subsequent adventures in the Yaman, of which he has left us an interesting account in his travel-book, originally published in Italian at Rome in 1510, and later translated into several other European languages. We next read of the Danish expedition, sent by Frederick V of Denmark, and of their explorations and researches in south-west Arabia, which revealed for the first time much of scientific and general interest in the fauna and flora of the country and its political and social conditions. We find the scholarly Seetzen under suspicion at Mecca and then mysteriously murdered in the highlands

of Yaman. We next meet Burckhardt, the discoverer of the ancient site of Petra, visiting the holy towns of the Hijāz, of which he gave us an exhaustive and accurate description; and the zestful Burton, adventuring to Medina and Mecca in the guise of a dervish, and later gold-hunting in the land of Midian. A European, who wished to accompany in disguise the Muslim pilgrims in order to visit the Holy Cities and see the life there for himself, needed not only a full knowledge of Islamic ritual, Oriental etiquette and the Arabic language, but also great coolness and resourcefulness. Mr. Kiernan tells of several persons, who attempted the feat, and of their unusual experiences during their sojourn in Arabia. The book is, however, not confined to their sensational and spectacular achievements alone; but passes in review all the famous travellers—Niebuhr, Wellstead, Palgrave, Doughty and others—who have attempted, often at great personal risk, to study the Arabs in their home-land. By giving copious extracts from their works, the author has succeeded in his purpose of showing to the general reader something of Arabia as the great explorers and travellers saw it.

For the most part, Mr. Kiernan covers much the same ground as Dr. Hogarth; and it is only in the last two chapters of his book that he writes about the twentieth-century travellers, who are mostly British. Prominence is, naturally, given among these to Philby and Thomas, who have made important contributions to geographical knowledge by their explorations in the Rub' al-Khālī. We should like to have learnt more of the excellent work done by Alois Musil, Van der Meulen, Von Wissmann and other Continental travellers of the present century. An authoritative and adequate supplement to Hogarth's work, therefore, still remains an urgent desideratum.

Since Mr. Kiernan is not an Arabist, we need not waste powder and shot in demolishing his incorrect forms of proper names, a few errors of transcription and some other minor inaccuracies that have crept into his book. We congratu-

late him on having produced an exceedingly readable book, the value and interest of which is enhanced by a number of excellent illustrations and helpful sketch-maps.

—Sh. Inayatullah

THE BOOK OF TRUTHFULNESS (*Kutāb al-Ṣidq*). By Abū Sa'īd al-Kharṛāz. Arabic text edited and translated by A. J. Arberry. Islamic Research Association (Bombay) Series, No. 6. Oxford University Press. 1937.

ABŪ SA'ĪD Ahmad ibn 'Isa al-Kharṛāz, a friend of Junayd and Ibn 'Aṭā', was an independent writer who, though without personal affiliation to Sūfism, was strongly influenced by the Sūfis of Kūfah and Baghdād. His principal work, *Kutāb as-Sirr*, was condemned at Baghdād and is now lost. It is, however, possible to get a fairly good idea of his mystical doctrine from the numerous, though isolated, fragments that have been preserved in the various Sūfi compendia. The doctrine of *fanā'* and *baqā'* is, probably, one of the chief characteristic features of his system.

The text now published and translated by Dr. A. J. Arberry represents the sole surviving work of Kharṛāz, the importance of which lies in the fact that, apart from the writings of Muḥāsibī, it is the earliest systematic presentation of the theory of Sūfi experience, written by a practising Sūfi. Beginning with the idea of *Ṣidq* or truthfulness, the author develops his theme to include the "stations" of fear, hope, trust, love, shame, longing, intimacy—all of which the mystic must pass on his way to God. The author begins the treatment of each topic with Qur'ānic sanctions, follows these with references to the Traditions of the Prophet and the lives of the saints, and amplifies his discourse with the sayings of pious men, who often remain unnamed.

Kharṛāz writes in a simple and unambiguous style; and the translation, which we have compared in a few random places with the text, is generally correct and bears out the sense of the author

with intelligent fidelity. We may, however, be permitted to point out that the last sentence on p. 47 of the text (أى أحب الى عبدى المؤمن من نفسه الذى بين جنبيه)

should be translated as: "I am dearer to My servant who believeth than his soul which is within him"; and not as "I am more loving to my servant who believeth than his soul which is within him" (p. 39 of the tran.). Likewise on p. 17, the sentence (والطير تظله) is translated as: "and the birds drew near to him [Solomon]", which can hardly be regarded as quite exact. On p. 30, al-Mughayrah ibn Sha'ba should be spelled al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah.

The work under review is a valuable addition to the admirable series, published by the Islamic Research Association of Bombay. Great credit is due, in this connection, to Mr. A. A. Fyze, the secretary of the Association, who has for many years past been working for the cause of Islamic studies in a quiet and unostentatious way.

—Sh. Inayatullah

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Vols. I—III. 2nd revised edition. Oxford University Press. 1935.

THE Oxford University Press recently published the first three volumes of Professor Arnold Toynbee's "Study of History", which promises to be, in its own domain, the most remarkable undertaking of our time, and as a contribution to historical thought one of the most influential books of our generation. The author, who is Research Professor of International History in the University of London and is also Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is already well-known for his studies in Greek and Byzantine history and for his excellent annual *Survey of International Affairs*, which has been appearing since 1920.

In the present work, which he hopes to complete in thirteen volumes, the learned author makes an attempt to relate the whole of human history to certain philosophical principles, which

can be deduced from historical facts. It is not itself a connected narrative history in the ordinary sense of the word, but a Study of History, for which the author draws his material and illustrations from the whole range of known history, wherever he happens to find them. In scope, the work may be compared with Sir James Frazer's celebrated *Golden Bough*. Frazer's eleven volumes are a comparative study of the beliefs and religious institutions of mankind; whereas Professor Toynbee's thirteen volumes, when completed, will constitute a comparative study of the successive civilizations that mankind has achieved.

In the first three volumes that have so far appeared, the author devotes several introductory chapters to the Relativity of Historical Thought, the Field of Historical Study and the Classification and Comparability of the Societies of the human species. He then sets himself to the main part of his task by tackling the problem of the Genesis of Civilizations and discussing at length the nature and process of the growth of civilizations. The author here makes an important contribution to historical thought by showing that neither race nor favourable environment by itself supplies us with a satisfactory explanation of the birth and growth of Civilizations; but man has progressed just in those regions where moderate difficulty of physical environment has thrown a challenge to human effort. Man has, in other words, advanced by a process of Challenge-and-Response. In the forthcoming volumes, the author proposes to discuss the Breakdown and Disintegration of Civilizations, Universal States and Churches, Heroic Ages, Contacts between Civilizations in space and time. Rhythms in the histories of Civilizations, the Prospects of the Western Civilization and finally the Inspirations of Historians.

Considering the wide scope and varied contents of this monumental work, it would be impossible to review it adequately within the short space at our disposal. All that is possible for us here is to admire in general terms its origi-

nality of thought, its boldness of conception, its vast learning and its powerful diction. A work on such a large scale seriously runs the risk of becoming wearisome; but happily the present work is saved from all monotony and dullness by the alert mind and lively pen of the gifted author, who has at his disposal immense masses of material, which he handles in a masterly fashion.

The sweep of his thought being as wide as the boundaries of historical knowledge itself, the author, of course, takes the history of Muslim peoples within his purview. His work is, accordingly, invaluable to all serious students, who want to understand Islamic Civilization in relation to other Civilizations. In his clear-sighted analysis and treatment of specific situations, he generally shows a thorough and exact knowledge of almost all periods of Islamic history, although we cannot always accept his views and conclusions without reservations. In view of the special interests of this Journal, we shall briefly examine what the author has to say regarding the life-work of the Prophet as a religious reformer and temporal ruler. The life-work of the Prophet was achieved in two stages. In the first stage, he was concerned exclusively with his religious mission; in the second stage, the religious mission was overlaid with political activity. These two stages correspond to the two characteristic contributions that he made to the national life of his country. The first of these was the introduction of monotheism in religion in Arabia, where the idea of one supreme God had been almost completely obscured by the cult of innumerable divinities. Secondly, he brought law and order in a land, which had hitherto been without any form of stable or centralized government, and where political development had not gone beyond the stage of a primitive and loose tribal organization. Since in the Medina period Muhammad combined the rôle of a prophet with the functions of a secular ruler, the religious and political elements of Islam cohere in an original and organic unity, so that in the Islamic Society the Church and the State are completely blended.

Thus the political element has been exceptionally prominent not only in the Prophet's personal career, but also in the subsequent history of Islam. In quarters hostile to Islam and to its founder, this "worldliness" has always been a popular object of denunciation; and it is disappointing to find that Professor Toynbee has not wholly escaped their baneful influence. For although, in the opinion of our author, "Muhammad's political activity is noteworthy as a factor of first-rate importance in the histories of civilizations," he asserts, with the common run of Western writers, that "the monument of Muhammad's life-work might have been something more ethereal than Islam as Islam has been or is, if only the Prophet's career had not taken this decisively political turn in its last chapter." (Vol. III, p. 468). He further goes on to say that "he was renouncing the sublime rôle of the nobly un-honoured prophet and contenting himself with the common-place rôle of the magnificently successful statesman," and "instead of sealing his prophet message with his blood by becoming Cæsar's victim, it was Muhammad's ironic destiny to compromise and debase his prophetic message by becoming an Arabian Cæsar himself".

It is clear from these observations of Professor Toynbee that, in judging Muhammad, he has taken Jesus Christ as the ideal prophet. This is, however, an arbitrary and dogmatic procedure, which is quite out of place in the work of a scientific historian, writing in the twentieth century. We have no right to assume that because some of the great teachers, who have from time to time appeared on earth, have succumbed to the force of adverse circumstances and died as martyrs; that because dreamers have existed and enthusiasts have suffered, the Arabian Prophet was bound to follow their example, and leave the world before he had fulfilled his mission. Nor was there any necessity to sacrifice in a rash manner his own person and the entire community over which he was called to preside. Threatened with annihilation, Muhammad's resolve to take up arms in self-defence was quite natural

and justified.

The extreme difference between the earthly fortunes of these two prophets is explained by the difference in the nature of the political milieu into which they happened to be born. Whereas Jesus lived under Cæsar's jurisdiction, Muhammad's home was in the no-man's-land outside the Roman frontiers; and while the former, in his utter helplessness, could only refer to the Kingdom that is in Heaven, the latter seized the opportunity that presented itself for effective practical action, and out of a moral and political chaos, he forged an organised religio-political society of a stable character. Is he to be denounced simply because instead of crying in the wilderness, he was able to give practical shape to his ideals of a good life? It must not be forgotten, at the same time, that in putting himself at the head of a theocratic state, he did not neglect or renounce his prophetic office, but continued to work and legislate for the spiritual uplift of his fellow men. It is, therefore, not correct to say, as Professor Toynbee does in so many words, that "his prophetic mission was thrown to the winds by the Prophet, when a new career was offered him in the alien political sphere". The temporal power, with which he endowed his religion, in fact increased the opportunities for regenerating his countrymen. Setting himself to the task of organising into a social entity the various elements, which had gathered around him as the minister of God, he substituted referees for the old tribal vendetta; he abolished the distinctions of Aus and Khazraj, which had been the curse of Medina for generations; he comprehended the Jews and Christians in his little commonwealth; and planted seeds of cordial relations among all believers. The gravest charge that Prof. Toynbee brings against the Prophet is that "he used his political power as an instrument for imposing Islam upon Mecca by force". All that history knows is that he imposed upon Mecca by force of arms the rule of the budding Muslim state. As for the acceptance of the faith of Islam by the Meccans, it may have proceeded in certain

cases from motives of prudence and convenience.

Professor Toynbee appears to favour the view that "Islam, as an institution, has suffered throughout its history from the note of secularity which has been characteristic of it hitherto". (Vol. III, 468). This view is evidently based on a complete misunderstanding of the Muslim conception of the place and function of religion in human life. In the Islamic society, religion is not a personal and private affair, divorced from the realities of life and leaving an individual free to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's"; but it is intended to guide and govern the whole life of the believer, both public and private. For a Muslim, religion does not merely define the relation between God and man; but it also claims to regulate the relation between man and man: it is all-embracing and concerns itself with every department of the life of the believer—religious, political, social, domestic and private. For a Muslim, his religion consists not merely in giving his intellectual assent to a number of dogmas, but in a whole body of rights and duties, whereby a man might guide his life fittingly in this world and prepare himself for the world to come. According to the Islamic view, the distinction between the Church and State is artificial. If human personality is one and indivisible, and cannot therefore be divided into water-tight compartments, then the Islamic view of the actual identity of the Church and State seems to us to be psychologically well-founded and sound.

Apart from the regrettable attitude which Professor Toynbee adopts towards the political career of the Prophet, his views on matters Islamic are generally sound and refreshingly sane. As an example of his brilliant analytic powers, we may refer the interested reader to his illuminating section on Ibn Khaldūn (Vol. III, 321–28; 473–76), which is probably the best thing that has been written in the English language on the subject, since the late Prof. Robert Flint's excellent appreciation of the same historian in his *History of the Philosophy of History*, pp. 157–171 (Edinburgh, 1893).

In fairness to the author, we must remark that he has on the whole been successful in an unusual degree in keeping himself free from racial, religious and national bias. His objective approach, his catholic outlook and sound judgment are in the main traceable to his wide intellectual horizon and his happy escape from the insidious influence of social environment, which so often distorts the vision of smaller minds. It is also worthy of remarking that his writing is enlivened by an ironic humour, which he does not hesitate to employ in castigating the inveterate prejudices and national foibles of his own countrymen. His personal observations are also met with in the course of his Study. By way of example, we reproduce below a couple of paragraphs, in which he censures the race-feeling of Western Society.

"While in our Western Society race-feeling was once unknown and is not now universal, there are other societies in which the prejudice has taken shape on different and sometimes diametrically opposite lines. For instance, the Primitive Arabs, who were the ruling element in the Umayyad Caliphate, called themselves 'the swarthy people', with a connotation of racial superiority, and their Persian and Turkish subjects 'the ruddy people', with a connotation of racial inferiority: that is to say, they drew the same distinction that we draw between blonds and brunets, but reversed the values which we assign to the two shades of White-Gentlemen may prefer blondes; but brunettes are the first choice of Allah's 'Chosen People'. Moreover, the Arabs and all other White Muslims, whether brunets or blonds, have always been free from colour-prejudice vis-a-vis the non-White races; and, at the present day, Muslims still make that dichotomy of the human family which Western Christians used to make in the Middle Ages. They divide mankind into Believers and Unbelievers who are all potentially Believers; and this division cuts across every difference of physical race. This liberality is more remarkable in White Muslims to-day than it was in White Western Christians in our Middle Ages; for our

Medieval forefathers had little or no contact with peoples of a different colour, whereas the White Muslims were in contact with the Negroes of Africa and with the dark-skinned peoples of India from the beginning and have increased that contact steadily, until nowadays Whites and Blacks are intermingled, under the ægis of Islam, through the length and breadth of the Indian and the African Continent. Under this searching test, the White Muslims have demonstrated their freedom from race-feeling by the most convincing of all proofs: they have given their daughters to Black Muslims in marriage.

"I had an opportunity to observe this Muslim freedom from race-feeling at first hand, when I was an undergraduate at Oxford. At that time there were two Egyptian Muslim undergraduates in my college: one a grandee, the other a man of the same social class as the rest of us. Physically, this latter was a pure specimen of the Mediterranean Race. To look at him you could not have told that he was not a Sicilian or a Catalan or a Provençal. On the other hand, the young Egyptian grandee had a Negro strain in him which was not merely unmistakable but obtrusive. If this youngman had been brought up in England, or a *fortiori* in the United States, he would have been made to feel his Negro traits as a crushing misfortune, which would have permanently oppressed his spirits and undermined his self-confidence. Having been brought up in Egypt, he arrived at Oxford quite un-race-conscious. From his bearing, it was evident that he felt himself distinguished from other people, not at all by his Negro traits but by social status; while his socially less distinguished fellow countryman, who could easily have passed himself off to the United States immigration authorities as a full-blooded European, was modest and unassuming. This was not from lack of spirit—he has since made his mark by some particularly adventurous feats of exploration—but because, at Oxford, he felt himself to be living among his social equals, whereas the young grandee was evidently accustomed to regarding the people among whom he lived as his in-

feriors. How deeply outraged the grandee would have been if he had realized how his Negro traits were regarded by his English and American fellow undergraduates! The fact that he remained un-race-conscious during his years at Oxford speaks well, no doubt, for the manners of the English upper-middle class; but the more important fact that he had previously grown up un-race-conscious at home in Egypt speaks, surely, far better for the broad humanity of the spirit of Islam." (Vol. I, pp. 226-27).

Professor Toynbee's highly instructive and thought-provoking Study is, probably, the most notable work that has been published on the philosophy of history since Oswald Spengler gave us his *Untergang des Abendlandes* in 1918; and we hope many earnest students of historical speculation throughout the world have read it with as much pleasure and profit as we have done in our retreat at Multan. We shall be looking forward eagerly to the appearance of subsequent volumes, and wish the talented author health and strength to bring his great project to a successful conclusion.

—Sh. Inayatullah

NADIR SHAH. *A Critical Study Based Mainly Upon Contemporary Sources.* By L. Lockhart, B.A., Ph. D. With a foreword by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., D. Litt., etc. Luzac & Co. London. 1938.

NADIR SHAH has been recognised by the present generation of Iranians as their national hero notwithstanding the fact that he was of Turkish origin and in later years made desperate efforts to change the national faith of Iran (Shiism). Their indebtedness to him, as they rightly think, lies in the fact that by freeing Persia from the grip of the Afghans and by warding off the danger of Russian and Turkish encroachments he kept Persia whole after the downfall of the Šafawis. "But for Nādir," Prof. Minorsky very justly remarks, "Persia would probably not exist, even in its present bounds." This debt of gratitude

the young Persians have acknowledged by recently erecting a fitting memorial to his name at Mashhad in the shape of a beautiful edifice on the site of his tomb, containing a public library and a reading room. The Persian poem inscribed on the façade pays glowing tributes to Nādir as a national hero. The Ministry of Education in Iran has named a number of schools and colleges after him. A modern, critical biography of Nādir was therefore, in the fitness of things, something to be desired, and we are gratified to find that this much-felt need has been provided by the excellent monograph of Dr. Lockhart. It was originally his thesis for the Ph. D. degree in the London University, but after obtaining his degree he expanded and elaborated it into the present book.

Dr. Lockhart's work gives evidence of untiring scholarly research. He has not only ransacked contemporary Persian and European records, but has also made thorough use of the rare and difficult Russian, Georgian and Armenian sources. Another fortunate qualification that Dr. Lockhart possesses as biographer of Nādir Shah is that he is employed in Iran. This, of course, enabled him to collect much authentic information locally.

In the opening chapter the author gives a description of the fall of the Šafawis after which he discusses the origin and early career of Nādir Shah. The next two chapters deal with the capture of Mashhad (Nādir's capital) and the expulsion of the Ghalzai Afghans from Persia. Turkish and Mesopotamian campaigns of Nādir and the deposition of Tahmāsp II (last Šafawī ruler of Persia) is the subject of the next three chapters. Then follows a description of Nādir's minor campaigns in 1734–36, the beginnings of his navy, his coronation (in 1736) as Shah of Persia; his relations with Russia, the capture of Bahrain and the conquest of Qandahār. Of special interest to us is Nādir's invasion of India, described most vividly in chapters XII–XV. The waning fortunes of Nādir Shah after his return from India is the subject of the subsequent chapters in which the author speaks of his operations

in the Persian Gulf, the 'Omān expedition, the Turkish wars, and the revolts in Persia (1743-44). The culminating tragedy, i.e., the assassination of Nādir, is the next topic, followed by a retrospect discussing his attainments and personal characteristics.

The whole narrative from the beginning to the end is told in the most fascinating manner to which the excellent illustrations and maps lend additional charm. The author has shown extreme

caution and precision in making his statements, almost every sentence is supported by an authority quoted in the footnote.

A book with such rare qualities, combined with an exquisite get-up, should certainly command a ready sale. A Persian translation of it is much to be desired and will, when published, be certainly one of the most popular books in Iran.

—*Mohammad Iqbal*

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SYNOPSIS

MR. W. IVANOW the Russian scholar who has made India his second home, ranks to-day foremost among the authorities on the teachings and the history of the Islamic sect. In his present article *Some Ismail Strongholds in Persia* he describes the remnants of the two famous castles of Alamut and Girdkuh which he has recently visited.

FAKHR-I-MUDABBIR is the title of an article by a young scholar of Lahore Agha Abdus-Sattar Khan, in which the author challenges the contention of Sir Denison Ross regarding the supposed identity of the historian Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, and the poet, Fakhr ad-Din Mubarakshah. According to Abdus-Sattar Khan, the two names stand for two different personalities, and the famous historical work, *Tarikh-i Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarakshah* which is usually attributed to Fakhr ad-Din had in reality Muhammad b. Mansur Mubarakshah Fakhr-i-Mudabbir for its author.

IN his article, *The Use of Cannon in Muslim India*, Syed Abu Zafar Nadwi traces the earliest use of artillery in the Muslim armies in India, and describes in detail some of the extant examples of old cannon.

DR. HERMANN GOETZ a Dutch art-historian of note, discusses in his essay, *The Central Asian Monuments in India* the artistic origins of the type of

architecture which has found its noblest embodiment in the Taj Mahal of Agra. The spiritual home of the Taj is Turkistan and its forms have developed in a straight line from its prototype the yurt in the Central Asian plains but at the same time, it is fully at home in India for it represents the truly Indian expression of the original Mughal genius in its highest development. Besides the Taj Mahal some other well-known Mughal monuments like the Bibi-karauza at Aurangabad Humayun's Tomb at Delhi and Safdar Jang's Tomb near Lahore are discussed and their spiritual and artistic implications analysed.

THE dozen of Muslim scholars in India Maulana Syed Suleyman Nadwi, contributes to this issue a discourse on *The Literary Progress of the Hindus under Muslim Rule*. Like every other work of this scholar the present article betrays a thorough mastery of the subject, and brings to the surface many names of writers and poets which have been long since forgotten by the average literary dilettante. We hope that Syed Suleyman Nadwi will continue his interesting survey in one of the future numbers of ISLAMIC CULTURE.

ANOTHER vexing identity question is brought up by our old friend Dr. Abdulla Chaghtai, in his essay *Aqa Riza Riza Ali Riza-i-Abbasi*. Are these three names only different versions of one and the same name or do they hide

the identities of three different artists? European art-historians were hitherto in disagreement regarding this problem. While some of them believed that the three names are in reality one, others were prepared to concede that two persons are concealed under these three name-forms. Now Dr. Abdulla Chaghtai proves conclusively that the three names are in reality designations of three different persons, and thus solves a puzzle which has for a long time occupied such outstanding scholars like Sarre-Mittwoch, Karabacek, Bloch, and Martin.

NEW Sources for the History of the Mu'tazila Movement is a contribution by Mr. Abdus Subhan of the Dacca University. It discusses some of the recently published MSS. on the subject.

NEXT comes the final portion of Ibn al-Jawzi's *The Devil's Delusion*, translated from the Arabic by Prof. S. D. Margoliouth.

IN the department, PERSONALIA, we bring a short obituary notice on the Italian orientalist, Carlo Alfonso Nallino, by Dr. Krenkow.

OUR other department, ON THE MARGIN, contains two articles on widely different subjects. The first, by Mr. M.

Fathulla Khan, bears the title *The Nizams as Men of Letters*, and dwells upon the graceful preoccupation with, and patronage of, literature, which has become indissolubly associated with the present Ruling Dynasty of Hyderabad and which has shed a particular lustre on their administrative activities. As ISLAMIC CULTURE owes its very existence to this noble inclination on the part of the present Nizam. His Exalted Highness Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, we presume that the above-mentioned article will be of particular interest to our readers. In the other article in this department, *Dante and Islam*, Dr. Sh. Inayatullah has given us a condensed summary of the findings of the famous Spanish orientalist, Asin Palacios, regarding the obviously Islamic origin of Dante's imagery in his *Divina Comedia*. Prof. Palacios has definitely proved that Dante must have drawn, probably indirectly, on the allegorical descriptions of a journey through Hell and Paradise contained in *Al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyyah* of Moḥy ad-Dīn ibn al-'Arabi—a work which was not unknown to Christian scholars of that period in Spain and southern Italy, and which, on its part, had been inspired by popular, fantastically embellished versions of the Ascension (*Mi'raj*) of the Prophet Muḥammad.

SOME ISMAILI STRONGHOLDS IN PERSIA

By W. IVANOW

I. ALAMUT

SINCE motor transport was introduced in Persia, the picturesque valley of Alamut, situated so near to Tehran, is gradually developing into a popular tourist resort, a place for picnics on a grand scale. Visitors occasionally publish notes of their impressions, accompanied by photographs. And thus the "Rock of Alamut", i.e. the ruins on a cliff situated above the village of Gâzur-Khân¹ (and usually regarded as the original stronghold of the legendary "Old Man of the Mountain" and of his "Assassins") is gradually becoming almost as familiar to every student of Persia as the sight of the blue-tiled mosque of Isfahan, or the ruins of Persepolis. But, taken seriously, the problem of the mediæval topography of the "Assassin" strongholds in Alamut still remains quite doubtful and enigmatic; we still know nothing for certain about the position even of the most important of the mediæval Ismaili strongholds. In my paper on "Alamut", in the *Geographical Journal*, 1931 (vol. LXXVII, 1, pp. 38—45), I have already drawn the attention of students to the fact that we possess no reliable testimony as to where the famous castle of Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ was situated. It seems quite possible that the cliff near Gâzur-Khân, being one of the most striking sights in the valley, and bearing the most prominent traces of early habitation and fortifications, has automatically become the "rock of Alamut", regardless of its real history. As is known, mediæval historians mention some forty or fifty Ismaili forts which guarded the valley. Names of about a dozen of them appear here and there. But there is no doubt that almost all these forts were small, built of loose stone cemented with clay, or inferior mortar; and, in the severe climate of the valley, most probably, the majority of them were nothing but heaps of stone within a few years after their demolition by the Mongols. Their names are forgotten because, most probably,

1. The name of this village is badly corrupted by different writers, into Gazarkhan, Qasr Khan, Qasir Khan, etc. All these forms are attempts to give some sensible etymology to the name, which sounds meaningless. In reality the name obviously comes from the obsolete term *gâzur* - dyer, washerman, and *khân*, also an antiquated term, meaning house, caravanserai, inn. Together it may mean "the caravanserai of dyers", the "house of washermen". Cf. the name of the famous locality in Herat—Gâzur-gah (in which the tomb of 'Abdu'l-lâh Anṣārî is situated). Phonetically the nearest equivalent of this name, as pronounced by the local inhabitants, would be *Gozer-khon*.

the local population here changed more than once.

Not only forts and villages here appeared and disappeared, but even the boundaries of the districts never remained fixed. Early historians speak about Daylam, the Rudbar of Alamût, the Rudbar of Ṭāliqân, etc. Later on Alamut was apparently regarded as a part of Ṭāliqân. Sometimes it seems as if Ṭāliqân is treated as a part of Alamut. In pre-war days Rûdbar, Alamut and Ṭāliqân were three separate districts. But recently this again is changed, and some portions of the Alamut valley are included into the district of Ṭāliqân, and *vice versa*. As these poor and arid districts, lying off the main roads, come into the "spotlight of history" only for a short period, just over a hundred years, it is rather hopeless to trace the consecutive changes before or after the Ismaili domination.

During my first visit to Alamut, in December 1928, I had at my disposal too little time, and the weather was too unfavourable to do anything beyond just forming a general idea of the locality. It was impossible to attempt to come to a conclusion as to which of the three largest known ruins in Alamut—the "Rock", the Shirkûh fort, or the ruins above Garmrûd, "Nawîzar-Shah"—could be with any certainty claimed as the probable site of the capital of the Ismaili state. This, indeed, could only be the case if the capital really was situated in what is now called the valley of Alamut, and if this name was not used in a wider sense.

Therefore, having another opportunity to visit the place again, in the autumn of 1937, I tried to do my best to see the whole valley, with its branches. Accordingly, coming from Qazwin by the ordinary road of Dastgird and Chala, and descending into the gorge of the Taliqan stream, I turned right, moving up the Taliqan river for over two hours, up to a hamlet of five houses, called Âmişk (pronounced Omushk). From this hamlet an extremely steep path leads across the Shirkuh range to Shahrak¹ in the valley of the Alamut stream. Ascending by this difficult path up to the crest, I turned to the left, towards the end of the range where it comes between the Alamut and Taliqan streams near their confluence. Here, above the *du-rûwân*, or canyon, the ruins of the Shirkuh fort are situated. After having inspected these, I returned to the place where I left the Âmişk—Shahrak path, and followed it down to the last mentioned village. From there, by the usual road, I reached Shutur-Khan, Gazû-Khân, the "Rock", and, by the path which goes behind it, went to Âtan (pron. Oton or Otun), and thence to Îlan (pr. Ilon), from which I descended again into the main valley of Alamut, at Zawarak, reaching ultimately Garmrûd and Awanak. Then, on my way back, by the same road, as far as Bûkan (at the entrance of the Shutur-Khan ravine). From this hamlet I turned left, crossing the

1 There are two Shahraks in these localities: one Shahrak¹ Alamut which is meant here, and the other Shahrak¹ Taliqan which is referred to further on.

stream to Maḥmūdābād, and thence went up to the side valley of Jawlādik, Fishān, Āftābdar, etc., returning to the same Shahrak. Thence I followed the ravine of Ṣā'in-Kalāya, Mullā-Kalāya. Andij, Dik, and Kūchinān. Returning from Kūchinān, I turned right, to Asalwar¹ (which is regarded at present as belonging to the Rūdbār district). My original intention to return to Qazwīn via Simyār, crossing the Shāhrūd stream, did not materialise, and I descended again into the main Alamūt valley, near Bādasht, passing on my way through the Anāda village. From Bādasht I took the usual well-known road to Chāla, Dastgird, and Qazwīn.

My first task on this second visit was to explore the site of the fort of Shirkūh, situated above the *dū-rūwān*,² or canyon, of the Alamūt stream just before it joins the stream of Ṭāliqān. It may be noted that the name Shirkūh is also applied to the small hamlet situated on a piece of level ground just above the confluence of the two streams. The Shirkūh range, which separates these rivers, forms a promontory of a mighty spur of the Elburz mountains. At the confluence, where it ends, it appears as a very rocky ridge, composed of enormous strata of grey stone, steeply lifted Eastwards. The sharp crest of the ridge is dented with small peaks. The place is rarely visited except by shepherds in spring when there is much grass on it. Thorny bushes in small clumps are seen here and there. Just above the confluence of the streams, not far from the village of Shirkūh, there is a dilapidated bridge over the Taliqan river. From there there are two paths. One leads to the top, to the ruins of the fort, and the other skirts the rocks, and comes out at the entrance to the *dū-rūwān* on the Alamūt side. In addition to the Āmishk-Shahrak path, there is another difficult road, as I was told, beginning from the Jawlādik-Yarak gorge on the Alamūt side, and ending in the Shahrak of Taliqan. It is not much used at present.

The ruins of the fort of Shirkūh are found on the second small peak of the Shirkūh range, counting from its end, when looking from the Chāla road. It is difficult to decide whether it is the same place which was much loved by 'Alā'u'd-dīn, the father of the last Ismaili ruler of Alamūt, Ruknu'd-dīn Khūrshāh. As is known, 'Alā'u'd-dīn was murdered here on the 1st December 1255.

When passing Bādasht in December of 1928, I heard a lot from the local inhabitants about the Shirkūh fort. According to them, it was much bigger than that of the "Rock". They assured me that if the

1. Usually written Astalbar

2. The term *dū-rūwān* or *dū-rūwān* is not a proper name and is not derived from *dū rūdān* i.e. "two rivers", as I suggested in my paper in the "Geographical Journal". It is applied to every place in which the road passes from one bank of the stream to the opposite and then returns again and again to the original side. Here *rū* is used in the sense "side", and *dū-rūwān* means the "two-sides" (road). The narrow valley of the Taliqan stream not far from its confluence with the Alamut stream is also called *dū-rūwān*.

weather was not so cloudy, I could easily see from their Bâdasht itself the towers and walls on the top of the hills. Apparently similar stories were heard by Miss F. Stark,¹ who, however, had not herself seen the fort. It is not clear whether these ruins are described by Col. Monteith, who visited Alamût more than a hundred years ago, in 1831 ("Journal of a tour through Azerdbijan and the shores of the Caspian", in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 3, 1833, p. 15). As the old volumes of the JRGS are very difficult to obtain for reference, except in large libraries, it would be better to quote the passage:

"Having been previously well informed respecting the existence of the fortress inhabited by the Assassins, and several respectable people at Kasbine having offered to accompany me thither, I was surprised at all the inhabitants of Menjile declaring they never heard the story, and were ignorant of the existence of the ruins. Knowing that they were situated on the banks of the Sha Rood, I determined to follow that river to its source, or until I found the object of my search. . . . I passed, at the twelfth mile, Loushan, and, at the twenty-eighth, Berenzini After a long and fatiguing march of thirty-six miles from Berenzini, we reached Jirandey, just where the stream from the mountains of Ala Mout, in Mazanderan, which are perpetually covered with snow, joins the stream of Kerzau, coming from the mountains behind Kasbine. We now commenced the ascent of a rugged and steep mountain, on the top, or rather round the sides, of which (for it enclosed a considerable portion of the upper part) ran a wall strongly built of stone. On the top is a tower, which, being totally enclosed within the outer wall, was probably solely intended as a look-out. On one side, over a deep ravine, appears to have stood a considerable residence, and it formerly had a communication by a narrow staircase, with a garden below. The lower part of the mountain has been formed into terraces, but the whole is far from answering the description of the terrestrial Paradise described by some authors; the climate is decidedly cold, and for at least half the year it must have been a disagreeable habitation. . . . In the building I visited there are no inscriptions. A bath reservoir and extensive place are the only buildings now remaining".

All this, as one can see, is utterly vague. The description obviously does not apply to the fort of Shirkûh. It obviously has nothing to do with the "Rock", or "Nawizar-Shâh". Perhaps the nearest possible site described is the Lambasar fort², in the Shâhrûd valley. But here again the matter is doubtful. All forts have an enclosing wall, and inside all forts there are buildings, which, when half ruined, may be regarded as the foundations of a tower. I was unable to trace any village in Alamut called "Jirandey"³. The name Kerzau is also strange. And it is impossible

1 See F Stark 'The Valleys of the Assassins' (London, 1934), p. 222.

2. Its description is given in F Stark's work, mentioned above, pp. 245-248.

3 As I was told, Jirin-dih is a hamlet somewhere near Garzrûd but I could not visit it personally.

to think that the ruins which stood for nearly six hundred years, could change so greatly within the last century. The present appearance of the Shirkūh fort anyhow has little to do with what Col. Monteith saw.

The fort of Shirkūh is situated on the top of a small peak, rising about 150 feet, or so, over its base. It is rocky on all sides except that facing the NW; here it is more or less smooth, though steep, and is covered with grass. Ascending this slope, one finds himself on the edge of a deep ravine. The place at the top is very small, just about fifty yards across. On the Taliqan side, on the edge of the ravine, there are remnants of old fortifications, and traces of a tower. On the Alamut side there are sloping rock surfaces, and apparently in one place there are half obliterated traces of a few steps crudely cut in the rock. As far as I could see, there are no traces of fortifications on this side. The purpose of this fort, most probably, was to keep watch on the Chāla road, and to be the "depot" for the sentries watching the canyon of Alamut. Neither the latter, nor the Taliqan stream are visible from the fort,—both of them are hidden by the lower rocky hills, which abruptly ascend from the river.

I made it a point to collect information from the local inhabitants whether there are any other ruins on this, or on the other side of the canyon. They all emphatically denied the existence of these, and it is difficult to doubt their statements,—they surely know the locality, and surely would like to earn further *bakhshish* for guiding me thither. There is no doubt that the fort could never have been a large place, and could not be either Maymūn-diz, or the fort of Sayyidnā Ḥasan.

All the references to the topography of Alamut, found in the numerous accounts of different campaigns against the Ismailis, as far as I can ascertain, are extremely vague. The only account in which *some* valuable details are to be found, is the description of Hulagu's campaign against Alamut, given by 'Aṭā Maliki Juwaynī, in his well known history, *Ta'rikhi Jahān-gushāy*.¹ The author was a wazīr to Hulagu, and personally accompanied him on his campaign. Thus he was an eyewitness; and, as is known, after the occupation of the fortress, he was enabled to go through the library of the Ismaili books which was preserved in Maymūn-diz. It would not be strange if his account of the campaign did not abound in details. But it is remarkable that the author's statements, found in different places of his work, sometimes contradict each other.²

It is difficult to see whether this hamlet is the one meant by Col. Monteith. If so, his ruined fort must surely be the "Nawizar-Shah" ruin, and not that of Shirkūh.

1. References here are given to the pages of the facsimile edition of the old MS of the third part of the work, published by Sir E. Denison Ross as the X-th vol. of the James G. Forlong Fund series of the Royal Asiatic Society (London, 1931). The new edition by M. Qazwini in the Gibb Memorial Series (vol. XVI. 3), unfortunately, reached me too late.

2. The chief aim of the author was to extol the great deeds of his drunken and bestial master and

As is known, Hulagu started on his campaign against Alamut from Khorasan, late in the autumn of 1256. At this time of the year there are no grazing places on the plains, and it is only to some extent possible to move with a large body of cavalry, and of pack animals, of which the Mongol force consisted, if keeping near the higher slopes of the hills which still preserve dry, but edible grass. Continuous climbing, and insufficient grazing considerably affected the force: at a council of war, held by the Mongol leaders on their arrival in Alamût, the majority were in favour of postponing the siege till the next year, due to the deplorable state of the animals (p. 43).

This explains the apparently strange route taken by the Mongols on their way from Khorasan,—through the difficult gorges of the hills. Passing 'Abbāsābād, NNE from Tehran, and latter a village called Bisakala,—most probably for Nisakala (or Nisagalla, near Jüyistān of the maps), the force entered the Ṭāliqān valley. On the tenth of Shawwāl (31-x-1256) Hulagu sent forward a force *via Yarak* (p. 45), and himself followed it with the main army. Thus it seems clear that he crossed the Shirkūh range by the path which connects Shahrak of Alamût with Shahrak of Ṭāliqān. In accordance with the fashion of his time, the author, in stilted style, mentions that the Mongol force was so numerous "that Gog and Magog would appear in comparison with it like a drop in the sea" (p. 45). This great numerical strength of it is often emphasized and boasted of by him.¹ On the eighteenth of the same month, i.e. a week later, the whole of this huge force was already encamped at the foot of Maymūn-diz (p. 43). Thus it appears that it could not take the circuitous easier road, via the Taliqan valley down to its confluence with the Alamut stream, and then up to the "Rock", or to "Nawizar-Shāh". Such routes, most probably, would require more time.²

to show his own mastery of style. And although Juwaini, is by far superior to many of his contemporaries with regard to his care about the accuracy of the dates and the facts, he nevertheless paid much more attention to stylistic niceties than to the lucidity and circumstantialness of his narrative. His verbosity and florid effusions are as irritating and dismaying as its counterpart.

the up-to-date manner of the great majority of our own contemporaries who regard it as the greatest fault to omit mention of any of their breakfasts, lunches, dinners, teas, the accounts of how they slept, what they said to their servants and what those were pleased to reply to them etc. etc.

1. This exorbitant number of the troops obviously belongs to the style of the author rather than to reality because it seems quite inconceivable how such a huge force could be adequately fed on its march in such arid and almost impassable gorges, especially in winter.

2. In a line on p. 46 the meaning of which is rather obscure, it appears that the troops marched through a place with a name something like Ghināranj (?) and 'Atā or 'Anā. The latter may be an imperfect transcription of the name of 'Atān (pronounced Oton or Otun); with regard to the first I may say that I remember having heard this name applied to a hamlet, somewhere in the same locality, but cannot now remember clearly where it was. It appears, however, that such route could not be taken by a large force. In 1937 I had great difficulty in passing by this path with three mules only,



The Shirkuh range and fort, looking from the Chala road.



The "Rock of Alamut"



The valley of Alamut, looking from the Shirkuh range.



The top of the Rock of Alamut



Some ruins on the top of the Rock



The hill of Girdkuh from the East.



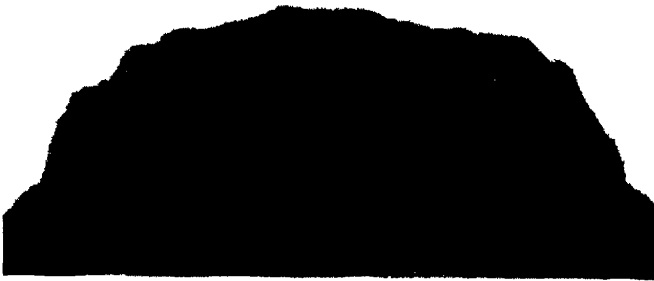
Walls on the NE side of Girdkuh



Typical walls on the top of Girdkuh



Stone bombs at the foot of Girdkuh



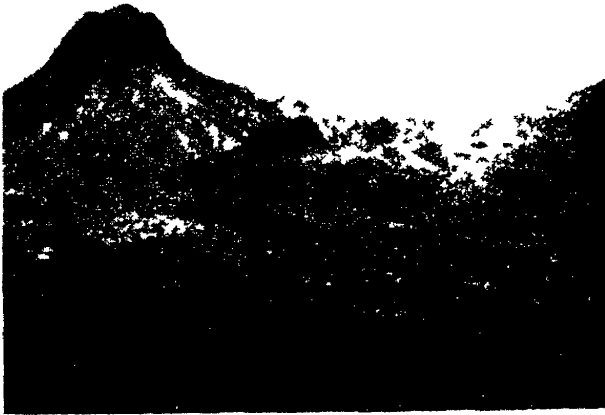
The hill of Girdkuh from SE



Kuh-i Mir Nigar



Ruins of a village at the foot of Girdkuh



Remnants of walls on the top of Girdkuh

Then come interesting details. Hulagu (with the main body of his force) camped "on the top of the hill, situated *to the North, opposite the fortress*" (p. 43). His right flank was camped near Ispidâr, and his left—in "Alamût" (p. 46). The place called Ispidâr apparently no longer exists¹. And the term "Alamût" is obviously used here in a special meaning, which is not clear. Or does this mean that Maymûn-diz was situated outside the Alamut valley?

Analysing these details, the only conclusion one can come to is that the site of Maymûn-diz was neither that of the "Rock", nor of Nawîzar-Shâh. It is known that indications of "North" or "South" in Persian works usually are very approximate. But if we suppose that Maymûn-diz was the same as the "Rock", many doubts arise. In such case the "hill-top to the North", on which Hulagu camped with his main force, would without much difficulty fit the path from Gazur-Khân to Tawân and Khushk-châl (pronounced Towon and Khushkecholi), which passes to the NNW from the "Rock". "Ispidâr", where the right flank was camped, in such a case could be identified with the ruins seen on the fields on the way to Shutur-Khân. But the mention that the left flank was camped in "Alamût" confounds all these calculations. I personally visited this Eastern side of the "Rock" (in 1937), and as far as I could see, there are no traces of any habitation, and even almost no level ground suitable for camping. Here begins the steep path leading to Atûn and Ilon. After crossing the "neck", by which the "Rock" is joined to the main massive, one has to descend by a very steep path; the slopes on all sides are too steep for camping. It is equally impossible to camp at the bottom of the depression, because it lies close enough to be hit by stones thrown and rolled down from the top. Further on one finds himself in a narrow passage between huge and sharp rocks, obviously the bits of the same strata which form the "Rock" itself. In November a small stream runs between them, from the ravine up the mountain. The nearest places suitable for camping, beyond the area of the sharp rocks, lies too far from the fort. It is difficult to understand why this wild and arid locality should be alluded to as "Alamut", if Juwayni's words refer to it, implying that the right wing and the centre of the besieging force were stationed outside Alamût.

It is equally difficult to apply the references of Juwayni to the fort of Nawîzar-Shâh. The stream passes at its foot, and the banks of the river seem to be the only ground suitable for the camp of a large force. They lie exactly to the South of the hill. The rocks are so steep that surely there is no place for a camp, and to the North of it rise the huge mountains above the Garmrûd village,—quite an impossible site for the camp of the leader of an army. Then the right wing had to be camped

—how could thousands of animals move there? And where would they arrive?

1. There is now a hamlet not far from Garmrud with the name Satidar; it is not clear whether it can have anything to do with this Ispidâr.

also on rocks, and the left over the village of Garmrūd. Is the latter then Alamūt?

It is therefore not easy to understand where Maymūn-diz was situated. Juwaynī preserves some information as to its origin (p. 46), although what he says does not help to clear up the question of its topography. According to him, it was built by 'Alā'u'd-dīn, the father of the last ruler of Alamūt, Ruknu'd-dīn Khūrshāh. He searched for *twelve years* for a suitable site before he at last found it. As is known, 'Alā'u'd-dīn succeeded his father as the Imam of the Ismailis in 1220, being then only nine years old. If the story is true, Maymūn-diz could not have been built before about 1235. From the references of different historians it is possible to see that this seems true, because the name of the stronghold of Maymūn-diz begins to figure on the pages of histories only during the last decades of the Ismaili rule in Alamūt.

The impression, which the reader may receive from Juwaynī's account, is that the fortress had nothing to do with the early stronghold built by Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ in the beginning of his career in Alamūt. But some other statements of the author make this doubtful. Moralising on account of the "great victory" of the Mongols, and their rapid occupation of the fortress, Juwaynī contrasts the ease with which this impregnable stronghold was taken by the Divinely helped troops of his exalted and august Mongol master (in reality one of the vilest brutes known to history), with the fact that at the time of Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ *the very same* fortress was in vain besieged for eleven years by the force of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, the Saljuq (cf. p. 53). Thus it appears that Maymūn-diz in reality was probably the same as the earlier fort of Ḥasan, only substantially enlarged and re-fortified. This inference is supported by the fact that with the appearance of references to Maymūn-diz, all references to the "Fort of Alamūt", as the historians usually called the stronghold of Ḥasan, completely disappear. The passages in the *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb* (p. 61), by Mustawfī Qazwīnī (beg. XIVth c.), who was almost a contemporary with the events, make it difficult to avoid the impression that both places were one and the same fort.

It is also very difficult to come to a definite conclusion from other details incidentally given by Juwaynī. Maymūn-diz, as he writes, was built at a very high altitude, and it was so cold there, that in the autumn and winter it was impossible to keep animals there (p. 47). This, perhaps, would apply to Nawīzar-Shāh, which may be at about 10,000 feet. But the "Rock" scarcely exceeds 6,000 feet, i.e. the altitude of Hamadan, in which there is no difficulty with domestic animals in winter.

The fortifications of Maymūn-diz were built of loose stone, cemented with mortar, and of burnt brick; walls, obviously in living quarters, were plastered with stucco (p. 46). As the besieging Mongols found, the circumference of the hill at the base was over one farsakh, i.e. over four miles (p. 50). This perhaps would be too much for the "Rock", even taking only the line around the fort which the troops should form while

standing at a distance at which they would be safe from the stone-throwing machines.

Juwayni also mentions (p. 52) the *qubba*, most probably a high domed building in the fort. A party of devout Ismailis fell fighting there, preferring death to captivity. The ruined walls at the top of the "Rock" appear to be all of very modest kind, and it is difficult to suggest where such a tower could be located.

All these details, if true, do not support the belief that Maymūn-diz was the same as the fort on the "Rock". It is also impossible to think that it could be extended by fortifications built on the "neck", and on the adjoining side of the main hill.¹ In 1937 I inspected the place, and found it strewn with potshards, and heaps of stone, which most probably, were originally used for building the houses. But it seems that there are no traces of large fortifications which would be badly needed here, because the slopes, although steep, are not unscaleable. It seems therefore that there was merely a village, just as found everywhere at the foot of different Ismaili forts, such as Girdkūh, Maşyaf, Qadmūs, etc. Only thorough excavations can solve the problem.

The aim of this analysis of Juwayni's statements is not to "uncrown" the "Rock of Alamūt", and prove that it could not be the stronghold of Maymūn-diz. Quite possibly it was. But it is necessary to draw attention of students to the fact that we cannot strengthen the tradition with any documents. Even the oral tradition of the local inhabitants is against such assumption: all local peasants are unanimous in stating that the ancient stronghold, built by Ḥaṣan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāh, was the fort on a mound near Shahrak. This is obviously impossible, because the place could never pretend to be "impregnable", and, besides, it looks quite modern. The mound itself seems to be of natural origin, and not formed by the collapse of earlier buildings. It is true, one of the strongest Ismaili castles of Syria, Maşyaf, stands on a hillock which is not higher than that near Shahrak. But it appears that buildings of hewn stone, similar to those in Syria, were never in use in Persia. Every one who saw the grim and sombre grandeur of the fort of the Hurmuz island, or of the Bahmanid fortress in Gulbarga, can realise that fortifications made of raw stone and cement could be quite respectable. But it seems that such formidable buildings could never exist there, because the mound seems to consist chiefly of clay.

While in Tehran in winter of 1937, I was introduced to Mr. 'Aynu's-Saltāna, a retired official, and formerly the landlord to whom a large portion of the Alamut valley belonged. He without any hesitation rejected the suggestion that Maymūn-diz was either situated on the "Rock", or generally in the limits of the present district of Alamūt, and emphatically insisted on locating it in the district of Rūdbār, where he

1 The large photograph, inserted after p. 214 in F. Stark's book, gives a good idea of the nature of the "neck".

saw its ruins. Unfortunately, he could not recollect the name of the village near which it was situated.

The mountains along the Caspian coast afford any amount of sites for "impregnable" forts, and it is quite possible that the fortress of Maymūn-diz, after being demolished by the Mongols, very soon was reduced to nothing by the severe climate and the torrential rains to which the valley is subject. It would be interesting to find who was the first to recognise the "Rock" as the site of the fortress built by Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāh. I am not certain whether Col. Shiel was the first European who visited the place, and connected it with the "Assassin" activity. It is not impossible that this is one of the manifestations of the credulity, often so surprisingly great even in very critical authors, which makes them accept as true the most fantastical myths about the early Ismailis, and consider them quite seriously as reliable tradition. Most probably only an aerial photographic survey, followed by thorough excavations, and, perhaps, helped by the additional information found in some early historical works, will ultimately help to clear the matter.

II. GIRDKUH

AS IS KNOWN, the great majority of the Persian Ismailis always resided in the Eastern provinces, namely Khorasan and Quhistan. Smaller Ismaili communities were scattered in many other provinces of Persia, but apparently only played a secondary part. It is very interesting to note, therefore, that in Arabic histories of that time the Ismaili Imams, who were the spiritual lords of all Persian Ismailis, were invariably called "masters (*ṣāhib*) of Alamūt and Girdkūh", without any reference to Khorasan. This shows that the possession of the fortress of Girdkūh, near Damghān, was regarded of such importance that it eclipsed in the eyes of the contemporaries all other possessions of the Ismaili Imams.

The importance of the fortress was most probably due to its position dominating the Khorasan road. It also guards a hill track from inner Persia to the Caspian coast, running parallel to the highroad of Bisṭām, just as the system of the Alamūt forts covers the track parallel to the highroad of Menjil. It is, however, difficult to find whether the Ismailis had any special interests on the Caspian coast, and the resemblance may be quite accidental.

Girdkūh was recently visited by several archæologists, and even was photographed from the air by an American mission. This photograph was shown to me by Monsieur A. Godard, the head of the Persian archæological department; apparently it still remains unpublished. As far as I know, no description of Girdkūh was so far given anywhere, and, therefore, it seems that a few details, offered here, may be interesting to the students of Ismailism in Persia.

Contrary to the case of Alamūt, with its elusive historical topography,

the position of Girdkūh does not raise any doubts. The famous mediæval geographer, Yâqût, in describing Damghân, mentions that the fort is in a day's distance from the town, and can be seen from it. Mustawfi Qazwini (in his *Nuzhatu'l-qulûb*, 161) mentions that it was also called *Dizi Gunbadân*, i.e. "the fortress with many domes". According to him, it stands within three farsakhs' distance from Damghân. There is much cultivation and many villages near it, the principal being Manşûrâbâd.

As can be seen now, the fortress was situated on an isolated cake-shaped foothill which is thrust forward into the sloping plain, out of the line of the other similar hillocks, skirting the foothills. The hill rises about a thousand feet, or higher, above its base. When seen from the plains, i.e. from the South, it really appears round, — hence its name Gird-kūh, which means the "round hill", — looking as a huge Christmas cake. It lies due West from Damghân, and occupies quite an exceptional position with relation to the surrounding locality: from its top a sharp sighted watchman could observe the plains within a radius of about fifty miles, to the East, South, and West. Only on the North the wall of the main range forms an obstacle.

The place may be reached directly from Damghân, on horseback, within a day's march. But, as there is no habitation at the foot of the hill, it is easier to take the Tehran motor road as far as Dawlatâbâd, exactly twenty kilometers from Damghân. There are several hamlets situated close one to the other, and it is easy to get transport and guides here. From Dawlatâbâd it is only about ten kilometers to the hill. There is no proper road, but, it seems, a strong car, suitable for cross-country rides, would get through quite all right as far as the base.

At the time when the fortress flourished in the hands of the Ismailis, the Khorasan road passed much higher up, at the foot of the hill. A sort of an oasis in the desert was situated at its foot, to the South and South-West. As mentioned by Qazwini, there were several villages; now they are situated much lower down the slope. The ruins of Manşûrâbâd, referred to above, are quite conspicuous: the village, judging from the ruins, was quite large, and had many lofty buildings and strong fortifications, which occupied quite a considerable area. The ruins lie about five or six kilometers from Girdkūh, to the SSW. The place is now arid, only a few spots are cultivated. There are, apparently, also ruins of some other villages, of a smaller size, here and there. The cause of their ruin, and of the population shifting further down the slope, most probably was, as suggested by the local inhabitants, the growing desiccation of the country. The arable land is here irrigated by karizes, i.e. underground channels; these now have to be sunk deeper, and their outlets emerge from the soil much further from the hills.

Although I had no chance to see personally, I was informed by reliable people that in many places along the foot of the hills there are traces of the ancient road, which was commanded by Girdkūh. It probably shifted further down in sympathy with the gradual shifting of

the villages. As mentioned above, the fortress also guards a passage to the Caspian coast. The beginning of this track is formed by the valley of the Damghân river, which turns Eastward, towards the town, not far from the place in which Girdkûh stands. On the path which I followed while going from it to the hamlet of Ayânû, in the Damghân stream valley, I saw no habitation. But afterwards I received information that there was another road, on which, as I was told, there are in several places ruins of villages or fortifications, belonging, most probably, to the Ismaili period. This path leads from Girdkûh to the fort of Mir-Nigâr, as it is called, which is a miniature copy of Girdkûh itself.

The sides of the hill on which Girdkûh is situated are rocky and rise almost perpendicularly from the base. In many places no fortifications are required. Wherever scaling is possible strong defences were built, in the form of walls and towers, which ran along the crown line of the hill, especially on the Eastern and NE sides. Different groups of ruins are also scattered in many places of the hill. It is difficult to see now what was their purpose. Most probably in the days of the Ismaili occupation all were enclosed by walls, and paths or flights of stairs were leading from one group to the other. Now, after seven hundred years of the destructive action of the elements, very little remains beyond shapeless heaps of stone, with occasional traces of mortar between them.

When approaching the hill from Dawlatabad, one rides amongst the fields belonging to several small hamlets. These end near a low hillock of clay, and other soft formations. Further on the slope becomes steeper, the place quite arid, covered by loose stone washed down from the hills, with occasional broad and shallow spat-beds. First of all, at the foot of the steep sides of the hill, one sees a ruined building, with two door-like openings. The local people call it "prison". It is difficult to find whether it was a part of fortifications, or the gate of an entrance to the stairs leading up the top. It seems that there were several places by which one could climb up the hill, but at present the only practicable, without special arrangements, is the Northern side.

The hill is very rarely visited, even by shepherds, and there are no paths near its foot. The base is thickly covered by rising heaps of stone, mixed with potshards and pieces of mortar, all obviously washed down from the top of the fort. The stone, most probably, was used in making the walls and houses. Pieces of detached stucco, and occasional fragments of tiles suggest that the inside of the houses was calculated for a certain degree of comfort.

The present entrance to the top is extremely difficult to climb. It follows a natural depression, a sort of a "scratch", in the body of the hill, which after rain serves as a stream bed. This latter circumstance, obviously, is responsible for the absence of any traces of defences, paths, or stairs. There is no doubt that these existed, but were gradually washed down. First traces of walls appear quite near the top, as one climbs this crevice. They are in a very bad condition. It is only when the top is

reached that one finds himself amongst the ruins. It is impossible to visualise the condition of the slope on this side as it looked when the fortress was occupied.

The summit of the hill appears as a zig-zag ridge, narrow and rocky. On both sides of it there are depressions of different depth. It is quite possible that the surface of the top was much smoother seven hundred years ago, and that the depressions were deepened by rains and erosion. The ridge is covered with irregular heaps of stone, and occasional traces of walls, built from the same stone, cemented with mortar. It is quite obvious that here were situated the most important buildings of the fort. There is a large variety of potshards of all kinds, beginning with those of fine porcelain, and ending with pieces of thick clay vessels which most probably were used for storing water or grain. I saw not a single piece of hewn stone, and only in one place three small stairs cut in a rock. There are no traces of any inscriptions. The walls and towers are partly built of burnt bricks, especially the foundations in some places. But it is difficult to examine these walls properly because they usually hang over the precipice, and climbing down to them without ropes and special boots is very dangerous, as the earth and loose stones on the slopes roll down under the feet. Only careful and thorough excavations would probably help to form some idea of the plan of the fort, when the remaining foundations are surveyed. It is difficult to see even the main outlines of the fortifications, as the walls have disappeared in many places.

On the whole the impression can be formed that these buildings were exactly of the same type as those seen in Alamüt, Shirküh, and in other forts of the Ismailis, including the ruins in Khorasan, near Qâ'in, and in the Birjand valley (Kûhi Rich). It is quite obvious that all of them were built approximately at one and the same period, for similar purposes. Only excavations could decide the question as to whether these forts arose on the ruins of some earlier castles, dating from pre-Islamic period. All of them, quite clearly, were merely intended for sheltering garrisons, and the refugees at the hour of danger, and probably were never occupied by large population. In the absence of fire arms such forts as Girdküh would have been really formidable and impregnable so long as their garrisons had a sufficient supply of food and water. It is therefore quite easy to realise the enormous importance which the possession of such a stronghold on the main road connecting the West and the East of Persia would have to the Ismailis.

Returning to the description of Girdküh, it is necessary to mention, that just below the Northern depression by which the visitors climb up the hill, there is a sort of a "neck", connecting the hill with a number of the neighbour undulating ridges. Under this "neck" there is a small area, fairly smooth and free from sharp stone, overgrown with grass. One finds there a large number of spherical, artificially rounded stones, scattered about. These obviously are the stone "bombs", which

were rolled down by the garrison upon the heads of the besieging army. Many have more than two feet in diameter, and should have considerable weight. The fact that one sees them in such a large number in this particular spot may be explained by their rolling to the lowest place near the hill. It is also a good proof of the suggestion that even in the Mongol times the main entrance was on this side. Most probably similar "bombs" can also be found on the other sides of the fort, but are difficult to detect amongst the heaps of stone, while here they lie conspicuous on a smooth ground.

The smoothed ridge above the depression where the "bombs" lie, thickly covered by heaps of stone, with many potshards and other traces of habitation, most probably was the site of a village at the foot of the fort. It possibly was a settlement which not only was occupied with the families of the defenders of the fort, but also included caravanserais, stables, shops, etc., required for the intercourse with the outer world. As noted above, traces of similar settlements are seen near the "Rock of Alamût", and in Syria: there is a town at the foot of the fort of Maşyat. Quite possibly the inhabitants ascended the fort only at the hour of danger. At present not a wall is standing there, and no idea of the plan can be formed without excavations.

It is not clear what connection existed between Girdkûh and the small fort of Kûhi Mir Nigâr, mentioned above, in the valley of the Damghân stream. It is even not clear whether it also was in the possession of the Ismailis. Judging from the type of the fortifications, etc., it could be. Contrary to Girdkûh, the fort was inhabited at certain periods even after the Mongols. The local inhabitants still tell different stories about the bands of brigands who tenanted the fort, levying regular tolls on all traffic in the valley. A runner would be possibly able to reach this fort in a few hours after he starts from Girdkûh, and it seems difficult to believe that anyone in possession of that fort could tolerate the presence of the enemies in Kûhi Mir Nigâr. From this place it is about three good marches to the Caspian coast,—the town of Astrâbâd. The intervenient passes are very difficult, and therefore there is not much traffic here, especially nowadays. There is very little habitation along the road, and apparently no ruins of note.

As is known, the locality near Damghân had great importance under the Parthian kings. Several of their important towns were situated there. It is quite possible that such exceptionally strong sites, for military purposes, as Girdkûh and Kûhi Mir Nigâr, were not left unused by them in their long struggle against different nomad invaders from the Central Asian steppes. Only regular excavations may answer this question.

FAKHR-I-MUDABBIR

By AGHA ABDUS-SATTAR KHAN

IN 1927 Mr. (now Sir) E. Denison Ross edited the introductory portion of a unique Persian MS *Baḥr-al-Ansāb*¹ and called it *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-ud-Din Mubārakshāh al-Marvar-rūdhi*². This title does not seem to be correct as to all evidence the real author is Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, and Sir Edward has erroneously confused the two different personalities, namely Fakhr-ud-Din Mubārakshāh and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. A short biographical note on both authors is therefore needed in order to clarify the issue and to give a clear view of the whole matter.

The author of *Baḥr-al-Ansāb* himself gives his full name as Sharif³ Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Sa'id b. Abi'l-Faraj, surnamed Mubārakshāh, and commonly known as Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. He counts⁴ Abū Muslim, who raised the standard of Abbāsīd claim to Caliphate, amongst his ancestors and traces his geneology on his father's side to Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq⁵, the first Caliph of Islam; and on his mother's side through the princesses of the Ghaznavid house to Amir Bilkāṭigin who ascended the throne of Ghazna in 355 A.H./966 A.C.

Sharif Abu'l-Faraj was a trusted treasurer of Sultan Ibrāhīm (451—492 A.H./1059—1099 A.C.) of Ghazna and held twenty-one different offices from time to time. He was a devoted servant and close friend of the Sultan and the author says "he [the Sultan] had full confidence in him, as they were brought up together". The author further remarks: "Before Ibrāhīm's occupying the throne, he [Abu'l-Faraj] shared the Sultan's imprisonment in the fort of Nāe; and [later he] was often entrusted with such duties as could not be accomplished by others."⁶

Nothing is known of our author's grand-father, Sa'id; but according to the author's own statement⁷, his father, Maṣṣūr, was a very learned man and an accomplished scholar in more than twenty branches of

1. *ʿĀjab-Nāmah*, p. 382.

2. Sir Edward has this form of the word, but I for the sake of uniformity adopt *Marw-rūdhi*.

3. Sharif is most probably the family title as his great-grand father also employs it (A.H. ft 42 43 b. B.M.)

4. A.H. ff 107b. 118a B.M

5. *Ibid.*, also T.M p. 63

6. A.H., ft 42. 43 B.M

7. T.M pp. 68—70.

knowledge. He was also the head of the Imāms of the "two cities"¹ and the adjoining area. All acknowledged his superiority and paid homage to his learning. He had acquired learning at the feet of a score of teachers², but none of them survived him.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, our author, is very reticent as to the facts of his own life. We do not know the date and place of his birth, but from what can be gathered from the references here and there, he was probably of Indian origin and had his home at Lahore as his abode, though at occasions he visited other towns such as Multan and Peshawar. He passed his early years in Multan.³

There is an anecdote⁴ of a Christian physician who fell in love with a slave girl of Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna, became a convert to Islām and was married to that girl. She bore him four children, namely, two boys and two girls, and the author says that these boys were of his age and were his playmates. Abū Sa'id, which is the name of this physician, must have married this girl in the last years of Bahrām Shāh's reign. This also gives us no definite clue to the date of our author's birth, but this much is certain that he lived on till the days of Sultan Shams-ud-Dīn Īltūtmish (607—633 A.H./1210—1236 A.C.) as he dedicates⁵ one of his works, the *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb wa'l-Shajā'at*⁶, to the said Sultan.

Subsequently, he is seen visiting various places on different missions. His next shift is probably to Peshawar⁷, where he witnesses Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sam's valourous feat of lion-hunting. From Peshawar, he pays a visit⁸ to Batne-Garām and Sanābūr.

Later he is permanently residing at Lahore, of which place he gives both historical and geographical accounts in the *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb*⁹. When referring to its foundation he attributes it to a certain Chajj-bin-Hind who was followed by his son Minbarth, who died at the age of 93. The throne remained in this family for further two generations, but was lost to them in 389 A.H./999 A.C. in the battle with Anandpāl, son of Jaipāl. The date of laying out the city of Lahore thus falls in the 8th century A.C.

While at Lahore, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is busy with the compilation of his work, and so he proceeds for a short visit to Ghazna in search of

1 The two cities were Lahore and Ghazna (T M p 30).

2 The names of a few of them are given in T M pp. 69, 70

3 A.H. f 186 b (B.M.)

4 A.H. f 22a (B.M.)

5 *Ibid.* f 9b B.M.

6 Rieu's Cat Pers. MSS B.M. Vol II, p 487. Ivanow's Cat Pers. MSS. A.S. Bengal, p 744. Another MS. copy of this work has the title *Ādāb-al-Mulūk-wa-Kifāyat-al-Mamlūk* (Erbe's Cat. Pers. MSS I.O.L. Col 1493).

7 A.H. f 109b B.M.

8 *Ibid.* f 123a B.M.

9 *Ibid.* f 122b B.M.

material for his book¹, as is described by our author², who says "The martyred Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Din Muḥammad bin Sâm raided Lahore and conquered it and took away its ruler Khusrû Malik along with him to Ghazna.

According to *Ṭabaqât-i-Nāṣirî*³, this expedition happened in 583 A.H./1187 A.C. These and many other events connected with India bear testimony to his being born and brought up in this country. There is no doubt that the family had lived previously in Ghazna, but during his father's life time, possibly, owing to political exigencies the place of residence was shifted.

The Pseudo author

Now we come to Fakhr-ud-Din Mubārakshāh b. al-Husain al-Marw-rūdhi who, according to Muḥammad 'Awfi⁴, *Malik-ul-Kalām*⁵ and Grand Wazîr (صدر اجل), was the court poet of the Sultans of Ghor, and resided at Firōzkūh. "His residential quarters had become a sort of sanctuary for the visitors on account of his bounties. He was of an amiable nature and won the appreciation of all and sundry. During the reign of Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-Din he performed many duties and spent a portion of his time in composing *Qasidas* suitable to the status of various personages and was rewarded accordingly." Commenting upon his poetry 'Awfi says: "His quatrains and *Qasidas* are well-known everywhere for their simplicity and geniality." His high position and superiority are established by the fact that when the great Amir Zahir-ud-Din as-Samûri as-Sijizî visited him, he was acting as an ambassador from Sistân at the court of Sultân Ghiyāth-ud-Din. Most probably this event took place in 597 A.H./1200 A.C. when the Sultan conquered Nishâpûr the Malik⁶ of Sistân served under his banner.⁷ Zahir-ud-Din, the contemporary poet, is full of praise for his poetical gifts.⁸

Minhâj-i-Sirâj gives a very short but precise account of his position in the royal court. That his poetical attainments were of a high order can be noticed from the fact that on one occasion a single quatrain of his dissuaded Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-Din from taking part in hunting.⁹ Com-

1. T M p 62

2. *Ibid.*

3. T N. pp. 28, 29.

4. *Lubâb* I, pp. 125, 126.

5. T.N. also gives him this appellation pp 28, 29

6. The Malik of Sistân was Tāj-ud-Din Harb but he had become very old and his son Nāṣir-ud-Din was the virtual ruler (*Lubâb* I, p. 132).

7. *Sensân*. Part I, p 29.

8. *Lubâb* I, pp. 134, 136.

9. T.N. p 81

menting upon Fakhr-ud-Dīn's *Nisbat Nāmāh*, Minhāj-i-Sirāj¹ says: "He has also versified the geneological tree of these famous kings (i.e., ghorids), beginning from Dahhāk, the Arab, and carrying on the train of succession from generation to generation." Minhāj also states that he saw the said *Nisbat Nāmāh* in 602 A.H./1205 A.C. when he was fourteen years old, in the harem of Princess Māh Malik, the daughter of Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn. The statement of Minhāj-i-Sirāj as to the *Nisbat Nāmāh* being in verse is supported by other evidence.

Mu'in-ud-Dīn Isfizārī has quoted the following verses in the *Rawzat-al-Jannāt*², and Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī³ is of the opinion that they are taken from the said *Nisbat Nāmāh*. They are:

که بروی خطیبی همه خطبه خواند	باسلام در هیچ منبر نماند
نکردند لعنت فصیح و صریح	که بر آل یاسین بلفظ قبیح
که از دست هر کس که آمد برون	دیار بلندش از آن بد مصون
نه در آشکار و نه اندر نهفت	از آن جنس هر کردران کس نکفت
بدین بر همه عالمش فخر دان	نه رفت اندران لعنت خاندان
بدین فخر دارند بر هر ثراد	همین پادشاهان بادین و داد

Ibn-al-Athīr⁴ (d. 630 A.H./1232-3 A.C.) states: "Fakhr-ud-Dīn was a good poet both in Persian and Arabic and had a high position in Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn's court." He further remarks⁵ that the Sultan's Shāfi'ite tendencies were due to him.⁶ Again the author of *Habīb-al-Siyar*⁷ says: "Among the contemporary poets of Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn was Mubarak Shāh Ghori, the author of *Madkhal-i-Manẓūm dar 'Ilm-i-Nujūm*⁸ who composed elegant *Qasidas* for the Sultan."

The death of Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārakshāh as distinct from Fakhr-i-Mudabbir would throw further light on the matter under discussion. Fakhr-ud-Dīn died in the month of Shawwāl, 602 A.H./1205 A.C. as stated by Ibn al-Athīr⁹, three years after his patron Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn

1 *Ibid.*, v. 28.

2 *Rawzat-al-Jannāt* f 81b.

3 *Ta'liqāt* in *Luhāf* I, p. 327.

4 *Kāmil* XII, p. 113.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

6. Minhāj-i-Sirāj's view which is different from this seems more plausible when he says that the Sultan's change of creed was due to Qāzi Waḥī-ud-Dīn al-Marw-rūdhi (T.N. pp. 77, 78).

7. *Habīb-al-Siyar* II, p. 155.

8. Hājī Khalīfa says in *Kashf-al-Zunūn* V, p. 472: المدخل الى علم النجوم لآي العباس احمد السر حسي الطيب المتوفى ٦٢٨٦ هـ والحميني مختصر مرتب على خمسة فصول ومطلوب من انشاء مباركة غوري (غوري is most probably a misprint for غوري).

9. *Kāmil* XII, p. 113.

(d. 599 A.H./1202 A.C.). He was at Firōzkuh and must have been sufficiently old when Zāhīr-ud-Dīn visited him in 597 A.H./1200 A.C., as he described his condition in these verses¹:

Having placed before the reader the available material on the lives of the two individuals under review, a certain criticism now remains to be made before we draw our final conclusion. The following arguments will make it clear that Sir E. D. Ross has mistaken Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārakshāh for Fakhr-i-Mudabbir.

(1) In his early days Fakhr-i-Mudabbir heard from a certain Khwājah 'Alī Kaznābādī, the account of a battle (in which the narrator himself had taken part) fought between Sultan Halīm Khusrū Shāh and 'Ala-ud-Dīn Ghorī. This battle probably took place in 552 A.H./1157 A.C., the year in which Khusrū Shāh ascended the throne of Ghazna²; and Khwājah related this event to our author fifteen years later, i.e., in 567 A.H./1171 A.C. Thus, at that date Fakhr-i-Mudabbir must have been about ten to fifteen years old.

(2) Again, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is found at Peshawar when Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām goes on a lion-hunting excursion. This event probably dates 601 A.H./1204 A.C., when the Sultan fell back after a crushing defeat at Andkhud.³ Then our author travels to other places and finally to Lahore, from where he proceeds to Ghazna to procure material for his book.

(3) In 583 A.H./1187 A.C., when Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām seizes Sultan Khusrū Malik as a prisoner of war from Lahore, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is seen at Lahore, which has become his residence. A further reason for this inference is that in 602 A.H./1205 A.C., he meets both Sultans Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām and Quṭb ud-Dīn Ībak (after the latter's coronation) at Lahore.

(4) In his works⁴ Fakhr-i-Mudabbir mostly deals with the Sultans of Ghazna and Hindūstān, while he provides very little information is about the Sultans of Ghor. If Fakhr-ud-Dīn were really the author of *Tārīkh Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārakshāh* edited by Sir E. D. Ross, he could not have possibly remained silent on matter concerning Ghor; on the other hand, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is really unconcerned with Ghor and throws, comparatively, a flood of light about Ghazna and the Punjab. He even seems to be acquainted with the Hindi language, as is evident from the many Hindi words he employs. His information about Indian arms is abundant, and in the *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb*, he provides us with quite a useful account about this country. Under these circumstances it would not be astonishing if he is called an Indian or at least, of Indian birth. His contact with the Hindi language could only be possible when he had passed a period of his life in India.

1 *Lubāb* I, pp 131, 132

2. Raverty I, pp 112—114 notes

3 T.M., p. 25

4 A.H.

(5) It is rather strange that an intermediary¹ is required to acquaint the author with Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Din Muhammad bin Sâm, for had the author been really a native of Marw-rûdh, and a high official of Sultan Ghiyâth-ud-Din, such mediation was hardly necessary as the two Sultans had had chances to meet each other as brothers.

(6) Fakhr-ud-Din is known to us as a poet. His *Nisbat Nâmah* is in verse. He has composed eulogistic *Qasidas* for Ghiyâth-ud-Din, 'Alâ-ud-Din and Sayf-ud-Din, and holds established reputation as poet, so much so that Zahir-ud-Din Naṣr as-Samûri as-Sijizi expressed his admiration for him in verse. On the other hand, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is not at all in touch with poetry, though he had written two voluminous books in Persian prose. In his works he has occasionally used verses of others, not composed by himself, which shows that he had no poetical gift.

(7) Fakhr-ud-Din, according to Ibn al-Athîr, died in Shawwâl 602 A.H./1205 A.C., three years after his patron's death Zahir-ud-Din proceeds from Sîstân as an ambassador to the royal court in 597 A.H./1200 A.C., when Fakhr-ud-Din was residing at Firôzkuh and was of advanced age. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, on the other hand, is a man of mature age in 602 A.H./1205 A.C. and is living till 607 A.H./1210 A.C. The *Âdab* seems to have been presented very late in the reign as he calls himself *مسنون* at which time he must have become old.

(8) Fakhr-ud-Din starts his career as a writer and compiler in 551 A.H./1156 A.C., when he dedicated² his *Nisbat Nâmah* to 'Alâ-ud-Din Jahânsuz; he completed his career in the days of Sultan Ghiyâth-ud-Din, while Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is busy writing and compiling at the end of this century, and completes his work in the following century. His first work, the *Bahr-al-Ansâb*, is dedicated to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din Îbak and in his second, *Âdab-al-Harb*, he does not appear to be so old as to describe himself as a hunchback.

(9) If Fakhr-ud-Din is the Grand Wazîr of Ghiyâth-ud-Din (559—599 A.H./1164—1202 A.C.) and for the performance of his duties has to be at the royal court in Firôzkuh, how did he then get time to travel about to Lahore, Peshawar and Multan?

(10) Fakhr-i-Mudabbir says³: "The geneological table of our family was left behind in Ghazna on account of the onslaughts of Ghuzz, and there was no one to fetch it from there." In 583 A.H./1187 A.C., when Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Din conquered Lahore and made Khusrû Malik his prisoner of war, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir availed himself of the opportunity and visited Ghazna for the first time, and came back to Lahore. We must infer that his family previously lived in Ghazna, when referring to the Ghuzz he says⁴:

1. T.M. p. 71

2. T.N. p. 29.

3. T.M. p. 62.

4. *Ibid.* p. 19.

«مردمان اصیل اهل از دست ظلم ایشان جلا اختیار کرده و ضیاع و اسباب خانه بگذاشته و برفته» —

and subsequently shifted to the Punjab. Thus to designate our author as Marw-rûdhi is rather untenable. Secondly, our author's father who was a great savant of the day is living till 600 A.H./1203 A.C.¹ Not only this, but we also gather from the authors account that his family lived in Ghazna more than hundred years earlier. Abu'l-Faraj, the author's great-grandfather, held the office of treasurer of Sultan Ibrâhim (451—492 A.H./1059—1099 A.C.). On account of the depredations of Ghuzz the family later shifted to Lahore. So our author cannot be called al-Marw-rûdhi.

The Ghuzz, who were responsible for the migration of the author's family, were driven away by Sultan Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn in 569 A.H./1173-74 A.C., and Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dîn Muḥammad bin Sâm was made the ruler of Ghazna. In spite of this the author does not take courage to go to Ghazna even though he is anxious to procure his ancestral documents. From this it can be inferred that not only in the days of Ghuzz but also in the Ghorid times it was not possible for any of the people of Lahore to travel to Ghazna without fear; and till Ghazna and Lahore came under one monarch, our author could not go to Ghazna.

This brings us to the point that if the author was Fakhr-ud-Dîn Mubâarakshâh, he ought to have had no hitch in going to Ghazna as since 569 A.H./1173-74 A.C. Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dîn Muḥammad bin Sâm was its ruler. Observing the above-stated conditions, how is it possible that till 583 A.H./1187 A.C. he lengthens his stay at Lahore notwithstanding his requirements, and does not proceed to Ghazna.

(11) The author says: "When the martyred Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dîn Muḥammad bin Sâm came to Lahore in 602 A.H./1205 A.C. someone informed him that somebody had prepared a unique *Shajara*. The Sultan sent for me and the *Shajara*, as he wanted to see it." But the author replies to the Sultan in a very uncouth manner. It is unbelievable that Fakhr-ud-Dîn, who had for long been a courtier of Sultan Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn, would have replied to Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dîn in impolite terms. Such an answer can only be expected from one who has no knowledge and no experience of royal courts and has lived in a remote corner of the world.

Consequently, in the light of the above facts we have the boldness to say that Fakhr-ud-Dîn Mubâarakshâh al-Marw-rûdhi, the poet and panegyrist of the Sultans of Ghôr, is a different personality from Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, and is not the author of the so-called *Târikh-i-Fakhr-ud-Dîn*

1. *Ibid*, p 70

2 T.M p 71

Mubarakshāh, edited by Sir Edward Denison Ross. Hence, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr Mubarakshāh Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is the author of both the *Tārīkh* and the *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb wa'sh-Shajā'at*.

ABBREVIATIONS:

A.H.	<i>Ādāb-al-Ḥarb wa'sh-Shajā'at</i>
B.M.	British Museum Copy.
<i>Lubāb</i>	<i>Lubāb-al-Albāb</i>
T.M.	<i>Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubarakshāh</i> .
T.N.	<i>Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī</i>

THE USE OF CANNON IN MUSLIM INDIA

By SYED ABU ZAFAR NADVI

WHEN cannon was first used in India is not definitely known. Ziauddin Barani writes in connection with the siege of Ranthambhar (699 A.H.):

"One day Nusrat Khan went near the fort, and he contemplated building mounds, but Western stones (*sang-i-maghribi*) were violently gushing out from the fort, and a stone fell upon Nusrat Khan, who got severely wounded."¹

He writes in the same connection that when a pretty long time passed during the siege without any result, they tried to bridge the ditch by filling it with sand. At this juncture the Rajputs threw fire and stones from inside the fort. He writes:

"Bags and sacks were provided from surrounding localities and distributed to the troops. They began to bridge the ditch by filling them with sand, and making heaps of them. They (the defenders) shot western stones and demolished the mounds thereby, and threw fire from the top of the fort."²

We know that the use of the *manjaniq* and of fire had become common in India. The point to be considered is: What is "Western stone"? Ferishta interprets it to be the *manjaniq*. But if it was really the *manjaniq*, why did Barani use these new words? He would naturally have used *manjaniq* as he has done often. I think it was cannon. Cannon was already introduced in the 6th Century A.H., and by the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th centuries A.H. it was widely used in Spain, Africa, Egypt and Arabia. This new implement was borrowed by other countries from Spain and North Africa—countries which were called in Arabia "the West"; therefore was called "Western stone", which had *midfa'* as its Arabic equivalent.

Muhammad bin Umar Makki, who lived long in Arabia, writes of the siege of Jhaban (699 A.H.):

"One day Nusrat Khan paraded the troops and, making the round of the camp, stood before the cannon which were opposite the bastion in which was Haner Deo. At that time Muhammad Shah was there. When he recognised Nusrat Khan he asked Haner Deo what he would

1. Ziauddin Barani. *Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta Ed. p. 272

2. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

give him in reward, if he should kill the rider, i.e., Nusrat Khan. Haner Deo promised to give the gold necklace set with precious stones which he was wearing. He shot a ball accurately and he (Nusrat Khan) fell dead from his horse. The people of the fort shouted for joy."¹

The same author writes in another place:

"They tried to raise the cannon for the conquest of the fort, and similarly the *damdama*. Cannon were being fired with destructive effect from both sides. The people of the fortress were more successful in destroying the *damdama* and throwing incendiary materials."²

We cannot take it that the author is here mistaken in translating "Western stone" as *midfa'* instead of *manjaniq*. He has been careful to write *mumjaniq* in places where Barani has it. In connection with Alauddin Khilji's early career he writes:

"Alauddin started from Karra and halted near Delhi... He had a *manjaniq* with him. Gold mohurs were showered through the *manjaniq* on the nobles and nobles who came to see him."

The author, who had been long in Arabia, well knew the "Western stone". He is therefore correct in translating it *midfa'*. He writes: "Ziauddin Barani has written that once he went riding to the fortress, and as he was trying to raise higher the *damdama*, a stone cannon-ball struck him and he died after two days."³

This goes to show that the author's translation of *Sang-i-Maghribi* as *midfa'* was deliberate. This is corroborated by the *Tabaqat Bahadur Shahi*, the author of which was contemporary with Babur and Humayun.

Sulaiman Aikat Khan wanted to usurp the throne by murdering Alauddin, but the latter was fortunate enough to escape from his hand. The troops of Alauddin celebrated his escape with great rejoicings. In the *Tabaqat Bahadur Shahi* we read:

"There was great joy and exultation in the camp. Drums were beaten, trumpets sounded, men shouted, elephants trumpeted, guns were fired and cannon thundered."

One of these cannon was so heavy that it was drawn by 100 bullocks. When it moved, it shook the earth.

In the Deccan also incendiary arms were widely used. Muhammad Shah Bahmani used the *manjaniq* in the battle of Telingana in 763 A.H.⁴ Guns were also in vogue at that time. When Muhammad Shah was retreating from the battlefield of Telingana, the people of that place inflicted severe losses on his army by means of guns. Muhammad Shah himself had his arm injured by a bullet. Cannon too were used in the Deccan by powerful Rajas. In 767, the Raja of Vijayanagar brought several hundred cannon into the battlefield against Muhammad Shah Bahmani,

1 *Zafaranwala* p. 800, vol. II, Leyden

2 *Ibid*, p. 779

3. *Ibid* . p. 800.

4 *Tarikh Ma'bar* Aligarh.

who secured these as war booty after defeating his opponent. Ferishta writes:

"We believe on the authority of *Tuhfatul-Muslmin* that two thousand elephants, thirty hundred cannon and *darb-zan*, seven hundred horses and one hundred enamelled palanquins came into the king's possession and the rest were taken by the nobles."

After this battle, writes Ferishta, Muhammad Shah Bahmani gave special attention to artillery, and a special branch for it was added to his army. He appointed an officer named Muqarrab Khan, a native of Seistan, as head of his artillery. Ferishta's actual words are:

"Sultan Muhammad Shah did not press hard to conquer the fort. He despatched orders asking for cannon and *darb-zan* from all territories. He founded a factory of fire-arms (cannon) which was not till then established in the Deccan. He had a separate department for it under Muqarrab Khan, son of Safdar Khan of Seistan, who was a trusted noble. The Rumis (Turks) and the Farangi (Europeans) were all placed under him; and thus on account of them, he was able to possess a big arsenal."

At the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century A.H., the use of cannon became very common and victory depended on judicious use of these weapons. In 825 A.H. Ahmed Shah Bahmani, fighting against Vijayanagar, made a fortress of cannon to check the onslaught of the enemy.¹ In 826 A.H., Sultan Zeynul-Abidin, the ruler of Kashmir, had a man at his court named Rajab who taught the people of Kashmir to manufacture gunpowder, guns and cannon. It was as a sequel to his training that Kashmir abounded in skilful cannoneers,² who dismantled mountain forts of Kashmir and Tibet. "Adam Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Zeynul-Abidin", writes Ferishta, "conquered the realm of Tibet with the help of his cannoneers and brought immense booty for his father."³

Gujarat also used cannon freely. Sultan Ahmad Shah, who had superiority over his neighbours because of his organised artillery, used cannon in 825 A.H. in the battle of Malwa.⁴ Later on Malwa also used cannon. In 862 A.H. Sultan Mahmud Shah of the Khilji dynasty bombarded Mandalgash, so that the water of a big cistern in the fortress went dry.⁵

Sultan Mahmud Beghra excelled his contemporary rulers in the organisation of his artillery. Besides field and siege guns he had artillery which was used in naval battles.⁶

The famous fort Champaner of Gujarat had remained invulnerable

1 Ferishta, Nawalkishore Ed., p. 320

2 *Ibid.*, p. 344

3 *Ibid.*, p. 345

4 Ferishta Vol II p. 186.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 251

6 *Ibid.*, p. 201

but it was subdued in 889 A.H. by the heavy discharge of Mahmud Beghra's artillery.¹ In 913 A.H., the Sultan fought a naval battle against the Portuguese and destroyed their ships with his cannon.² In 924 A.H. Sultan Muzaffar, son of Mahmud Beghra, invaded Mandu and conquered it with the help of his organised artillery. Mulla Malali, the author of the contemporary work *Muzaffar Shahi*, writes of the siege:

'The naphtha-throwers reduced the mountain to dust with their Western stones, and the mountain stood in awe of these balls... The mountain could not bear shots of balls weighing a hundred maunds, the walls of the fort were damaged, and the tops of ramparts opened their mouths...' ³

Bahadur Shah, ruler of Gujarat, was unrivalled among his contemporaries in the extent of his empire, holding sway over territories ranging from the Arabian Sea to Ajmer and Bayana, and from the Sind frontier to the Deccan. He had a great love for cannon. He made a collection of cannon of various designs. Fortunately he got a Portuguese Muslim convert and a Turk called Rumi Khan, who were great expert in their manufacture of cannons. They constructed various models never seen before in India. Rumi Khan exhibited wonderful feats of artillery during the conquest of Chitor. The author of *Mirat Sikandari* writes:

"It is said that the feats which Rumi Khan showed in the course of the siege of Chitor were never seen nor heard before. In taking cannon up to the ramparts of the mountains fortress and in rendering asunder the fortress he performed wonders, and after a very short time, the infidels were vanquished."⁴

Rumi Khan came of a Turkoman family. His original name was Mustafa Khan. He was deputed to Egypt by Circassian slaves. Thence he went on to the Yaman, and lived for a while at Aden. At length he came to port Deo (Kathiawar), where he was welcomed by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who made him chief of his artillery with the title of Rumi Khan.⁵

Rumi Khan had brought with him a big cannon, which was commonly known as the "Egyptian Cannon":

"The Sultan went to Deo, and sent from there a big Egyptian cannon, which Rumi Khan had brought to Muhammadabad, accompanied by another hundred cannons for the subjugation of Chitor. It is said that it was drawn by three hundred men and innumerable buffaloes."⁶

The name of the cannon was "Laylah", Salman the Turkoman had

1 *Ibid*, p. 202.

2 *Ibid*, p. 204

3 *Muzaffar Shahi*, MS. Bhola Nath Library, Ahmedabad

4. *Mirat Sikandari*, Bombay, 2nd Edition, p. 234.

5. *Zafaranwala*, Vol I, p. 218

6 *Mirat Sikandari*, p. 232

it first named "Sultan Sulayman Turki". When Salman fell near Kamran, Amir Mustafa emigrated to port Deo with all the cannon and ships. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat had similar cannon constructed and it was named "Majnun".

This Egyptian cannon was in Champaner in Akbar's days. It was then conveyed to Surat, and is now in the fortress of Junagarh. It is named "Sulayman Top" in books, but it is now commonly known as "Karanal". It is about 17ft. long, and its mouth is 2ft. wide. Its balls were of stone, each weighing several maunds. The maker of the cannon was Muhammad ibn Hamzah. The cannon bears the following inscription:

"This cannon was made in Egypt by the orders of Sultan Sulayman Khan, son of Salim Khan, ruler of Arabia and Persia (May God help him), to defeat the fiendish Portuguese raiders of India, the foes of God and religion. Dated 937 A.H. Maker Muhammad, son of Hamzah."

Another cannon, smaller in size, of the same period is also placed in the fortress; its maker is the same Muhammad ibn Hamzah. Its ball weighed one maund as is known from the inscription.

Now as to the cannon called "Majnun", which was also named "Bahadur Shahi". It was lodged in Champaner, but when Bahadur Shah, defeated by Humayun, took refuge in the island of Deo, the cannon was put out of order by his vanquished army. Humayun was much disappointed, but Rumi Khan, who had deserted Bahadur Shah, put it in order by chopping off some parts of it. As a result it grew smaller and weaker; still "it was a horror. When Rumi Khan again used it, it dismantled the gate at one stroke and in another it uprooted a tree standing near the gate. The people of the fortress shivered with horror on account of the cannon."¹

"This upset Ikhtiyar Khan, who promised Farang Khan, Rumi Khan's rival, a great reward if he could diminish the horror. Farang Khan was also an expert cannonier. He fired so skilfully that he broke the cannon into pieces. Ikhtiyar Khan failed to give Farang Khan all that he had promised, but Raja Narsingh Deo gave him seven maunds of gold as reward."²

"In 940 A.H. Bahadur Shah learnt that the Portuguese contemplated occupying Deo. He was at the time in Malwa, but he hurried at once to Deo. The Portuguese fled hurriedly leaving their biggest cannon, which Bahadur Shah sent to Champaner. This was named *Topi-Farang*."³

It is strange to find that Bahadur Shah, who possessed an excellent artillery, was brought to ruin mainly through that very cause. After the conquest of Chitor, when Humayun led an expedition against Bahadur Shah, Rumi Khan advised the latter to make a "fortress of cannon" and pitch his war-camp inside. It was invulnerable for a while,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

3. *Ferishta*, vol. II, p. 222.

but Humayun stopped all provisions. A severe famine broke out, and Bahadur Shah had to fly ignominiously. This show, however, that Bahadur Shah possessed cannon in great numbers.

ALL THIS proves conclusively that cannon were used in India long before Babur used them on the plains of Panipat. Babur had certainly a considerable force of artillery with him at the battle of Panipat, but they were doubtless less efficient than those of the Deccan and Gujarat.

Babur, however, used artillery on all occasions. When he was marching on to Panipat, "he had his gun-carriages, according to the custom of Rum, connected together with twisted bull-hides as with chains. The matchlock-men stood behind these guns and discharged their matchlocks."

The judicious use of artillery made by Babur in the battle of Panipat is a proof of his unrivalled generalship. He writes: "I ordered Muhammad Kokultash to advance in front of the centre and engage. Ustad Ali Khan also discharged his cannon many times in front of the line to good purpose. Mustafa, the cannoneer on the left of the centre, managed his artillery with great effect. The right and left division, the centre and flankers, having surrounded that enemy and taken them in rear, were now engaged in hot conflict . . . The troops on the right and left of their centre being huddled together in one place, such confusion ensued, that the enemy, while totally unable to advance, found also no road by which they could flee."¹

Babur describes the founding of a cannon at Agra under the direction of his ordnance-master, Ustad Quli Khan, in the following words:

"Around the mould they had erected eight furnaces for melting the metal. From the foot of each started a channel which ended in the mould. As soon as I had arrived, the holes to allow the flow of metal were opened. The fused metal rushed into the mould like boiling water. After a time, before the mould was full, the fused metal from the furnaces began to flow very slowly, either because their size or the amount of material had been wrongly calculated. Ustad Quli Khan, in a state that cannot be described, wished to fling himself into the very midst of the melted copper. I made much of him, ordered him a robe of honour and thus succeeded in claiming him. A day or two afterwards, when the mould had cooled down, it was opened. Ustad Quli Khan, overwhelmed with joy, sent me word that the bore of the piece had no fault and that a chamber could easily be made in it. The body of the cannon was then uncovered and a certain number of artificers were set to finish it, while he busied himself with the preparation of the chamber."² This chamber was cast separately and the cannon was then tried, and it fired a ball to the distance of sixteen hundred paces.

1. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*. Accounts of 932 A.H.

2. *Ibid.*, 933 A.H: vide also Ikne's *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 114.

He writes again, giving accounts of the early events of 934 A.H.:

"On Sunday, (29th Safar), Ustad Ali Quli fired a large ball from a cannon; though the ball went far, the cannon burst in pieces, every piece knocked down several men, of whom eight died."¹

Babur made profuse use of artillery in the battle against Rana Sanga, as well as in the siege of Chanderi when he wanted to cross the Ganges near Kanauj. he wished to construct a bridge over the river and appointed commissaries to provide everything requisite for it. To keep off the enemies, Ustad Ali Quli brought a gun, and having pitched upon a proper spot, began his fire. The work of the construction of the bridge was thus commenced. Higher up than the bridge abreastwork was raised, over which the matchlock-men fired with great execution. "For several days," writes Babur, "while the bridge was being built, Ustad Ali Kuli played his cannon remarkably well. The first day he discharged it eight times, the second day sixteen times, and for the three or four days he continued firing in the same way. The cannon which he fired was called *Deg-ghazi* (the Victorious Gun). It was the same which had been used in war with Sanka the Pagan, whence it got its name. Another cannon, larger than this, had been planted, but it burst at the first fire."²

He writes in connection with his expedition to Bengal of 935 A.H.:

"It was finally settled that Ustad Ali should plant his cannon, his *farangi* pieces and *darb-zan* (swivel), on a rising ground between the Ganges and the Saru, and also keep up a hot fire with a number of matchlock-men from the post; that a little lower down than the junction of the two rivers, opposite to an island, where there was a number of vessels collected, Mustafa on the Bihar side of the Ganges should get all his artillery and ammunition in readiness and commence a cannonade; a number of matchlock-men were placed under his command."³

When this was completed, Babur embarked and crossed the Ganges. "I, then, myself", writes he, "went and saw Ustad Ali Kuli employed in firing his Rumi artillery. That day Ustad Ali Kuli struck two vessels with shot from his Rumi cannons and sank them."

It is, however, not to be understood that the Bengalis had no artillery. They also were engaged in discharging heavy showers of cannon balls, which was a source of great trouble to Babur's army. Babur writes:

"About noon-day prayers, a person came from Ustad with a notice that the bullet was ready to be discharged, and that he waited for instructions. I sent orders to discharge it and to have another loaded before I came up.

"About afternoon prayers, I embarked in a small Bengalee boat, and proceeded to the place, where batteries had been erected. Ustad discharged a very large stone bullet once, and fired the *farangies* several

1. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, 934 A.H.; vide also Elliot vol IV, p 274.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, 934 A.H.; vide also Elliot vol IV, pp 278-79

3. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, 935 A.H.; Elliot, vol. IV, pp 284-85.

times. The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point but discharge at random."¹ A cannon-shot from the opposite camp broke the hinder part of Babur's boat, which could not go ahead for some time.

Sher Shah's period of rule was too short to show a conspicuous progress with regard to artillery. The cannon he possessed were mostly Humayun's which Sher Shah had gained after vanquishing the former.

In the 9th century A.H., the Bahmani Kingdom was disrupted into the three different dynasties of Adil Shah, Nizam Shah and Qutub Shah.

The Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur ruled for 200 years (896 to 1097 A.H.). They were obliged to keep up an organised and efficient army, for they had on one hand to make constant war with the Hindu State of Vijayanagar, and on the other to ward off the danger of attack from the neighbouring Muslim States. They were in close touch with Turkey, Arabia and Iran, and so had a very efficient section of artillery. There was also a factory which manufactured cannons. The Nizam Shahi dynasty also had a similar factory in their dominions. A short description of some individual pieces of ordnance which are still extant may be of interest.

There is a cannon on the rampart of Udaigir fort (in the Nizam's Dominions) named *Sher-bachcha* (Tiger-cub). Its length is 7 ft. and the diameter of the bore is 9 in. On another bastion of the same fort there is another cannon, 11 ft. long, and the diameter of its bore is 9 in. Its shape is like a crocodile.

There are eleven cannons in the fortress of Usa (Nizam's Dominions), among them are those named *Nizam Shahi*, *Bahattari* (Seventy-two), *Karak-bijli* (Thunder-lightning), *Sher-dahan* (Tiger-mouth), *Lam-charhi* (Far-flyer), *Kala Pahar* (Black Mountain). The *Nizam Shahi* measures 8 ft. in length, and 10 in. in diameter of the bore. It contains the following inscription: "Abu'l-Ghazi Shah Nizam, work of Ustad Muhammad Husayn Rumi."

The appellation "Rumi" shows that the manufacturers of big cannons were mostly Turks, as is proved by other inscriptions also.

There is another cannon on the "Silver Bastion" of the fortress of Usa. Its length is 10 ft. 6 in. Another cannon at the same place is 6½ ft. long, and 9 in. in diameter. It bears an Arabic inscription which is not legible. The Arabic character of the inscription proves that the cannon is of the period of the Bahmani rulers when all inscriptions were written in Arabic. *Fatih Lashkar* (Army-Conqueror) is placed on the rampart of the fortress of Bidar. It was moulded rather than constructed. Its length is 11 ft. 6 in., the circumference 2 ft. 3 in., the diameter of the bore 1 ft. 2 in. After the *bismillah*, the inscription reads that the cannon loads one maund and ten seers of gun powder and a ball of 5½ maunds,

1 *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, 935 A.H.; Elliot vol. IV, p. 285

and that it can hold additional ten seers of gunpowder. Then follow a few Quranic verses from the Surah "The Victory", after which come the following lines:

"The conquering cannon named *Fatih Lashkar* was constructed in the reign of His Exalted Highness Ali Jah Mirza Shah Mahmud, entitled Humayun Akram Barid Shah (May God ever maintain his kingdom and kingship), Dated 988 A.H."

It has also there Persian verses, and at the end again some Quranic verses.

There is another cannon in the same fortress (Bidar) called *Mahmudi Top* (Mahmudi cannon). It was constructed in 905 A.H.

The *Haft-gazi* (Seven-yarder) is in the fortress of Bidar, and is constructed in 977 A.H., in Ali Barid Shah's reign. It measures 31 ft. in length and 23 ft. in circumference, and is still as clean as a looking glass.

The *Land-i-Qasab* is a cannon in the fortress of Parinda. It is not moulded into a single column, but has been constructed by welding several bars together. Its length is 18 ft. 2 in., circumference 7 ft. 2 in., and the diameter of the bore 6 ft. 11 in.

In the fortress of Raichur there is a big cannon which has lost some parts; still it measures 20 ft. 4 in. in length. It is made of steel plates with steel screws fitted into it. It possesses still the mechanism which can return the cannon in any direction. It has no inscription.

In the fortress of Praitore in the district of Raichur, there is still one cannon which measures 9 hands in length, and one hand in diameter of the bore. It is lying in a ditch, and is too heavy to be moved from there. The *Kala Pahar* (Black Mountain) is in the fortress of Daulatabad. Its length is 12 ft. 8 in., circumference 4 ft. 10 in., diameter of the bore 3 ft. 9½ in.

In the fortress of Gulbarga there are three cannons, one of which is named *Char-gazi* (Four yards), which bears the inscription, *Chahur-manni Adil Shahi* (the Adil Shahi Four-Maunder). It shows that the cannon ball weighed 4 maunds of Adil Shahi standard. The two other cannon measure 14 ft. in length and 1 ft. 3 in. in circumference. These cannon were probably made in Bijapur in the times of Adil Shahi dynasty.

The *Barah-gazi* (Twelve-yarder), is now placed on the "Nauras rampart" of the fortress of Gulbarga. It is 18 hands long. The inscription on it says that it was made by Malik Sandal in 1034 A.H. in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

The cannon placed on the "Sikandar rampart" was made in 1073 A.H. in Sikandar Adil Shah's reign.

There are altogether 26 cannon on these ramparts.

There were numerous cannon in the fortress of Mudgal, but now only seven are left. The first measures 9 ft. 9½ in. in length, 3 ft. 5½ in. in diameter of bore; the second, 3 ft. 9 in. and 4 ft. 7½ in.; the third, 12 ft. 9 in. and 5 ft. 7½ in.; the fourth, 12 ft. 9 in. and 4 ft. 10 in.; the

fifth, 8 ft. 7 in. and 3 ft.; the sixth, 4 ft. and 4 ft. 7½ in.; the seventh, 4 ft.

The first four are made of welded bars hooped round, and the rest are moulded.

In the fortress of Nilvarga (also in the Nizam's Dominions) there are two cannons made of a copper; on another rampart there is a cannon made of some black metal. There is another cannon which is shaped like an elephant; another like a crocodile. There are in all 12 big and 32 small cannon on different ramparts of the fortress.

The *Malik Maydan* (King of the battlefield) stands second only to *Land-i-Qasab* in size and is lying in the fortress of Bijapur. It is described by European writers as the largest piece of ordnance in the world. The metal is an alloy of 80.427 parts of copper to 19.573 parts of tin.

The dimensions are¹:

Diameter at the Breech	4 ft. 10 in.
" " Muzzle	5 " 5 "
" " Bore	2 " 4½ "
Length	14 " 3 "

It was cast in 956 (1549 A.C.) at Ahmadnagar during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah by a Turk named Muhammad, son of Hasan, and was conveyed to the fortress of Parinde and mounted on one of its towers. When Muhammad Adil Shah conquered this fortress in 1632 A.C. he took the *Malik Maydan* to Bijapur and lodged it in the fort there. It bears a Persian inscription which might mislead one to believe that the cannon was cast by Emperor Alamgir in 1097 A.H. (1685 A.C.), but in reality this inscription commemorates the capture of Bijapur in that year by Alamgir and not the casting of the cannon. It weighs 400 maunds and the bore is so wide that a man can sit and move about in it easily.

Irvine, on the authority of Moor's *Narrative*, calculates the weight of an iron shot for *Malik Maydan* to be 2646 7/10³. This weight is verified by *Iqbal Namah-i-Jehangiri* of which the author writes:

"One day, during the siege of Ahmadnagar, the cannon *Malik Maydan* which is so well-known as to need no description began firing towards the army of the Prince (Danyal). A ball fell near the camp of Qazi Bayazid, an attendant of the Prince. The Qazi's horse was fastened at the distance of four yards from the place, but its tongue fell out of its mouth as a result of the thunder and horror caused by the ball. The ball, made of stone, weighed ten maunds (Akbar's scale) but eight maunds according to Khorasanian standard."³

This shows that the cannon was in working order till the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and was then still in the possession of the Nizam Shahi ruler.

1. Irvine, p. 127.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Iqbal Namah-i-Jehangiri*, p. 163.

It is believed that Muhammad son of Hasan had made a similar cannon in 953 A.H., and named it *Karak Bijli* (Lightning thunder). This, along with the *Malik Maydan*, worked in the battle of Talikotta, but unfortunately the *Karak Bijli* sank in the river Krishna, when the army was returning homeward.

Lam-chharri (Far-flyer): There are two cannon of this name on the Haidar rampart of Bijapur fortress. They were too long to be lodged on ordinary ramparts, so special bastions were built for them. The length of the cannons and the smallness of their bore suggest that they were used for distant shooting. *Lam-chharri* measures 30 ft. 8 in. in length, having a bore of 1 ft. It is made of iron bars, about 150 in number. They used double bars on the muzzle to make it still stronger.

Dil Khandal is placed on the Ali Madad bastion of Bijapur fortress. It was brought here by Malik Sandal at Sikandar Adil Shah's command in 1092. (An inscription found near it tells us so.)

Do-azdah Imam (Twelve Imams) is placed in the field of Bijapur Museum. Its inscription is a pretty sight containing at the same time all the different names of God, and the names of the twelve Imam. It is dated 985 A.H. It was probably constructed in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Land-i-Qasab, placed on the Namat bastion of Bijapur. It is bigger than the *Malik Maydan*. It is 21 ft. 7 in. long, the diameter of its muzzle is 4 ft. 4 in. and its bore is 4 ft. 5 in. It weighs 47 tons. Lying close to it, there is another incomplete cannon, which was in process of construction but could not be completed for some reasons.

Babur, as described above, founded a cannon factory under Ustad Quli Khan, but the cannons manufactured in it were not much use at first, for they shot balls which covered the distance of 600 paces only. They improved later on and then covered a range of 1600 strides.

Humayun was kept too busy in warfare to have time to improve his artillery. He got some cannons from his father, and large numbers of them from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, whom he defeated. At the battle of Kanauj in 1540, "Humayun had 700 *Darb-zan* (cannons), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks; they discharged a ball of 500 *miskals* (41 lb 304 gr.) each. In addition to these there were 21 heavy guns each requiring eight pairs of oxen and firing leaden balls ten times as heavy as the others. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a furlong."¹

Under Akbar the artillery attained great efficiency. He designed cannons of various models of which the following are noteworthy:

(a) *Burji-shikan*, (Breaker of Towers). It was too heavy to move from one place to another, so it was lodged on the bastions of forts, and brought into operation against a besieging army. Its balls were of considerable weight. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives drawings of such cannons in its pages.

1. Elliot, Vol. V, pp. 131, 132.

These cannons were usually moulded and used without carriages. They were placed on two elevated beams.

(b) *Fil-kash* (Elephant-drawn), was used in the battlefield as well as in battering the walls of fortress. They remained mounted on carriages.

(c) *Gau-kash* (Ox-drawn), was of various size and weight. Some were so heavy, says Abu'l-Fazal, that they were drawn by a thousand oxen, and some could be drawn by two or four pairs easily. They were drawn on carriages, but could be transported without them on occasion.

(d) *Mardum-kash* (Men-drawn), was small and light, carried easily by one man. It was also called *Narnal*. It was most commonly used on the battlefield and always accompanied the royal retinue. Some of these cannons were divided into parts for the convenience of transport and were then easily put together when needed. The balls of these cannons differed, varying from 25 seers to 12 maunds in weight. They were usually made of either stone or iron.

(e) *Machine-gun*: The Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmadnagar had invented some cannons, which, being loaded with copper coins caused destruction like machine-guns in opponents' camp. It was doubtless a very crude sort of machine-gun, which was highly improved in Akbar's days. Akbar designed a cannon of seventeen barrels so joined as to fire simultaneously at the touch of one match. Thus, the idea of a machine-gun had germinated in the minds of the Mughals three and a half hundred years before Europe began to think of it.

Jahangir inherited an efficient artillery, so he did not try to improve it. He believed much in the efficacy of heavy guns, and made tremendous use of his artillery in suppression of even ordinary revolts. He sent four hundred cannoniers to suppress a rebellious Zamindar named Usman, in Bengal.¹ Similarly he despatched five hundred cannoniers to subjugate to the fortress of Kangra.²

Dara had a great number of cannon with his army. When he was escaping to Peshawar, he left behind in Lahore two cannons named *Fateh Mubarak* (Blessed Victory) and *Kishwar-Kusha* (World-conqueror). Two cannons were despatched for him from Delhi, named *Maryam*, and *Qilaah-Kusha* (Fort-wielder). The *Qilaah-Kusha* was made of 80 per cent tin, and measured 25 ft. Another cannon of his named *Jahan-Kusha* was 17 ft. in length, 15 ft. in circumference and more than 1 ft. in diameter of bore. It was cast in Dacca and is dated 2nd Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 11th year of accession (i.e., 1637 A.C.).

"It would be, I think, a safer opinion to hold", says Irvine, "that the artillery was much more perfect and numerous in Alamgir's reign than it was under his great-grandfather Akbar".³ It was natural, because Alamgir's long campaigns in the Deccan and the innumerable sieges,

1 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, Aligarh Edition, p. 104.

2 *Iqbal-Namda*, Calcutta, p. 117.

3. Irvine, p. 116.

some of considerable importance, such as those of Bijapur and Jinji, had brought the uses of artillery into much greater prominence. Alamgir also utilized all resources to enhance his artillery to the highest point of efficiency and so he employed the services of foreign experts. There was one Arab, named Muhammad Huseyn, who made good and effective cannons. Some of his cannons are still extant, *viz.*, there is one cannon lodged on a rampart of Daulatabad fort, near the Chini Mahall, close to the gate of the fort. Its original name was *Qilaah Shikan* (Fort-breaker), but it is now called *Maindha Top* (Ram-cannon), for its front part is shaped like the head of a ram. It is 18 ft. 2½ in. in length, 7 ft. 2 in. in circumference, 5 ft. in diameter of bore.

Besides Indians and Arabs, Portuguese were also employed in service as gunners. There was one Dutch artillery engineer, who served Aurangzeb's arsenal for sixteen years. He went back in 1667. (Tavernier)

Bernier says that Alamgir used simultaneously in one battle seventy heavy guns, some of which were drawn by 21 yoke of oxen. Alamgir had lots of other types of cannon, which were either made in India or obtained from foreigners. He got 1026 cannon as war booty in the battle of Chittagong in which he defeated the Portuguese and Arakanese.¹ There were also small brass matchlocks, drawn by two horses, which followed the Emperor in the royal procession. They were called *Haqir-Rikaib* ("present with the stirrups"), because they accompanied the Emperor. (Bernier)

Alamgir had contrived to use lead besides iron and stone for cannon-balls.²

There are some large cannons of the Moghul period in Lahore. There is the *Zamzamah*, cast by a man named Shah Nazir in 1155 A.H. (1757 A.C.), by the orders of Shah Wali Khan, prime minister of Ahmad Shah Abdali. It is made of brass, and was used in the battle of Panipat in 1761 A.C. Wali Khan had another similar gun cast, which was lost in the Chenab river. The *Zamzamah* was left behind to Khwaja Obeyd, the Governor of Lahore, by Abdali. It was then taken in 1762 by the Sikh leader, Har Singh Bhangi. In 1764, Sardar Charit Singh, the grandfather of Ranjit Singh, brought it to Gujranwala. It changed fortunes with different masters until it came into Ranjit Singh's possession in 1802. It got out of order at the siege of Multan in 1818 when it was left in front the Delhi Gate of Lahore. In 1870 the English lodged it on a platform, which lies between the University Hall and the Lahore Museum. It bears some verse on its bore; on the back there are other verses, the last of which give the chronogram, when the cannon was cast (1155 A.H.). Its length is 14ft. 4½ in. and the diameter of the bore is 9½ in.

In Calcutta there is a big gun made in 1182 A.H. by Shuja Khan Bahadur Safdar Jung, Governor of Lahore. It bears the name of *Koh-i-*

1. *Alamgir-Namah*, 776.

2. *Mu'athir-i-Alamgiri*, 36th year of Aurangzeb's reign.

Shikan (Mountain-breaker) and weighs 110 maunds.

In Farukh Siyar's time there was a large cannon in Azimabad (Patna), which was lying in the mire of a ditch. In 1124 A.H. Farukh Siyar, coming personally to the spot, wanted to take it out with the help of buffaloes and elephants, but it did not budge an inch. One Mirza Ajmeri exhibited extraordinary physical prowess by lifting it up with his hands. Farukh Siyar was highly pleased with him and bestowed upon him a *mansab* of "Three thousand", and the title of "Afrasyab Khan".

In the battle of Karnal, Muhammad Shah used various cannons which were drawn by elephants and buffaloes numbering 5 to 10 or 500 to 1,000 respectively.

There was lighter artillery of divers kind used in the Mughal periods. *Gajnal* (Elephant-barrel), was carried on, and fired from, elephants' back. *Shutarnal*, carried on, and fired from, camels' back. *Zamburak* (Little wasp) was so called probably in allusion to its power to sting. *Shahin* (Falcon) seems to be a later name for the same thing; this name was made current in India by Nadir Shah or Ahmad Shah Abdali. *Zamburak* was "a small field-piece of the size of a double musket... A man seated behind it on the camel can load and discharge the gun without dismounting." (Bernier) *Dhamakah* is used in the *Ain-i-Akbari* for some kind of matchlock. *Dhamakah* and *Rahkalah* were small field-pieces. *Ramjanaki* was some sort of light field-piece.

There was a weapon called an "Organ" (*Arghun*), which was composed of about 36 gun barrels so joined as to fire simultaneously.

THE CENTRAL ASIAN MAUSOLEUM IN INDIA

THE TRADITION OF THE TAJ MAHAL

By H. GOETZ

THE MOST FAMOUS, most splendid monument of Indian art, the Taj Mahal at Agra, offers a rather puzzling problem to the student of art history. Is the Taj Mahal in fact a representative Indian building? I do not mean the long disproved nonsense that the Taj was built by a French or Italian architect, the rodomontade of some disappointed adventurer to credulous foreign visitors. But the architects of the Taj *were* foreigners, namely, the Turks Ustad Isa Effendi and Ismail Khan, and the form of the Taj represents a foreign tradition coming from Turkish Central Asia. The number of monuments of the same type in India is very limited; the earlier of these tombs have obviously been erected for persons who were conscious and proud of their non-Indian race, and the later mausolea were copied on the model of the Taj. Nevertheless it is impossible to doubt, at the same time, the representative Indian character of the Taj Mahal. But as the type of the Taj is Central Asian, what, then, is the essence of its Indian character? Can we trace a progressing Indianization of this foreign tradition? What was the history of the Central Asian mausoleum in India?

The cupola tomb is such a common feature of Muhammadan architecture that we find it in India since the early days of Muslim rule in this country. When the Mughals invaded the plains of Hindustan, it had already had a rich and variegated history, from the fine tomb of Sultan Altamish (Iltutmysh) behind the Quwwat-ul-Islam Masjid at old Delhi, to that masterpiece of simple and harmonious perfection, Sher Shah's mausoleum at Sassaram. The plain quadrangular buildings of the Tughlaq times with four porches and low cupola were in the late Pathan period enriched by the Persian innovation of small additional domes on the four corners of the main structure, (Srinagar, Mandu) which were soon replaced by Indian *chhatris*. In the last phase of the Pathan style the type was further sophisticated by an octagonal or even polygonal groundplan, surrounding galleries, an increased number of *chhatris* and a somewhat higher drum under the cupola.

What we might in India call the Central Asian mausoleum, was, however, first introduced by the Mughals. This new type developed in Persia and Turkistan under the influence of Turkish and Mongol artistic

conceptions and reached its final expression under the rule of the Timurid dynasty of Samarqand and Herat. Already under the Saljuq rulers we find a new type of funeral tower in the form of a tent; under the Ilkhans it takes the shape of the Mongol yurt, and since the splendid reign of Timur-Lang the bulbous dome of Central Asia reaches its perfection. Under the late Ilkhans the cupola-crowned tower is often surrounded by the traditional big Persian porches interlinked by smaller galleries. In contrast to Pathan architecture, this bulbous cupola does not fit into the main outline of the mausoleum, but always rises like a gigantic crown above the latter.

An excellent example of the simplest and purest type of this Timurid mausoleum in India is the tomb of Asaf Khan, Jahangir's Persian minister, at Shahdara near Lahore; it has even conserved part of its wonderful cover of glazed and coloured tiles which is so characteristic for the art of late mediæval Turkistan and Persia. Even near the Taj Mahal the small tombs of the ladies-in-waiting of Mumtaz-Mahal preserve exactly the same type, in a better state of preservation, so that the characteristic small, round corner columns (evolved from degenerated minarets) can be seen, decorated with the classical Mughal red and white stone slabs of Pathan tradition.

The first phase of the direct, living tradition brought from Central Asia by the Mughals is represented by the mausolea of Azam Khan near the Dargah of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, of the Emperor Humayun, of Khan Khanan to the south of the latter, of Fahim Khan to the south-east, and of an unknown person in front of the Bu Halima Garden. Only the three last are built in an unvitiated Central Asian style, the two last possessing beautiful domes of glazed blue and green tiles. The tombs of Azam Khan and Humayun, though of a Central Asian form, are decked with the rich mosaic work and stone slabs of different colours, so characteristic for the late Pathan style which was taken over into the art of the Akbar period. Most of these tombs are of the simple type already mentioned, on a quadrangular or octagonal groundplan. The mausolea of Humayun and of the Khan Khanan may, however, be regarded as the precursors of the Taj Mahal, but probably not as its models. Especially Humayun's fine tomb shows many similarities of ground-plan and arrangement. But it has nothing of the concentrated compactness of the Taj; it looks rather like a conglomeration of a simple Turkistani funeral tower and four pavilions of the type of the Sher Mandal in Purana Kila (from which Humayun fell and found his death), which is to be found also on many paintings of the third quarter of the 16th century. This explains not only the rather flat-stretched outline of the gigantic structure, but also the seemingly detached place of the roof *chhatris* over the centre of these "wing pavilions". In this respect the tomb of the Khan Khanan comes much nearer to the form of the Taj Mahal, in spite of its strictly quadrangular groundplan and the archaic Pathan *chhatris*; almost its miniature replica is the small lady's tomb



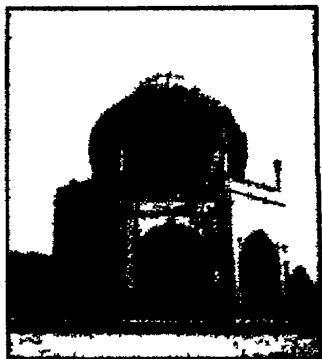
Mausoleum of Humayun, Delhi



Bibi-ka-Rauza, Aurangabad



Safi Jung Mausoleum Lahore



Tomb of one of the Ladies-in-waiting of Mumtaz-Mahal near the Taj Mahal Agra



Asaf Khan's Tomb Shahdara near Lahore

in the garden of Humayun's mausoleum.

During the later part of the reign of Akbar and the earlier part of that of Jahangir, the Central Asian mausoleum came out of fashion because of the increasing Indianization of the Mughal civilization since the conciliation of Akbar with the Rajputs and his adoption of many Hindu manners and religious as well as artistic and literary ideals. In the later part of Jahangir's reign we have, however, a strong revival of the Persian cultural tradition so closely related with that of Turkistan. The chief exponent of these ideals was the family of the Empress Nur Jahan. Besides a return of Persian fashions in the dresses and the pictorial art of the court, there was a remarkable revival of architecture decked with glazed tiles in the Punjab during the whole 17th century; Wazir Khan's Mosque and the Dai Anga Masjid are perhaps the best known representatives of this revival. The Central Asian mausoleum first revives in Anarkali's tomb, then in the already mentioned tomb of Asaf Khan at Shahdara, and in the Chini-ka-Rauza at Agra, the tomb of the Persian *diwan* of Shah Jahan, Khan Mulla Shukrullah, erected in the same period when the Taj Mahal was under construction.

The Taj Mahal, therefore, continues a tradition already firmly established spread in the reign of Shah Jahan. But it is more than a simple continuation, it is the most splendid perfection of this tradition. Shah Jahan felt himself to be the apogee of the Turkish house of Timur, he was the second *Sahib-i-Qiran* (the first being Timur himself). It is in Shah Jahan's reign that the portrait of Timur becomes a frequent theme of Mughal painting, as well as the scene of his victory over Sultan Bayazid of Turkey, and the genealogical albums of the Timurid family. Was it, then, so extraordinary that the great mausoleum which the second *Sahib-i-Qiran* erected to the memory of his beloved queen, was drawn on the model of the monuments built at Samarqand by the first *Sahib-i-Qiran*? The more as it was a Turkish, not an Indian custom to erect suchlike big funeral buildings also for ladies.

There exists no more perfect expression of the formal ideal of the Central Asian mausoleum than the Taj Mahal, and none which at the same time is so far from the æsthetic and spiritual aspirations of the art of Samarqand. Samarqand is strong, realistic, virile, of glowing colours; the Taj Mahal, however, a grand fairy dream, feminine, clad in a chaste white. There a world-conqueror and here a pure wife and a beloved! But this contrast means more: it means also the chasm between the beginnings and the consummation of the dynasty, the apogee followed by the inevitable decline. The perfect fairy dream of the Taj is, therefore, an expression of the high-pitched cultural ideal of the court of Shah Jahan, a "secular" spirituality born out of the mystic glorification of the imperial majesty. This mystic interpretation of Mughal royalty was first to be felt in the art of the late years of Jahangir, though still as a Western fashion petted in a half frivolous manner. But under Shah Jahan it had become the central idea of an all-exacting State.

Shah Jahan was the "*roi soleil*" (epithet of Louis XIV of France) of India, surrounded by the emblems of the sun, the dragon, the lion and the bull, the representative of God on earth, surrounded by angels with all the symbols of royal omnipotence, under whose scepter the priest and the judge dispensed divine wisdom and law. The second *Sahib-i-Qiran*! It is this consciousness of the mystic task of the majesty which invests the civilization of Shah Jahan's reign with that grandeur, that undefinable spirituality and irreality pervading even the refined luxuries of a secular court. It is this very irreality, this very spirituality which constitutes the beauty of the Taj Mahal: the fairy-like aspect of the cool white marble with its glittering incrustation of precious stones, the absolute harmony of its proportions, the dynamism of its lines, the subtle life of light, shadow and colour.

With the Taj Mahal the tradition proper of the Central Asian mausoleum in India had reached its end. For the Taj had, in fact, become the perfect expression of the artistic ideals of Mughal India. It had set a model, but this model was no more a foreign one. Bibi-ka-Rauza, the tomb of Aurangzeb's wife, Rabia Daurani, at Aurangabad, has often been called a copy of the Taj. But there is only a superficial similarity. The artistic tendencies and human ideals which find their expression in it, are quite different. Nothing of the pure Persian design, of the quiet harmony, of the grand spirituality of the Taj; but novel forms of art belonging to the Deccan, a concentrated dynamism characteristic for the new "Mughal Baroque" style, and a sweet human intimacy. Whereas the mausoleum of Humayun represents a rather horizontal conglomeration of a central funeral tower and of surrounding wings, whereas the Taj possesses a harmonious balance of horizontal and vertical tendencies, in Bibi-ka-Rauza all the lines of the structure are concentrating on the top of the chief cupola, in the same way as in Aurangzeb's Moti Masjid at Delhi Fort. The mass of the building is pressed towards the central dome by Deccani miniature minarets, rising from quadrangular Deccani corner pillars, the roof *chhatris* have become supplementary cupolas underlining the importance of the central dome, and the chief porches are more emphasized than those of the Taj; in all the smaller cupolas a pronounced vertical orientation is obvious. On the other hand, there is nothing of the grandeur of the Taj overtowering its surrounding minarets at the end of a big garden. The smallness of Bibi-ka-Rauza, overtopped by the minarets, and its long, small garden along the central canal, flanked on both sides by parapets, create an atmosphere of personal closeness and intimacy. This intimacy is to be felt also in the exuberant decoration of the mausoleum, the tiny crenelation of the pure ogival arches (as if it were a return to the old Pathan art) and the floral stucco designs covering all the walls like charming lace-work. There is the same feminine note as in the Taj Mahal, but not the pure, almost mystical grandeur of an adored ideal, rather the sweetness of the modest wife of an austere ruler and iron general, the humanity of a humble devotion to God.

Only one other mausoleum has continued the tradition of Mumtaz Mahal's fairy tomb, that of Nawab Safdar Jang at Delhi. It obviously represents the phantastic dream of an upstart who founded his own principality in Oudh while plundering the last resources of the quickly disintegrating imperial court. For since Aurangzeb the grand mausoleum had come out of fashion with the Indian Muhammadans. Already in Bibi-ka-Rauza the influence of certain religious scruples is evident from the roof windows offering to the sun and the rain access to the open tomb under the cupola. Aurangzeb as well as his sisters were buried in simple tombs in the midst of small enclosures surrounded by white marble screens, near the *dargah* of some famous saint. The Nizams of Hyderabad and most of the rulers of Bhopal have followed his example. The reasons for this definitive giving up the great cupola mausoleum must, therefore, not be sought in the increasing poverty of India but in the field of orthodox theology. Only the Shiite nawabs of Oudh (and to some degree also those of Murshidabad) made an exception. But Safdar Jang's tomb is a rather dry imitation of the splendid earlier buildings, adapted to the æsthetic ideals of his time. There are beautiful details, but the whole is a failure, and the garden pavilions surrounding it, genuine expressions of the sophisticated court life of the late 18th century, are much better works of art than the mausoleum proper. In fact, the experiment was not repeated. For the Fyzabad and Lucknow tombs take up the tradition of the Shiite Deccan which set the model also for the tombs of the Muhammadan sultans of Mysore at Seringapatam and Vellore.

Brought to India by the Mughals, the Central Asian mausoleum was the national expression of a foreign Turkish and Persian race of conquerors in India, but in the Taj Mahal this foreign form has embodied the highest accomplishment of Mughal culture in such an unsurpassable spiritualized perfection that it became the greatest jewel of Indian art.

LITERARY PROGRESS OF THE HINDUS UNDER THE MUSLIM RULE*

By SYED SULEYMAN NADVI

BEFORE the advent of the Muslim rule in India, the Hindus were noted for their religious and racial aversion to non-Hindu people, who were in their opinion *mlech*, absolutely impure and "unsanctified". Very few could then have imagined that Hindus would ever become tolerant enough to associate with an alien nation, learn its language, assimilate its art and literature, adopt its civilization, and establish with it the sacred relationship of teachers and taught. But soon after the Muslim conquests a mighty change took place. They took services under Muslim Emperors and sat side by side with the learned men of the Imperial Court. This drawn of religious and social tolerance was the harbinger of their modern educational progress. But for the lessons which they had learnt under Muslim rule they would have lacked the spontaneity to realise the advantage of learning English from the very outset. Free from prejudice, as they had become they took the earliest opportunity to open schools and colleges for disseminating English knowledge, and, still more surprising, dared to cross the sacred water of Mother Ocean in order to acquire the learning of untouchable aliens.

The second educational debt of the Hindus to the Muslims is that the Muslims advocated education for all sections of the people of India. According to the Hindu Dharma, learning was to be acquired only by a privileged few, *i.e.*, the Brahmins. Some classes were religiously debarred from all kinds of education, and if, perchance, one of the Sudras listened to the resitation of any Vedic phrase, it was ordained to pour hot lead into his ears. The Muslims removed all barriers of caste from the field of education and anyone, no matter what his caste, was welcome to acquire knowledge. Kshatrias, Kayasths, Banias, and Sudras, enjoyed the same facilities for education as the Brahmins. If it is pleasant to find non-Brahmins today excelling Brahmins in education, but it is no less pleasing to recollect the greater percentage of literacy attained by the Kayasths and Khatrias as compared with Brahmins in the golden days of Muslim rule.

The third educational debt of the Hindus to the Muslims is that

* Translated from Urdu by Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

the latter widened the scope of Hindu learning. It can be said without reflecting upon Hindu learning that it was limited in scope. The teaching of history was conspicuously absent; geography existed only nominally; philosophy, geometry, astronomy, medicine, poetry and music were no doubt well cultivated, but instruction was restricted to the few. They were utterly ignorant of the researches made and theories formulated by men of other nations.

The first Muslim to make a literary raid on India was Al-Biruni, who came here in the days of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. It was the beginning of the Muslim rule in India, and the need was felt to repay with interest the literary debt which the court of Baghdad contracted to Hindus in the second century A.H. Al-Biruni writes in the first chapter of his *Kitabu'l-Hind*:

"Being a stranger, I had to become the pupil of Hindu scholars of astronomy, but not long after, when I acquired proficiency in the language of the people, I assumed the rôle of a teacher. I had considerable efficiency in astronomy and mathematics and began to teach them. The Pandits were wonderstruck and asked me in surprise whence I could have learnt these arts. They were reluctant to believe that any one of any other nation could be on a par with them. They thought me a 'supernatural man', an 'occultist', and called me *Bahr-ul-'Ulûm* (Sea of Learning)."

Al-Biruni translated the following books from Arabic into Sanskrit for the Hindu pandits: (1) A Treatise on the Astrolabe (2) Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and Euclid's *Geometrical Treatise*. Besides, he wrote several treatises in answer to Hindu pandits' queries. The Hindu astronomers asked many questions, which he replied in 120 pages. He wrote another booklet, which maintained that the order of the numerals is more correct in Arabic than in Sanskrit.

When the conquest of the Muslims extended far and wide in India, Hindu scholars became eager to know the innermost details of the Muslim civilization. A Brahman of Benares, named Bhojar, approached Qazi Ruknuddin and learnt from him the art and literature of the Muslims. The Qazi in return learnt Sanskrit from Bhojar, and translated from Sanskrit into Arabic a book *Hawd-ul-Hayât* (Reservoir of the Water of life).¹

Sultan Zeynu'l-Abidin, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 826 A.H., and whose models and methods of Government inspired the Emperor Akbar to found similar institutions in his own empire, had numerous books translated into Hindi from Arabic and Persian.² He employed Sri Bhat, an accomplished Indian physician, well-versed in every branch of medicine; and his personal influence was great on the politics of his time.³

1. *Jam'u'l-Qasas-i-Arabiyyah fi'l-Akhbari'l-Hindiyah*, p. 115

2. *Ferishta*, Nawalkishore Press, p. 344.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

The aversion of the Hindus for the Muslims had the natural result that the former would not accept service in the courts of Muslim kings. This convention was first broken in the Deccan, where the Muslim rulers paid respect to Hindu scholars, who gradually became familiar with the Muslim masses.

At the court of Mohammad Tughlaq, Gangu, a Brahman, was appointed astronomer royal. Hasan Bahmani, the founder of the Bahmani Kingdom in the Deccan, had reason to be deeply grateful to this astronomer and it was he who established the cordial relations which existed between the Bahmani rulers and the Brahmans, who occupied all important posts of the Kingdom.¹

The official language of the Imperial court was Persian, which clearly proves that the Hindu office-holders had begun to learn Persian. Ibrahim Adil Shah, who became the ruler of Bijapur in 942 A.H., abolished Persian as the official language, restored Hindi and put Brahmans in charge of many of the offices.²

In Northern India it is popularly believed that the Hindus began to learn Persian from the days of Sikandar Lodi. Prior to that, there was no special arrangement for the education of the Hindus, and the Muslim rulers did not think fit to interfere at all with old curriculum of the Hindus. The ancient mode of teaching was preserved intact. Mr. N. N. Law writes in the Introduction to his *Promotion of Learning during Muhammadan Rule*:

"The day was distant when we should find the Muhammadan rulers patronizing the education of their Hindu and Muslim subjects alike and encouraging with equal ardour the growth of their learning besides the Muhammadan; but for a century or two after the first Muhammadan conqueror had set foot on Indian soil, Hindu education and literature followed their own independent course supported by their own votaries."

But it is evident from other sources that the Hindus had already begun to learn Persian before the days of Sikandar Lodi. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who ascended the throne in 755 A.H., happened to visit a library in Jwala Mukhi during his expedition to Kangra. He summoned the Pandits and got several books in the library translated into Persian. The author of *Seyru'l-Muta'akhirin* writes:

"The king called for learned scholars of that place and was pleased to listen to many of the discourses on different arts and gave orders for some of those books to be translated into Persian."³

The historians mean, however, that the systematic, regular instructions in Persian of large numbers of Hindus began from the days of Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar Lodi built mosques, schools, markets, and com-

1. *Ferishta* Vol. I. p. 278.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol II. p. 27.

3. *Seyru'l-Muta'akhirin*, p. 127.

pelled the soldiers to receive education. This popularised education among the Hindus as well, who freely began to learn Persian. Ferishta writes:

"In his auspicious reign, education was much in vogue. The nobles, the courtiers, and the soldiers received education; and the infidels, who had as yet neglected to read and write Persian, began to acquire it most freely."¹

Not long after this comes Sher Shah's reign. He treated the Hindus most liberally. Hindus highly adept in Persian immigrated from the Deccan and took posts in the Imperial service of Northern India. Todar Mal, one of the inestimable jewels of Akbar's court, was brought up under Sher Shah's direct surveillance. He was Diwan of Sher Shah's revenue department.

The educational progress of the Hindus reached its height in the days of the Timurids, when Persian became the home language of many Hindus.

Beside receiving instruction in Persian, Hindus had special arrangement for studying Sanskrit and the matters of their religion. Great institutions existed in all important towns of the country to which students flocked from distant parts. These institutions abounded in Thatha, Multan, and especially Benares. The Timurid rulers showed no small zeal in patronising such institutions. Hindu and Muslim scholars were equally treated at the Imperial Court. Abu'l-Fazal recorded the names of the following Hindu scholars in *Ain-i-Akbari*: Mahadeo, Bhim Nath, Narain, Sivji, Madho, Ram Chandra, Sri Bhat, Madho Sristi, Jadrup, Bishun Nath, Madhsudan, Ram Kishen, Narain Asram, Balbhadra, Misra, Herji, Sur, Basudeva Misr, Amudar Bhatt, Ram Tirath, Bindh Nawas, Nirsingh, Gouri Nath, Bram Indra, Gopinath, Bijay Sen, Sur, Kishun Pandit, Nehal Chand, Bhattacharjya, Kashinath, and Devi Brahman. This Devi Brahman translated the *Mahabharat* into Persian. The following were the Hindu master-painters and sculptors of Akbar's Court: Daswant Kahar, Dasodhan, Kesho, Lal, Makund, Madho, Jagan, Mahesh, Khim Kharan, Tara, Sanwala, Hari Bans, and Rama.

Just as several books were translated from Sanskrit into Persian, so many books were translated from Arabic and Persian into Sanskrit. Mirza Ulugh Beg's Almanac, which was a most valued book on astronomy, was translated into Sanskrit by the collaborative efforts of Hindu and Muslim scholars. The Hindu scholars who collaborated were Kishun, Joytishi, Gangadhar, Mahesh and Mahanand.

Jahangir showed no less patronage to Hindu scholars. Jadrup Gosain was the most illustrious Vidayanta of his time. Jahangir used to go to his village and sit for hours. If on his way he happened to see any *sannyasi*, he stopped to speak with him. Once he was travelling with his retinue when he saw a concourse of Yogis on the night of "Shivarat",

1. Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 183.

he halted and enjoyed the company of the wise men of that group.

Rai Manohar Lal, son of Rai Lon Karan, had been educated from his childhood under Jahangir's direct supervision. He was noted for his verses and calligraphy.¹ Raja Surja Singh presented a Hindu poet to Jahangir, who was much pleased to hear some of his verses in Hindi, and gave him an elephant in reward.² Bishun Das, who was sent to Persia, was a famous painter of his Court.³

Dara Shikoh's Court was always crowded with a galaxy of Hindu scholars. He had himself gained considerable mastery of Hindu art and literature; hence he had a love for Hindu scholars. The poet-laureate of his court was a Brahman, Chandra Bhan, who assumed the *nom-de-plume* "Brahman". He composed beautiful verses in Persian, which are still read with pleasure. After Dara Shikoh's tragic death, he took his abode in Benares where he died in 1073 A.H.

It may seem strange to mention sympathetically the name of the reputed "tyrant" Alamgir in this connection; still we must see what happened in his reign.

The author of *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri* writes:

"The Protector of the Faith received the news that in Thatha, Multan, and particularly in Benares, the Brahmans, give training in obnoxious sciences, and Hindus and Mussalmans who come from distant places to study in such institutions are thus misled and misdirected. Orders were issued to the governors of all provinces to demolish the institutions of the irreligious people and to put a stop to the teaching and learning of such institutions."⁴

The reading of the passage may indicate narrow-mindedness on Alamgir's part, but it evidently proves the existence of a large number of educational institutions in his days. The closing of the institutions was no doubt inspired by the principles which are known in modern times as "enlightened educational policy".

In Muhammad Shah's time, Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur established observatories in Delhi, Benares, and Ujjain. Mullah Khayrullah, an engineer, was in charge of the observatory of Delhi. The observatory of Benares still exists, and is used on ceremonial occasions and for marriage festivities of the Hindus. Jai Singh got many Arabic books on astronomy translated into Hindi by Muslim scholars.⁵

During this reign the educational progress of the Hindus was much accelerated. The eagerness to learn Persian and Arabic, love for poetry, proficiency in calligraphy and mathematics became very common and there was not a single house which did not contain a man who could not

1. See *Tadhkirah-i-Kāsh-Nawān*.

2. *Tuzk-i-Jehangir*, v. 257.

3. *Ibid*, p. 258.

4. *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 81

5. Vide *Subhatu'l-Marjan* by Azad.

speak, read and write Persian fairly well.

We cannot contend that the Hindus had no taste for collecting books, especially when we have already mentioned a library which the Muslims saw during the conquest of Kangra; but the Hindus were certainly inspired by the example of the Muslims to found libraries on a large scale. In the homes of upper-class Hindus, the library was considered as the most important of household requisites. We find numerous such houses in Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Patna and Dacca. In Patna there are old families extant, who possess very rare Persian and Arabic manuscripts, with which they would not part for any price. The hereditary library in the family of Raja Shitab Rai, the Nazim of Bihar, is still in existence.

I HAVE written of Southern India, Northern India and Kashmir. I now propose to write of the province which has at present outrivalled all the others in its literary and political activities, namely Bengal.

The Bengali language is the richest in India. But it will be a surprise to some of us to learn that its progress began with the beginning of Muslim rule in Bengal. Before that there existed not a single written page in that language. The Muslims patronised it till it boasted many weighty volumes.

Here are extracts from Mr. N. N. Law's *History of the Promotion of Learning during Muhammadan Rule* in support of the above statement:

"The efforts of the rulers of Bengal were not confined to the promotion of Muhammadan learning alone, for they also directed their fostering care for the advancement of letters into a new channel, which is of particular interest to the Bengali-speaking people. It may seem to them an anomaly that their language should owe its elevation to a literary status, not to themselves but to the Muhammadans, whose interest was evoked by merely a sense of the curious, and was indirectly roused by its connection with Sanskrit, which formed a most cherished treasure of the vast Hindu population with whom they had come into frequent contact."

"It was the epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—that first attracted the notice of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal at whose instance they were translated into Bengali the language of their domicile. The first Bengali rendering of the Mahabharata was ordered by Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282—1326 A.D.), who was a great patron of the vernacular of the province, and whom the great poet Vidayapati has immortalized by dedicating to him one of his songs. Vidayapati also makes a respectful reference to Sultan Ghyasuddin, most probably Sultan Ghyasuddin II of Bengal (1367—1373)."

"... It is doubtful whether a Muslim ruler of Bengal or the Hindu Raja Kansa Narayana appointed Kirttivasa to translate the Ramayana into Bengali; even if the latter story be true it is undoubted that Muslim precedents influenced the action of the Raja."

"Emperor Hussain Shah was a great patron of Bengali. Maladhar

Basu was appointed by him to translate the Bhagvata Purana into Bengali ... Pargal Khan, a general of Hussain Shah, and Pargal's son Chhuti Khan have made themselves immortal by associating their names with the Bengali translation of a portion of the Mahabharata."

"Pargal Khan used to invite his courtiers every evening to his palace at Paragalpur in Feni, to hear the recitation of the Bengali Mahabharata by the translator Kavindra Paramesvara. Under Paravgal, the epic was translated upto the Stri Parva, but Chhuti Khan, who succeeded Paragal in the governorship of Chittagong, followed up the work by appointing a poet named Sri Karna Nandi, whom he ordered to translate the Asvamedh Parva.

"Examples of Bengali translation of Sanskrit and Persian books at the instance of Muslim chiefs are not rare. They served to remove the superciliousness with which Bengali was regarded by the Sanskrit-loving Brahmans and the Hindu Rajas. The latter imitated the Muhammadan rulers and chiefs in patronising Bengali writers, and it became the fashion to keep 'Bengali court poets'. Many distinguished Bengali poets and writers have since adorned the courts of Hindu Rajas and raised Bengali to a high place and made it a rival of the languages that had already established their footing."¹

Strictly speaking, the acquisition of Arabic and Persian knowledge became the most coveted privilege for the nobles of Bengal, particularly for the members of those families who had acquired hereditary right to certain offices and were noted for their traditional loyalty to the rulers of Bengal. The families of Maharaja Sarju Kantra and Maharaja Nava Krishna were great patrons of Arabic and Persian learning. Their sons were conspicuously well-versed in Arabic and Persian learning. Raja Ram Mohan Rai, the illustrious founder of the Brahmo-Samaj, and Raja Keshab Chandra Sen, who is regarded as one of the greatest spiritual reformers of Bengal, were among those who had considerable knowledge of Islamic languages. Speaking in a meeting of the *Nadwatul Ulama* in Madras in 1917, Habibur-Rahman Khan Sherwani (now Nawab Sadar Yar Jung) said:

"The foundation-stone of the modern progress of Bengal was laid by Raja Ram Mohan Rai, who received primary instruction in Arabic at Patna. Last winter a well-known Bengali gentleman of Calcutta told me that till the days of his father and uncle, a large number of Bengali students used to go to Patna to learn Arabic. His uncle accordingly completed his Arabic education in fifteen years."

Girish Chandra Ghosh translated the Holy Qur'an, the *Mishkat*, and *Tadhkiratu'l-Anbid* into Bengali.

It is owing to these facts that Arabic and Persian words especially as regards law and administration abound in the Bengali language. Such words are being now replaced by English words; still, the presence of

1 *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule*, by N N. Law, pp. 107—111.

these words even after the lapse of so long a period of British rule in India proves that their equivalents were not to be found in Bengali.

THE MARHATTI of the Maharashtra, which claims to be the language of the race which left no stone unturned to uproot Muslim rule in India, owes its progress and amelioration largely to the Muslims. The rustic and wild Marhattas has to learn from their adversaries the etiquette and manners of a court. The Marhatti language was too poor to become the State language. It had necessarily to seek shelter with the Muslims and the Brahmans, who knew Persian well. When one reads the *firman*s of the Marhatta rulers, one finds them full of pure, as well as corrupted, Persian words and phrases, and now even the most highly educated Marhatta fails miserably to understand the old literature of his mother-tongue.

The Marhatti words relating to court etiquette and officialdom, to arts, crafts and domestic service, are chiefly derived from Arabic and Persian sources. In the library, the school, the market and the workshop, the Marhattas speak their tongue which gives evident proof of Arabic and Persian influence. Go into a confectioner's or ironmonger's shop in Maharashtra, you will find many Arabic and Persian terms in the jargon of the place. Names of instruments and many technical terms of Marhatta civilisation have been borrowed from Muslim languages. There was no equivalent for "history" in Marhatti; now they call it "Bakhar", which is a distortion of *khabbr*. There are still existing scores of Marhatta families which boast of their services to Persian literature in bygone days, and their family names are still Persian, e.g., Pharnavis (Writer of orders), Chatnavis (Letter-writer), Kalladar (Castle-keeper), Pot-dar (Document-keeper), Silladar (Possessor of arms). The following words are very commonly used by the Marhattas and the Brahmans of the Deccan: *Maladar* (Collector), *Karkun* (Worker) *Dewan* (Secretary), *Faujdar* (Sub-Inspector), *Najir* (Nazir), *Seristadar* (Record-Keeper.)

We have not yet mentioned Hyderabad while speaking of the Deccan and Maharashtra. That State, standing for impartial justice, has contributed to the literary and educational progress of the Hindus more than can be described in this short survey, and stands in significant contrast to all the Hindu Indian States as regularly care for the important of the latter is Muslim subjects.

When we scrutinise the educational and literary progress of the Hindus in the Nizam's Dominions, we find that the Hindus received high education in all branches such as qualified them to occupy all important offices of State. We find again a long list of historians, scholars and poets, who have flourished under the patronage of the Nizams. This statement can be confirmed by reference to the printed catalogue of the Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad. Munshi Lachmi Narain Shafiq, the author of a *Tarikh-i-Dakkan*, Lala Girdhari Lal, author of a *Tarikh-i-Dakkan*, Rai Munna Lal, author of a *Tarikh-i-Dakkan*, Lala Lachmi Narain, author of

Chamnistan Shu'ara, Raja Girdhari Baqi, author of a *Diwan* and *Mathnavis*, Maharaja Chandu Lal Shadan, author of *Kulliyat*, Nand Ram, author of *Siyaq-Namah*, Jaganath, the astronomer, and the author of *Taqwimu't-Tawarikh*, Hakim Rai Bachu Lal Tamkin, author of a *Diwan* and *Mujarrabat*, and Ratan Nath, the author of *Takhtitu'l-Balad*. These are some of the names which we have found recorded.

It can be said without any fear of contradiction that the Hindus in Bihar, Oudh, Agra and Delhi enjoyed equal facility with the Muslims. The names of countless Hindu scholars of those parts are preserved in different biographical dictionaries. In Lucknow alone the number of such Hindu poets exceeds a hundred.

Among the Kashmiri pandits of Lucknow, Persian education was much in vogue. In Lucknow Raja Ulfat Rai, Kali Prasad *Ikhlas*, Lal Chand *Uns*, Raja Ganga Prasad *Badr*, Munshi Khayali Ram *Khayali*, Bakhtawar Singh *Raqim*, Meko Lal *Ulfat*, Ram Sahia *Raunaq*, Maido Lal *Zar*, Raja Jiya Lal *Gulshan*, Raja Kalkar Prasad *Majid*, Munshiu'l-Mamalik Raja Jwala Prasad *Waqar*; and in Oudh and Allahabad, Munam. Lal *Afrin*, Rai Amar Singh *Khushdil* of Manikpur, Gukul Chand Hindu of Farrukhabad, Raja Madan Singh *Manzum* of Etawah, Rai Gulab Rai *Gulshan* of Sandela, Sukhum Lal *Majid* of Badaun. Lala Baijnath *Mushtaq* of Bareilly, Lala Ram Bakhsh *Muti* of Kanauj, Lal Bal Makund *Shahid* of Manikpur, Munshi Ishri Das *Aram* of Farrukhabad, Indraman of Aurangabad (Aligarh; in Agra, Chandra Bhan Brahmin, Shew Ram Hiya, Rai Mandhar Lal, son of Rai Lon Karan; in Azimabad (Patna), Lala Ujagar *Ulfat*, Raja Peyare Lal *Ulfati*, Raja Nahadur Raja, Raja Ram Narain *Manzum*, Beni Prasad Dil etc., were some of the illustrious poets, renowned scholars and ardent lovers of Persian literature.

The Punjab also did not lag behind in producing Hindu scholars, who basked in the sunshine on Muslim patronage. Mul of Sialkot, better known by his pen-name *Warasta*, is author of the Persian lexicography *Mustalahat-i-Shu'ara*. Wamiq Khatri, pupil of Mulla Abdul-Hakim of Sialkot, and Munshi Lachmi Narain Dabir Ganjavi of Lahore were famous scholars. Lachmi Narain was a past-master in rationalism. *Warasta* spent thirty years in Persia, making researches into Persian terms and phrases.

In Delhi, Munshi Madho Ram Munshi, Rai Manohar Lal Manopar, Raja Kedar Nath *Nasim*, Raja Gopal Nath *Ghulam*, Pooran Lal *Rangin*, Bahadur Singh *Dilkush*, Lala Chuni Das *Zarra*, Shew Singh *Bejan*, Lala Narain Das *Bekhud*, Sukhraj Sabqat, Munshi Goher Lal Tafta and numerous other scholars flourished.¹

THE SYSTEM of rural education of Hindus in Mughal times was the same as exists to-day in many villages. Some Zamindars hired the services of a guru, who was paid either by the Zamindar himself or by the

1. These names have been culled from various Persian biographies.

villagers as a whole. The boys sat either in some verandah of a house or under the shade of a tree. Each of them had a black wooden board to write on with ink of powdered chalk, and more often than not they wrote on the surface of the ground with hard chalks. They learnt the multiplication table and to read and write Hindi. This was primary education.

Those who wanted to study further learnt Sanskrit and qualified themselves as pandits. They had the option of learning the state language, Persian, as well. In towns there were *maktabs* where teachers, either Hindus or Muslims, taught pupils to converse, write letters and read moral books in Persian. Children of Hindus and Muslims studied together in the most cordial and intimate atmosphere. *Gulistan*, *Bustan*, *Yusuf wa Zulaykha*, *Insha-i-Khalifa*, *Bahar Danish*, *Akhlaq Nasiri*, *Anwar Suhayli*, *Sikandar-Namah*, and *Shah-Namah*, were among the books prescribed for study. Great importance was given to calligraphy. Teachers kept piles of royal *firman*s, official documents and specimens of agglomerated script (*shikasta*) to give their pupils practice in reading such things. This was secondary education.

After this stage, boys either entered some service or went to some renowned scholars in big cities for further study, when they received higher instruction in Persian, poetry, and other branches of learning. They studied some Arabic books as well. Some students qualified in all the branches of knowledge then in vogue. Abu'l-Fazal has given details of the syllabus of this higher education as observed in his time: Ethics, Arithmetic, Agriculture, Geometry, Survey, Astronomy, Finance, Politics, Medicine, Physics, Theology and History. Besides these, the Hindus learnt *Viyakaran* (Sanskrit grammar and composition), *Vedanta* (Hindu mysticism and morals), *Pitanjali* (Hindu philosophy). Abu'l-Fazal was of opinion that this wide range of studies contributed much to the welfare and prosperity of the Kingdom.

AQA RIZA—'ALI RIZA—RIZA-I-ABBASI

By M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI

THAT great orientalist, Sir Thomas Arnold, wrote about Riza-i-Abbasi, round whom much controversy has already raged: "Before anything like a complete history of Persian Art can be written much work will have to be done by the art critic and by the historian. From Persian Literature must be collected all the scanty references to artists and their paintings. Unfortunately, during the greatest period of Persian Art, the painter had no Vasari, and consequently, material for the biography of the earlier masters is almost entirely lacking, and when chroniclers began to find a place for them they added to the enumeration of scholars, poets, doctors, and calligraphists in any particular reign, some account of painters also, the details provided are very meagre and include no description of individual paintings or characteristics of style ... Though Aqa Riza received rewards and favours from his patron Shah Abbas, he was constantly in trouble and poverty in consequence of his evil habits. To this need of money may possibly be attributed the large output of Riza Abbasi ..."¹

Of course, it is a fact that oriental historians have devoted but little attention to this particular need of recording the biographies of the artists, as has been pointed out above by Arnold. We find, however, that from day to day new material is being discovered by scholars, of which a good deal much has already been published. No one knew that one day European scholars would so eagerly study the Eastern painters, and that the Western connoisseur would appreciate their masterpieces so much. In this respect the East owes much to the West.

The problem of Riza-i-Abbasi is not a new one. Several writers have devoted to it not only ordinary notices and articles but also books; nevertheless, the problem is still an open one, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Kühnel.² B. Dorn devoted in 1852 his attention to this artist, and later on, in 1873, the same scholar revised his former opinion by saying that Ali Riza-i-Abbasi was only a calligraphist, not both miniaturist and calligraphist as he had expressed before.³ After him Drs. Sarre-

1. *Burlington Magazine*, No. CCXV, 1913.

2. Kühnel, E. *Die Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 36—38.

3. B. Dorn, *Catalogue des MSS et Xylographes Orientaux*, p. 291, and *Melanges Asiatique*, 1873, Vol. IV, pp. 97, 103

Mittwoch and Karabacek wrote books on the same topic¹ and came both to different conclusions. Sarre-Mittwoch said that Ali Riza played the rôle of a calligraphist and painter at the court of Shah Abbas; and Karabacek analysed the question "Ali Riza-i-Abbasi the calligraphist, Riza-i-Abbasi the painter," and found more than seven painters and calligraphists called Riza with slight variations. Similarly, other scholars went on adding useful material and arrived at different results. Last, I find that Mr. Nicholas N. Martinovitch did his best to solve the problem.² Most of these scholars depended upon the extant specimens of work, and very few tried to look into the contemporary records. An exception are two great scholars: Arnold, as quoted above, and M. Blochet; but it is surprising that both hold different opinions. The former thinks that we have here only with one person to do, while the latter advises us not to confound Aqa Riza with Riza-i-Abbasi.³

With new material, now available, I shall endeavour to prove that the names, Aqa Riza, Ali Riza, and Riza-i-Abbasi, relate to three different persons and not (as some scholars hold) to one.

AQA RIZA

IN HIS great work *A'lam Arai Abbasi*, Iskandar Munshi, the court historian of Shah Abbas (1581—1628), furnishes us with chapters on Calligraphists, Miniaturists, and Musicians of his time. In the chapter on Miniaturists he writes: "Maulana Ali Asghar of Kashan was an incomparable master and an accomplished painter, as an artist and colourist he was unique and surpassed his contemporaries in drawings of streets and trees. He also took service with Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, and in the time of Ismail Mirza was on the staff of the Library. His son Aqa Riza became the marvel of the age in the art of painting and unequalled in these days. In spite of the delicacy of his touch, he was so uncultured that he constantly engaged in athletic practices and wrestling, and became infatuated with such habits. He avoided the society of men of talents and gave himself up to the association with such low persons. At the present time he has repented such idle frivolity a little, but he pays very little attention to his art, and like Sadiq Beg he has become ill-tempered, peevish and unsocial. In the service of his present Majesty, the Shadow of God, he has been the recipient of favours and considerations, but on account of his evil ways he has not taken warning, and consequently he is always poor and in distress."⁴

It was Mr. Percy Brown who first of all claimed, (in the light of the

1. Sarre-Mittwoch and Karabacek, *Riza-i-Abbasi: ein Persischer Miniaturmaler*, Vienna, 1910, 1911.

2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1935.

3. *Les Peintures des MSS. Orientaux*, Paris, 1914—1920, pp. 81, 289, 299, 3.

4. *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Persane Suppl.* Paris, No 1348 Fol 133a.

Emperor Jahangir's Memoirs) that Aqa Riza and Riza-i-Abbasi were two different persons.¹ Here was the chance for Sir Thomas Arnold to change his original opinion; but in 1929, when he wrote his other great work, *The Islamic Book*, in collaboration with Prof. Grohmann, he again reiterated his former views.²

We read in the Memoirs of Jahangir that Aqa Riza came to India and entered his service: "On this day Abul-Hasan the painter, who has been honoured with the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman*, drew a picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the *Jahangir-Nama*, and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect and his picture is one of the masterpieces of the age. At this time he has no rival or equal. It at this day the master Abdul-Hayy and Behzad were alive they would have done him justice. His father, Aqa Riza of Herat, entered my service at the time when I was prince. He (Abul-Hasan) was a *Khanazad* of my court. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father (i.e., he is far better than his father). One cannot put them into the same category. I have brought him up from his earliest years to the present time. I have always looked after him, till his art reached its present level. Truly he has become a *Nadir-uz-Zaman* (the wonder of the age). Also *Ustad* Mansur has become such a master in painting that he has received the title of *Nadir-ul-Asr*; in the art of drawing he is unique in his generation."³

In *A'lam Arai Abbasi* and Jahangir's Memoirs we find the genealogy of this great artist, thus: Ali Asghar—Aqa Riza—Abul Hasan. Ali Asghar, the father of Aqa Riza, served under Sultan Ibrahim, the brother of Sultan Ismail Safawi II (1577). When the latter ascended the throne of Persia, Ali Asghar entered his service and ranked with such seniors as Aqa Mirak, Sultan Muhammad, Muhammadi, etc. It is easy, therefore, to infer that Aqa Riza was of an advanced age when he entered India. I am fully aware that Iskandar Munshi does not mention the fact of Aqa Riza having been to India, but such an omission carries no weight. Many facts, now known to have happened, have often been omitted by oriental historians. For instance, we know that Jahangir sent his court painter Bishandas to Persia in the company of Khan-i-Alam.⁴ But we do not find any mention of this fact in the writings of the contemporary Persian historians.

I have discovered on the main gateway of the Khusrau Garden, Allahabad,⁵ the following inscription in perfect *Nasta'liq* style:

1 Percy Brown *Indian Painting under the Mughals* London, 1924 pp 65—82

2 Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Islamic Book*, 1929, pp 82-83

3 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* (Jahangir's Memoirs), English Translation, Vol II, p 20.

4 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, Aligarh Edition, p 285

5. Khusrau was the eldest son of Jahangir from Shah Begam, who was the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. She died in 1012 A.H. The building known as *Khusrau Bagh*, where Khusrau himself was later on buried in 1021, was built by Jahangir's orders under the supervision of Aqa Riza *Musawwar*. Mr.



Portrait of a Mystic by Agha Riza



Portal of the Masjid-i-Shah at Isfahan
(Reproduced from the *Illustrated News*, London January 10 1931)



Portrait of a Youth Reading by Riza-i-Abbasi
after Muhammadi of Herat
(British Museum)

حسب الحكم حضرت شاهنشاهی جهانپناهی ظل الهی نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه
غازی باهتمام مرید اخلاص آقا رضا مصور این بنائی عالی صورت اتمام رفت

which clearly shows that this grand edifice was erected under the supervision of Aqa Riza *Musawwar* (painter), by the orders of Jahangir, while the inscriptions of the monument were inscribed by the great calligraphist Abdulla *Mushkin Qalam*. This clearly shows that Aqa Riza was a painter and not a calligraphist, for had he been a calligraphist, he and not Abdulla *Mushkin Qalam* would have executed the inscriptions. Moreover, I reproduce here an outline-painting of an Indian mystic¹, bearing the signature of Aqa Riza on the corner of the robe near the leg. One can easily compare his signature with the other extant specimens.

The best specimens of his work were first reproduced by Marteau-Vever in *Miniature Persane*, e.g., plate No. 17, and later on published by other writers on Persian Art. This picture has calligraphic specimens both on the top and bottom in fine *Nasta'liq* style from the pen of Mir Ali *al-Katib*, who died in 937 A.H. (1530 A.C.), about a hundred years before Aqa Riza. This artifice of placing calligraphy-specimens on top or bottom (or both) of a painting belonging to another period is not uncommon, and one has to be very careful when attempting to date both the specimen and the painting or ascribing both to the same master. Another instance of such misleading practice is also manifest from plate No. 18—a miniature of a young Persian prince reclining on a sofa with an open book in his hand with *Naskhi* calligraphy on its top and bottom.² On reading one finds that the calligraphed pieces are headings of two chapters—"Power" and "The Manifest Sign"—of the Quran (which have no connection whatever with the painting itself).

In the British Museum there is an illustrated MS. of *Anwar-i-Suhayli*³, the best specimen of the early days of Jahangir's reign, although it has some signed and dated paintings of the last years of Akbar's reign, among them some which bear the name of Aqa Riza. The colophon of the MS. bears the date 1019 A.H. (1610 A.C.). The signatures are not in his usual style, and show little variation of his name, such as Aqa Riza, Aqa Muhammad Riza and Muhammad Riza, together with the appella-

Beveridge wrote notes on this garden with the transcription of the inscriptions found there but the inscription bearing Aqa Riza's name on the gateway escaped his notice. (vide *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, 1908, 1909).

1. This unique specimen of Aqa Riza's work is reproduced with kind permission of Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman Chughtai, artist, Lahore, from his collection.

2. Marteau-Vever, *Les Miniatures Persanes*, 1913, plates 17-18. When M. Saksian reproduced the one of them in his *La Miniature Persane* (Fig. 162), he omitted the writings, probably considering them irrelevant.

3. British Museum Catalogue of Persian MSS. Add 18579

tion *Murid*, *Murid-i-Padshahi*, or *Murid beh Ikhlas*. In my opinion the names of the painters which appear on the miniatures of this MS. are not actually by those artists themselves; rather they have been added by some other calligraphist, as all are in the same style. The MS. is, no doubt, partly illustrated by Aqa Riza and his son Abul-Hasan, along with other artists of the court. Apart from it, another important work of Aqa Riza bearing similar characteristics has recently been brought to light by M. Godard and has been reproduced and explained by him in *Athar-e-Iran*¹ under the heading *Les Marges du Murakka Gulshan á Tehran*. One of the margins bears an inscription in four lines:—

شاه سلیم
غلام به اخلاص
آقا رضا مصور

فی تاریخ رمضان ۱۰۰۸ هـ

"Shah Salim, servant with sincerity, Aqa Riza *Musawwar*, in the month of Ramazan, 1008 A.H. (1599 A.C.)." M. Godard is mistaken in assuming that the portrayed personality (with a big bear), wearing the robes of a saint, is Jahangir the Emperor; in reality it represents the famous saint Salim Shah Chishti who lies buried in the courtyard of the grand mosque of Fatehpur Sikri.

From the version of *A'lam Arai Abbasi* and the Memoirs of Jahangir we can easily conclude that word *Aqa* was a part of the painter's name and not a title, otherwise it would have been mentioned there as such, as in the case of his son Abul-Hasan who received the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman*².

ALI RIZA

FROM THE CHAPTER on Calligraphists contained in the previously mentioned *A'lam Arai Abbasi* of Iskandar Munshi, just two pages preceding the account of Aqa Riza *Musawwar*, we find a mention of Maulana Ali Riza of Tabrez as a pupil of Maulana Ali Beg, the great calligraphist. "... During the reign of Shah Abbas, Maulana Ali Riza had a great inclination towards the practice of *Nasta'liq* style, and made within a short period great progress. In this art he became very famous and unique in his age."³ Tahir Nasirabadí speaks in his *Tazkirah* of poets

1. *Le Athar-i-Eran*, Paris 1936 The same *Murakka* was also exhibited at the Persian Art Exhibition, London. 1931.

2. Memoirs of Jahangir, English Translation, Vol II, p 20.

3. Catalogue of Persian MSS. B.N Paris Suppl. 1348. Fol. 131a

of this Ali Riza as a poet and calligraphist.¹ Ali Riza wrote the inscriptions on the walls of the mosques of Lutf-Allah and Jami' in Isfahan. These inscriptions, in the best style of *Naskh*, are still *in situ*. The one (reproduced here),² on the portal of the Jami' at Isfahan contains the words ۱۰۲۵ هـ کتبہ علی رضا عباسی (Ali Riza-i-Abbasi wrote it in 1025 A.H.). Again we find mention of the same Ali Riza-i-Abbasi simply as a calligraphist in *Mir'at-i-Alam* of Bakhtawar Khan.³ But a long account of his career as a calligraphist is found in *Imtihan-ul-Fudhala* by Mirza-yi-Sanglakh, in which his mastery over *Naskh* and *Nasta'liq* is fully discussed.⁴ We can confidently say that the word *Abbasi* is an appellation showing that he was in the service of Shah Abbas I, as we gather from *A'lam Arai Abbasi*. Besides these, the best specimens of his calligraphy are to be found in the Bodleian Library (dated 1011 A.H.), in the British Museum (dated 1022 A.H.), and in other various collections. They all bear the name of *Ali Riza-i-Abbasi*.⁵

RIZA-I-ABBASI

RIZA-I-ABBASI the painter, whose style of signing and dating his work is familiar to all, receives the following notice from Sir Thomas Arnold: "From the sixteenth century onwards the practice of signing pictures became more common, though it may with some assurance be asserted that the majority of Persian paintings, even after that period, lack signatures of the artists. To this modesty or self-suppression, the enigmatical personality of Riza-i-Abbasi presents a notable exception; this artist was particularly fond of signing his name on his drawings and not only does he give his name, but sometimes also the date and the circumstances in which he made the picture."⁶

Recently Miss Isabel Hubbard has tried to prove that Ali Riza-i-Abbasi the calligraphist and the painter were one and the same person.⁷ She has based her conclusions on the illustrated and illuminated MS. of *Subhat-al-Abrar* of Maulana Jami' from the Kevorkian Collection of America, whose colophon (prepared in 1022 A.H. at Sari) runs thus:—

تمام شد کتاب افصح الفصحاء مولانا جامی علیہ الرحمۃ کاتبہ ومصورہ ومذہبہ علی رضائی

1. Catalogue of Persian MSS. British Museum. Add. 7087. Fol. 182b.

2. *The Illustrated News* London 10th Jan., 1931, containing Mr. Pope's note on the mosque of Isfahan with a fine illustration.

3. *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August 1934. The extract concerning calligraphists has been published by Prof. Muhammad Shafi.

4. Mirza-i-Sanglakh, *Imtihan-ul-Fudhala*, long ago published in Persia.

5. Catalogue of Persian MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford. Ouseley 173, fol. 27b.

6. Sir Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p. 71, and *Persian Miniature Painting* by Binyon, Wilkinson and Basil Gray, 1933, p. 157.

7. *Ars Islamica*, Michigan, 1937. Vol. IV, pp. 282—8.

عباسی وقع الفراغ منها فی بلدة ساری من سنه هزار و بیست و دو

In my opinion (I have not seen the original MS.) there is a vast difference between the decoration and calligraphy of the first two pages and that of the last one bearing the colophon reproduced therein. Miss Hubbard has not said anything regarding the authenticity of the last page of the MS., and has simply based her conclusions on the bare words of the colophon, which are not consistent with the usual way in the colophons are written by the actual calligraphists of the MSS. As regards the paintings of this MS., which are surely of some later date, a friend of mine wrote to me from London: "Judging from them I would say that the miniatures are of a later date than given, and may well be of the early 19th century. All we know is that they existed in 1856."¹

It is a fact that Riza-i-Abbasi's work is distinctly different from that of Aqa Riza, Aqa Mirak, etc. His style clearly bears a Western influence. Unfortunately, no genuine record throwing any light on his life is so far forthcoming; the only historical material consists in his own works which are dated between 1025—1044 A.H. If Ali Riza, the calligraphist noted above, had been a painter as well, Iskandar Munshi would have probably mentioned in his *A'lam Arai Abbasi*, either under the Calligraphists or Miniaturists, that he was a calligraphist as well as a painter. So far no authentic document is forthcoming to prove that he was both. A chronological list of his works could be prepared, and from many notes attached to his miniatures interesting facts could be gathered for the history of his time. I jot down some of his works:

- (a) The portrait of Hakim Shamsa Muhammad Hafiz-Allah, dated 1042.²
- (b) The portrait of Darwesh Abdul-Muttalib Hamdani, dated 1041.³
- (c) The portrait of Darwesh Abdul Malik Astrabadi, dated 1041.⁴
- (d) The portrait of Muhammad Mughith, the great Astronomer.⁵

There exist three portraits of Riza-i-Abbasi the painter by his pupil Mu'in *Musawwar*, made on different occasions and at the request of different persons, as we learn from the inscriptions which they bear; they are all dated between 1084—1087 A.H.⁶ The main difference in each of them lies in the treatment of the face, especially the eyes, the turban, and the subject of the drawing on which Riza is at work, otherwise the

1. Letter dated Dec. 18th 1937, from a friend in the Drawing and Print Department of British Museum, London.

2. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, 1913, plates 158—160, and Kuhnelt's work quoted above, plate 78.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Martin, p. 68, from Bernard Quaritch's Collection; Binyon etc., p. 178 and item 374, pl. CXII and Mr. Ajit Ghos's Collection, Calcutta. *Modern Review*, Jan., 1926, p. 44. Only the first two are transcribed here

man being portrayed is the same; this shows that Mu'in vividly remembered the features of his late master who, according to one of the inscriptions, had died in 1044 A.H. (1634 A.C.). Two out of the three inscriptions are as follows:

(1) (From Bernard Quaritch's Collection)—

شیه غفران و رضوان آرامگاهی مرحوم و مغفور استادم رضا مصور عباسی مشهور به
 رضا عباسی اشهر بتاریخ شهر شوال باقبال ۱۰۴۴ و این شیه بعد از ۴۰ سال در
 ۴ دهم شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۸۷ حسب فرموده فرزندی محمد نصیرا باتهام رسانید -
 معین مصور عفی عنه

(2) (From Engle-Gros Collection, Pennsylvanian Museum, Philadelphia)—

شیه مرحمت و مغفرت بناهی مرحوم جنت مکان استادم رضا مصور عباسی
 علیه الرحمة والغفران بتاریخ ۱۰۴۴ ۱۰۸۷ یاد کار بجہت مرقع باتهام رسید
 مبارک باد مشقه معین مصور غفرالله ذنوبه

The first shows that it was made by the order of Muhammad Nasira in 1084; the other was made for an album in 1087. Moreover, from both inscriptions we can safely infer that the appellation *Abbasi* was neither Riza-i-Abbasi's title nor had it any relation to Shah Abbas; had this been the case, his pupil would have almost certainly mentioned it in these inscriptions, as it was usual on such occasions to record all names and titles of the portrayed person. It should also be noted that the same appellation *Abbasi* was used by his son Shafi.¹

Who was the direct teacher of Riza-i-Abbasi, or the main source of his inspiration? It is just possible that the great artists like Behzad, Sultan Muhammad, Mirak, etc., were his spiritual predecessors. But I find that the work of Muhammadi, one of these senior artists, was of particular importance for him. One of Muhammadi's genuine and dated specimens of work is found in the Museum of Louvre, Paris,² and another, the portrait of some chief, in the British Museum, London.³ It bears the following inscription by Riza-i-Abbasi:

این صورت کار استاد محمدی هراتی علیه الرحمة و المغفرة

حسب الامر نواب کامیاب اشرف اقدس اعلى خلده الله ملكه ابدآ - فقير احقر العباد -
 چهره كشودم وبهر اشرف مشرف و مزین كردید - رقم كینه رضا عباسی

1. *Ibid.*, See p. 442, n. 1.

2. Louvre Museum, Paris, No. 20.

3. British Museum, London, C. 123.

It clearly shows that it was originally the work of *Ustad Muhammadi* and was later on made or copied by *Riza-i-Abbasi* by order of the person portrayed. A similar inscription by *Riza-i-Abbasi* is to be found on a study of *Behzad*, but here *Riza* has clearly written that this was the work of *Behzad* and that he himself had nothing to do with it.

"But *Riza-i-Abbasi* was capable of better work than the average of the typical drawings, with which he is generally credited, would suggest. Even if—on stylistic grounds—one excepts some of the examples which *Dr. Sarre's* closely reasoned study ascribes to him, he is revealed as a born draughtsman of marked originality and a new realistic power, whose ingenious pencil delighted in seizing on the types of common people whom he met on his walks, and recording them in rapid economical strokes. His linear patterns sometimes have a seductive, undulating rhythm, as in the pairs of lovers with arms intertwined."¹ Some of the persons whom he portrayed are noted above.

"It has been observed that the handwriting of the inscriptions on some of the *Riza-i-Abbasi* drawings is identical (or almost so) with that of a certain *Shafi Abbasi* who according to a remark on a drawing dated 1634, was a son of *Riza-i-Abbasi* and it is possible that he copied his father's work, passed it off as his own, and added detailed remarks to strengthen his pretensions."²

In the light of these facts we can safely assume that *Aqa Riza*, *Ali Riza* and *Riza-i-Abbasi* are three different persons, not one. This projected Unity is really a Trinity.

SOME OTHER ARTISTS NAMED RIZA

FROM DIFFERENT sources I have been able to collect the following few artists, both calligraphists and miniaturists, whose names, with little variations, are also *Riza*:

- (a) *Muhammad Riza Tabrezi* (specimen of work dated 1099 A.H.).³
- (b) *Ghulam Riza*.⁴
- (c) *Agha Riza*.⁵
- (d) *Muhammad Riza*.⁶
- (e) *Riza* (specimen of work dated 1007).⁷

1. Binyon etc. p. 157 *Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi*. Many of the drawings in *Dr. Sarre's* album are unsigned, and in Binyon etc., items Nos 314, 318. Blochet's *Musulman Painting*, plate 168, a colour reproduction one of *Shafi Abbasi's* studies.

2. *Ibid*

3. Maiteau-Vever, bearing a page of the transcriptions of the signatures of the artists.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Karabacek as quoted above.

6. *Ibid*.

7. B. N. Paris Suppl. Persian.

- (f) Ali Riza son of Hasan Ali Khan; wrote the *Shahnama*.¹
- (g) Ali Riza of Isfahan (died in 981 A.H.).²
- (h) Riza Faryabi.³
- (i) Muhammad Riza Mashhadi, a pupil of Mir Sayyad Ahmad Mashhadi.⁴
- (j) Muhammad Riza Imami of Isfahan (specimen of work dated 1070 A.H.).⁵

1. Burlington Magazine, Vol. XXII. P. 111.

2. *Ibid*

3. Martin.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Schulz, *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914. (Appendix containing the list of artists etc.)

NEW SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE MU'TAZILA MOVEMENT

By ABDUS SUBHAN

AMONG the various movements that have sprung up within the pale of Islam from time to time, that of Mu'tazilism is, by common consent, the most rationalistic in its outlook. Those who want to study this movement, or for the matter of that any other sect and schism in Islam, have had so far to depend mainly on such books as *Al-Farq bain al-Firaq*¹ of 'Abdal Qâhir ibn Tâhir al-Baghdâdi, who died in 429 A.H., corresponding to 1038 A.C. (see Ibn Khallikân, *Wafayât al-A'yân*, vita No. 402) or *Al-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wa'l-Ahwâ wa'n-Nihal*² of 'Ali ibn Aḥmad ibn Hazm az-Zâhiri (born at Cordoba in 384/994, died in 456/1064; see Ibn Khallikân I.C. No. 459) or *Al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*³ of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim ash-Shahrastâni (died in 548/1153; see Ibn Khallikân I.C. No. 622) who wrote his book in 521/1127. As the dates show, all these books were written a few centuries after the time of Ma'mun, Mu'tasim and Wâthiq, in whose reigns (198—232 A.H., corresponding to 813 to 847 A.C.) Mu'tazilism was the dominant faith. Now thanks to the co-operative labour of occidental and oriental scholars, we possess, in Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari's *Kitâb Maqalât al-Islamiyyîn wa Ikhtilâf al-Musallîn*⁴ one of the oldest sources now available for the history of the quondam heretic movements.

The author is the famous Imâm Abu'l-Hasan Ali ibn Isma'il al-Ash'ari, the father of the Muhammadan scholasticism (died about 324/935 at Basra, see Ibn Khallikân I. C. No. 440). Until the fortieth year of his life, he was a favourite pupil and an intimate friend of al-Jubbâ'i (died in 303/915, see Sam'âni, *Ansâb*, fol. 121 r), the head of the Mu'tazila party of the day. He then, owing to some difference of opinion between himself and his teacher, recanted the creed of the Mu'tazilites which he was so long following with almost unrivalled zeal and fervour. His book, written in or after 291/913, is distinguished by a high standard of criticism and objectivity. In the preface he says that in contradistinc-

1 Printed Cairo 1328 A.H. An abridged edition was published by Ph. K. Hitti, Cairo 1924.

2 Printed Cairo 1317—1321 (with Shahrastâni's book on the margin).

3 Publ. by William Cureton, London 1842—46

4 Publ. by H. Ritter, Stambul and Leipzig 1929-30 (Bibliotheca Islamica 1).

tion to one-sided and partial writers he intends to describe the doctrines of the different sects without any prejudice. What adds further weight to Ash'ari's book is the unstinted tribute paid to it by Ibn Taimiyya (died 722/1328) and his pupil Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jauziyya (died in 751/1350), two Hanbalite scholars of no mean repute. It should be recalled here that the Hanbalites are, as a class, inimical to the Ash'arites. The far-famed Imām Ibn Taimiyya says in his *Minhaj as-Sunna*: "Among the most exhaustive books dealing with the discourses of men who held divergent views about the principles of Islam, that I have ever had the privilege of going through, Ash'ari's book has certainly the highest place. He has dealt there, and that very lucidly, with some important problems which are hardly found in the books written by others on the subject." This and similar other facts that have gone before conclusively prove that Ash'ari's book is the most authentic and authoritative one we have on the Islamic sects and schisms, particularly on the Mu'tazila movement. As for the books of al-Baghdādī, Ibn Ḥazm and Shahrastānī, we can put them in the background as authorities of only secondary importance.

The manuscripts of al-Ash'ari's *Maqālāt* are very few and scanty. When H. Ritter started the edition of the work after lengthy investigations, three copies only (MS. Aya Sofia 2363, written in 597 A.H., MS. Aya Sofia 2366, written in 683 A.H. and MS. Paris 1453, written in 585 A.H.) were known to him. Afterwards, through the help of Dr. Krenkow, he got another copy (MS. Hyderabad written before 521 A.H.). The first edition of the book has been based upon the above four manuscripts.

Although this book has been written by a man who was intimately acquainted with the Mu'tazilite doctrines, yet it cannot be a compensation for the loss of all the early and original Mu'tazilite literature that became extinct, owing to ravages of time, after the ascendancy of the Sunnite creed. But happily, one solitary manuscript has been spared for us through all the storms of centuries, under the title of *Kitāb al-Intisār wa'r-Radd 'alā-Ibn Rawandī* by Abū'l-Ḥusain Abdur-Rahīm ibn Muḥammad al-Khayyāt, a distinguished representative of the Mu'tazila creed. The history of the composition of this book is very peculiar indeed. After the decline of the political influence of the Mu'tazilites, their enemies wrote quite a number of books decrying and denouncing their faith. In the course of the conflict that ensued between the contending parties, Jāḥiẓ, the celebrated Mu'tazilite (died in 255/868) wrote a book eulogizing their creed under the name of *Faḍīlat al-Mu'tazila* ("The Excellence of the Mu'tazila"). As the book was chiefly directed towards an attack on the Rāfiḍiyya, Ibn Rawandī, an apostate Mu'tazilite, now a protagonist of Shi'ism, wrote a book full of invectives against the Mu'tazilites under the title of *Faḍīhat al-Mu'tazila* ("The

Ignominy of the Mu'tazila"). This latter book was an incitive for Ibn al-Khayyât to write his *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr*, referred to above, an apology of the Mu'tazilite doctrines. This famous work throws considerable light on the dogmas and doctrines of the leading Mu'tazilites living in the second and the third centuries of the Hijra, inasmuch as Ibn al-Khayyât and Ibn Rawandi (to whom frequent references have been made in the *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr*) lived towards the latter half of the third century and were in a personal touch with the followers of the different religious sects of the period.

Although the Mu'tazilite movement is a most rationalistic one in its ideas, yet it cannot be said to be a liberal one in view of the severe persecutions meted out to all those who happened to disagree with it. But it is an undeniable truth, be it said to the credit of the Mu'tazilites, that they have been the first to introduce reason into the domain of the religious thinking in Islam. The history of Muslim scholasticism owes its very birth to this mighty movement. Had not Ash'arî been a Mu'tazilite himself, he could not have thought of founding the science of *Kalâm*, of which the Muslims are so very justly proud to-day. By advocating the cause of pure and undiluted monotheism, the Mu'tazilites very ably and successfully fought against the Persian dualism which was manifesting itself in those old times in more ways than one.

THE DEVIL'S DELUSION*

By ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZÎ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY D.S. MARGOLIOUTH

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THOSE WHO BELIEVE
IN MIRACLES WROUGHT FOR THE GLORY OF SAINTS

SOME of them say: The Lord is generous, pardon is ample, and hope is part of religion; hope is the name which they give to their desire and deception, and it is this which has ruined most criminals. Abû 'Amr b. al-'Alâ said: I have been told how al-Farazdaq was once sitting with people who were conversing about the mercy of God, he being the most hopeful among them. They asked him why he slandered chaste women. He replied: Tell me, were I to sin against my parents as I have sinned against God, would they be satisfied with hurling me into a furnace filled with coals of fire?—No, they said: they would pity you.—I, said he, am more confident of God's mercy than of theirs.

This, I would observe, is sheer ignorance. For God's mercy is not softheartedness, since were it so, not a sparrow would be killed, not an infant put to death, nor would anyone be made to enter Hell.

There is a Tradition going back to 'Abbâd according to which he said: Al-Asmâ'i said: I was with Abû Nuwâs in Meccah, where we saw a beardless lad kissing the Black Stone. Abû Nuwâs said to me: By Allâh, before I go I shall kiss him by the Black Stone.—I said: Wretch, fear God, as you are in the holy place and by His holy House.—He said: It must be so.—Then approaching the Stone, as the lad was about to kiss it, he put his cheek on the lad's, and kissed him, while I was looking on.—Wretch, I said, in God's sanctuary!—None of that, he said: my Lord is merciful. Then he recited the lines

Two lovers with cheek meeting cheek
Hard by the Black Stone which is kissed;
In innocence met they, those two,
As though they were meeting by tryst.'

I would observe: Consider the audacity of looking for mercy and forgetting the terrible punishment for violation of that sanctity! We recorded at the beginning of this book how a couple who had misconducted themselves in the Ka'bah were turned into stone. Visitors to Abû Nuwâs in his last illness bade him repent to God;

* A selection comprising pp. 405—418 of the Arabic original

1. From the *Diwân* of Abû Nuwâs, Cairo, 1898, whence the citation has been corrected.

Would you frighten *me*, was his reply. I was told by Ḥammād b. Salāmah¹ after Yazid al-Raqashi² after Anas that the Prophet said: Every prophet has the right of intercession, and I have reserved my intercession for those of my community who commit capital offences.

I would observe that this man erred in two ways. One, in looking to the side of mercy and not looking to the side of punishment; the second, in forgetting that mercy is only for the penitent, as God says [xx, 84] *Verily I am forgiving to him who repents* and [vii, 155] *My mercy embraces everything and I shall write it for those that fear*.

Now this delusion is what ruins numbers of the unlearned, and we have dispelled it in our account of the believers in licence.

Among the unlearned there are those who say: These learned people do not observe the ordinances, so-and-so does one thing and so-and-so another; my own case is similar.—This delusion is dispelled by the observation that the ignorant and the learned are equally bound by the ordinances, and the fact that passion gets the better of the learned is no excuse for the ignorant.

Some of them say: What does my sin matter that I should be punished? Or, Who am I that I should be reprimanded? My sin does not hurt Him, neither does my piety profit Him, and His pardon is greater than my offence. As one of them says:

Who am I before God in heaven
That sins of mine be not forgiven?

Now this is consummate folly, as they seem to believe that only an opponent and an equal will be reprimanded. They do not know that by disobedience they virtually become opponents. Ibn 'Uqayl, hearing a man ask: Who am I that I should be punished? said to him: You are the person to whom, if God were to slay all mankind, leaving you sole survivor, His words *O ye people* would be addressed.

Some of them say: I will repent and make good.—Many a man over-confident in his hope has been snatched away before realisation by death. It is no prudent course to hasten the wrong and await the right; repentance may not be feasible, may not be sincere, may not be accepted, and even if it be accepted the shame of the crime is indelible. It is easier to expel the evil thought so that it departs than to labour over repentance till it is accepted.

Some repent and then cancel their repentance. To such a person the devil obtains access by his wiles, knowing how irresolute he is. There is a tradition going back to al-Ḥasan according to which he said: If Satan when he looks on thee sees thee disobedient to God, he seeks thee³ time after time; but if he finds thee constant in obedience to God, he gets tired of thee and discards thee. But if he sees thee at one time so, and at another so, he has hopes of thee.

One of the delusions which he exercises on them is pride in some noble pedigree; a man says I am a descendant of Abū Bakr, or of 'Alī, or a *Sharif*⁴ being a descen-

1. Died 167; account of him in *Tahdhīb* III, 11—16.

2. Yazid b. Abān Abū 'Amr al-Baṣrī, died between 110 and 120. Account of him *ibid.*, XI, 309—311. Abū Nuwās lived 146—198.

3. Conjectural emendation of the text

4. Our author apparently does not distinguish between a *Sayyid* and a *Sharif*.

dant of al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn, or closely related to some man of learning or some ascetic. They argue on two suppositions: one, that one who loves some man will also love his family and descendants the other that these persons have the right of intercession, and that their families and descendants have the best right to their intercession. Both these suppositions are erroneous: for God's love is not like that of human beings; He only loves those who obey Him; Jacob's descendants, the People of the Book, did not profit by their parentage. Moreover, if love for the father extended itself, it would extend collaterally also¹. And as for intercession. God says [xxi, 28] *They shall not intercede save for those whom He accepteth*. When Noah wanted to convey his son in the Ark, he was told [xi, 46] *Verily he is not of thy folk*. Abraham could not intercede for his father, nor our Prophet for his mother. Indeed the Prophet said to the blessed Fāṭimah, "I cannot avail thee with God at all". One who thinks he shall be saved through his father's salvation is like one who thinks his hunger will be satisfied by his father's eating.

One of the delusions which he exercises on them is a man's being satisfied with the display of some virtuous quality, and not troubling what he does afterwards.

Some among them say: I am a follower of the Sunnah, and followers of the Sunnah are safe—and then fail to keep clear of transgressions. This delusion is to be dispelled by telling such a man that orthodoxy is an obligation, and abstention from transgressions another obligation: and one of these obligations will not do instead of the other. Similarly the Rāfiḍīs say: We shall be protected by our attachment to the members of the [Prophet's] house.—This assertion is false, since only piety can give protection.

Some among them say: I regularly attend the congregation and do good, and this will protect me.—The reply to this is similar to the preceding.

To this category belongs his deluding the brigands who take people's property. They are called "fine fellows" and assert that a "fine fellow" does not commit immorality, nor lie, guards the honour of women and never violates their privacy; but with all that they have no scruple about taking people's property, forgetting how keenly people feel about their property; and they call their system "gallantry". At times one of them takes an oath by his gallantry and neither eats nor drinks, and they make investiture of one who joins their community with trousers similar to the Ṣūfīs' investiture of the neophyte with the patched cloak; yet one of them may hear some false scandal about his daughter or sister, probably from some scandalmonger, and puts her to death, calling this gallantry. At times too one of them boasts of his endurance of torture.

There is a Tradition going back to 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal according to which he said: I used often to hear my father say: May God have mercy on Abu'l-Haytham!—I asked him who Abu'l-Haytham was. He said: Abu'l-Haytham the smith. When I stretched out my hands for punishment and the scourges were produced, I found a man was pulling my garment from behind. He asked me if I knew who he was and I said I did not. Then he said: I am Abu'l-Haytham, brigand, robber, cutpurse, about whom it is written in the records of the Prince of Believers that I have been beaten 18,000 stripes on various occasions, and endured it all in obe-

1. This is probably the meaning, but the original is obscure

dience to Satan for the sake of this world; so do you endure in obedience to the Merciful One for the sake of religion.

I would observe that this Abu'l-Haytham's name was Khâlid, and his endurance was proverbial. Al-Mutawakkil asked him how far his endurance went. He replied: I fill a sack with scorpions and introduce my hand into it: it gives me the same pain as it would give you. I feel the same pain from the last stroke of the scourge as I do from the first; were I to put a rag in my mouth while I am being scourged, it would be burned by the heat of my breath. Only I have trained myself to endure.—Al-Fath¹ said to him: Tell me, what induces you, who have such a tongue and such an intellect, to follow so false a course as yours?—Desire for leadership, was his reply.—Al-Mutawakkil said: We are Khulaydis.—Al-Fath said: I am a Khulaydi.²

A man said to Khâlid: You people, Khâlid, are not flesh and blood, so as to be affected by blows.—He said: On the contrary they do affect us, only we have a determination to endure which you have not.—Dâwûd b. 'Alî³ said: When Khâlid was brought in, I was anxious to see him, and went to him, when I found him seated unaffected by the loss of the flesh of his *séant* by the blows. There were lads round him, and they began to say: So-and-so has been beaten. Something has been done to So-and-so. He said to them: Do not talk about other people; do something yourselves so that others will talk about you.

I would observe: See how Satan makes game of these people so that they endure terrible pain in order to gain renown. If they would endure a little piety, they would obtain reward. It is surprising that they should suppose eminence and excellence attach to their condition when coupled with the perpetration of crimes.

There are among the unlearned people who rely on supererogatory acts and neglect the obligatory. Thus a man enters the mosque before the call to prayer and performs supererogatory devotions, and when he prays behind a leader tries to anticipate him. Some fail to appear at the times of the obligatory prayers, but jostle others on the twelfth of Rajab⁴. Some practice devotion with weeping, yet persist in immorality; if talked to they say: A good deed and a bad deed: God is forgiving, and merciful. A number of them practice devotion according to their own ideas, doing more harm than good. I have seen one of them who knew the Qur'an by heart, practised asceticism, and proceeded to castrate himself. This act is the worst of atrocities.

The devil has deluded many of the unlearned into attending religious meetings and weeping, satisfying themselves therewith on the supposition that the object of religion is attendance with tear-shedding, they having heard of the excellence of attendance at religious meetings. If they only knew that the object is action, and if a man does not act in accordance with what he hears, his hearing is further evidence against him! I know people who have attended such meetings for years, shedding tears and displaying humility, not one of whom deviates from his practice

1. Al-Fath b. Khâqân, vizier of al-Mutawakkil.

2. Apparently "a poor creature in Khâlid's lines", though the ordinary diminutive is different.

3. Probably the founder of the Zâhirs, 201—270.

4. Celebration of the Conception of the Prophet.

of usury, deceiving his customers, ignoring the canons of prayer, maligning the Muslims, and being undutiful to parents. Such people have been deluded by the devil, who has persuaded them that attendance at the meetings and shedding tears will save them from the guilt which they contract, and persuaded some that they will be saved by associating with learned men and saints.

He has kept others busy with postponement of repentance, until they delay too long. He has set others to entertain themselves with what they hear, while omitting to act according to it.

The devil has further deluded the wealthy in four ways.

(1) In the mode of earning. They care not how they acquire their wealth: usury pervades most of their transactions; indeed so habitual is the practice with them that most of their transactions are transgressions of the consensus. Abū Hurayrah recorded that the Prophet said: "A time will come when a man will not trouble about the source of his money, lawful or unlawful."¹

(2) In the matter of stinginess. Some of them pay no alms, confident of forgiveness. Some employ an expedient for nullifying the obligation, *e.g.*, giving the money before expiry of the year and then reclaiming it. Another expedient is to give a poor man a garment which he values for the purpose at ten dinars, whereas its real value is only two; thinking ignorantly that he has cleared himself. Some give bad articles in lieu of good; some give the alms to men whom they employ throughout the year, so that the alms are in fact wages. Some pay the alms as they should, and then the devil tells them they are under no further obligation, and dissuades them from spontaneous charity through love of money, so that the man loses the reward of the charitable, and the money becomes provision for someone else. There is a tradition going back to Ad-Ḍaḥḥāk according to which Ibn 'Abbās said: The first time a dirhem was coined the devil took it, kissed it, put it on his eye and on his navel, and said: By thee I will make men malefactors and unbelievers; I prefer a man's loving the *dīnār* to his worshipping me.— There is another going back to al-A'mash² after Shaqiq³ after 'Abd Allāh that the last said: Verily Satan stalks a man by every means, and when the man outwits him he makes his bed in the man's money and prevents him from spending any of it.

(3) In the pride of wealth. The rich man thinks himself superior to the poor man; this is ignorance, for superiority lies in the excellences of the soul which adhere to it, not in the collecting of stones which are not connected with it as the poet says,

Wealth of mind, so sages hold,
Better is than wealth of gold;
In the soul is excellence,
Not in state and circumstance.

(4) In expenditure. Some squander their money at times in unnecessary building, decoration of walls, ornamentation of the rooms, and painting of pictures; at times in attire which makes its wearer look proud and ostentatious; at times in

1. An-Nasā'ī II, 212.

2. His name was Sulaymān b. Mihrān, died about 148. Notice of him in *Takdhīb* IV, 222—226.

3. Ibn Salāmah al-Asadi, died between 87 and 100. Notice of him *ibid* IV, 361—363.

luxurious food; actions whose perpetrator is hable to do something that is either forbidden or disapproved, and he will be held responsible for everything. There is a Tradition going back to Anas b. Mālik according to which the Prophet said: Son of Adam, on the Resurrection-day thy feet shall not depart from the presence of God until thou shalt have been asked about four things: thy life, in what thou hast passed it; thy body in what thou hast worn it out; thy wealth, whence thou hast acquired it, and wherein thou hast spent it.

Some of them spend money on the building of mosques and bridges, only for ostentation, fame, and the preservation of their memory. Such a man inscribes his name on his building; if his work had been for God, he would be satisfied with God's knowledge. If he were given the task of building a wall without inscribing his name, he would not do it.

To this category belongs their production of candles at the illuminations in Ramaḍān with the view of gaining renown. Their mosques remain in darkness throughout the year, because to supply a little oil each night would not affect their reputation as much as supplying a candle in Ramaḍān. It would have been better to help the poor with the price of the wax. At times these lights are supplied in such numbers as to involve illicit extravagance, only ostentation will have its way. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal used to go to the mosque with a lamp in his hand, which he set down when he prayed.

Some, when they bestow charity, give it to the poor in public, combining the desire for people's praise with humiliation of the poor.

Some take with them on such occasions *dīnars* of light weight, two *qirāṭ* or thereabout¹, or indeed bad money, which they bestow in public exposed, so that people may say X has given Y a whole *dīnār*!—Contrary to this was the practice of many early saints, who would wrap in paper a heavy *dīnār*, weighing more than a *dīnār* and a half, and hand it secretly to the poor man, who when he saw a scrap of paper would suppose it to contain a fragment², but on touching it and finding it round like a *dīnār* would rejoice, only when he opened the paper would suppose it to be of light weight, then when he found it to be heavy would suppose it to be nearly as heavy as a good *dīnār*, but when, weighing it, he found it to be heavier than one, would rejoice exceedingly. The divine reward would increase proportionally with these acts.

Some give charity to strangers, but have no gifts for their relations, who have the better claim. There is a Tradition going back to Salmān b. 'Āmir³ according to which he said: I heard the Prophet say: Alms given the poor are Alms: given to relations are both Alms and cementing of relationship.

Some of them, though aware of the virtue of bestowing on relations, owing to some bad blood between them connected with worldly affairs refrain from giving help, albeit conscious of the relative's poverty; had such a person given assistance he would have earned reward for alms-giving, for helping a relation, and for resisting

1. If the *dīnār* at this time weighed 20 *qirāṭ*, such coins must have been "light" indeed

2. There are frequent allusions to the breaking up of coins.

3. Ad-Dabbī, died in the reign of Mu'āwiyah. Notice of him in *Tahdhīb* IV. 137.

passion. It is recorded that Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī¹ said: The Prophet said: The best alms are what is given to a relation who is at enmity.

Such alms, I would observe, are only accepted² and described as excellent because of the resistance to passion. For if the man bestows on a relative whom he likes, he will have been following his inclination.

Some of them give in charity and stint their families. It is recorded that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh said: The Prophet said: The best charity is that which comes from the back of wealth, and begin with those whom you have to support³.

There is a Tradition going back to Abū Hurayrah according to which the Prophet said: Give alms. —A man said: I have a *dīnār*. —The Prophet said: Bestow it on yourself.

The man: I have another.

The Prophet: Bestow it on your wife.

The man: I have another.

The Prophet: Bestow it on your son.

The man: I have another.

The Prophet: Bestow it on your servant

The man: I have another.

The Prophet: You know best what to do with it.⁴

Some of them spend money on pilgrimage, the devil deluding them with the idea that pilgrimage is a pious act, whereas the man's object is ostentation, amusement, and to be praised. A man said to Bishr the Barefoot: I have prepared two thousand *dīnārs* for a pilgrimage. —Bishr asked him if he had already made one; when he replied that he had, Bishr said to him: You should pay some one's debts. —The man said: I have no inclination except to pilgrimage. —Bishr said: You want to ride and when you come back be called the Hājjī.

Some of them spend on "times"⁵ and dancing and throw clothes upon the singer; Satan deludes such a man into thinking that he is gathering poor people and feeding them; we have shown how this leads to corruption of the heart.

Sometimes one of them, when fitting his daughter out for marriage, has a silver couch fabricated for her, supposing this to be a pious act. Or he may have a gathering for the completion of the reading of the Qur'ān, when silver censurers will be produced. Some learned men may be present, and neither will he think this proceeding extraordinary nor will they censure it, following the custom.

Sometimes one of them does injustice in his will, depriving his heir, supposing that the property is his own to dispose of as he likes, forgetting that it is allotted by the law⁶, and that the heirs have definite claims upon it. There is a Tradition going back to Abū Umāmah according to which the Prophet said: Whoso is treacherous in his will shall be cast into Wabā (a *wādī* in Gehenna). —There is also

1. Khālid b. Zayd, died 50 or 55. Notice of him in *Tahdhīb* III. 90-91

2. Doubtless as earning reward.

3. Bukhārī, ed. Krehl. I. 361

4. *An-Nasā'ī* I. 351.

5. For the sense "entertainment" assigned to this word see above.

6. The text has been amended.

one going back to al-A'mash after Khaythamah according to which the latter said: Satan says: However much a man may overcome me he will never do so in three matters: I shall bid him take money from an improper source, spend it on an improper object, and withhold it from those who have a claim to it.

The devil also deludes the poor, some of whom only make a show of poverty, being rich; if such a person adds to this mendicancy and accepting from people, he is increasing the fire of Gehenna. We have been told by Ibn al-Husayn a Tradition going back to Abū Hurayrah according to which the Prophet said: Whoso asks people for their money to increase his own is only asking for coals of fire, so let him do it as little or as much as he chooses.¹—If such a person does not accept anything from people, his object being merely by making a display of poverty to get people to say: There is an ascetic! he is a hypocrite. If he conceals God's bounty to him, making a display of poverty so as not to have to spend, his miserliness involves complaining against God. We have previously recorded how the Prophet, seeing a man, in appearance a Bedouin, asked him if he possessed any property. When the man replied that he possessed some, the Prophet said: Then let God's bounty appear on you.

If the man be genuinely poor, his proper course is to conceal his poverty, and make a show of easy circumstances. Among the ancients there was a man who used to carry about a key, to make people suppose that he possessed a house, when really he passed his nights in mosques.

A delusion which the devil exercises on the poor is his fancying himself superior to the rich as abstaining from the things which the rich man likes. This is an error, since superiority does not consist in having or not having but is something beyond that.

The devil has further deluded the great mass of the unlearned in the matter of proceeding according to custom. This indeed is the most frequent cause of their ruin. Thus they imitate their fathers and ancestors in the matter of religion, adhering to that in which they were brought up. You may see one of them live fifty years according to his father's system never considering whether he was right or wrong. To this category belongs the Jewish, Christian, and pagan imitation of their ancestors; and likewise Muslims follow custom in their prayer and devotions. You may find a man living for years and praying in the style wherein he has seen people pray, perhaps unable to say the *Fātiḥah* correctly, and ignorant of what is obligatory; nor is it easy for him to learn this, such contempt has he for religion. If he wanted to trade he would ask before travelling what goods were marketable in the country to which he was going. You will see one of them make the inclination or the prostration before the leader in prayer, not knowing that by doing so he conflicts with the leader in a constituent element; if he rises before the leader he conflicts with him in two elements, and his prayer is null and void. I have also seen a number of people utter *salām* simultaneously with the leader, when they have still some part of the obligatory creed to recite; this is a matter which the leader cannot tolerate, so his prayer becomes null and void. At times one of them omits an obligatory devotion and increases one that is supererogatory. At times too he omits to wash

¹ Ibn Mājah I, 289, and others.

part of a member, *e.g.*, the heel, or having on his hand a ring which fits the finger tightly he does not turn it round at the time of ablution so that the water does not get to what is covered by the ring, and his ablution is invalid.

As for their buying and selling, most of their contracts are faulty, neither do they recognize the authority of the Code therein; nor does one of them readily follow the ruling of some jurist in a licence of which he avails himself, so disdainful are they of putting themselves under the rule of the Code. Rarely too do they sell anything that is not adulterated or harbouring a flaw which the vendor conceals. Polishing conceals the flaws of bad gold. Indeed a woman will put her spinning in moisture so that the wet may increase its weight. An illustration of their proceeding according to custom is a man's neglecting his obligatory prayer during Ramaḍān, breaking his fast on forbidden food, and backbiting people. He might be beaten with a stick, but still would decline to break his fast usually, because it is usual to find the breaking fast nauseous.¹ Some of them incur the charge of usury by hiring: a man will say: I possess twenty dinars, no more. If I were to spend them, they would disappear; so I will hire a house with them and live on its rent.² He supposes this to be well within his competence. Sometimes he mortgages the house for a sum on which he pays interest, asserting that it was a case of necessity; very likely he may own another house and have utensils therein by selling which he could dispense with the hiring and the mortgaging. Only he is chary of his reputation, fearing it might be said that he had sold his house or was using earthenware in lieu of brass.

A matter wherein they proceed according to custom is their reliance on the utterances of the soothsayer, the astrologer, and the diviner, a practice which is widespread, and which the greatest men constantly pursue; rarely will you see one of them start on a journey, order clothes, or go to the cupper without consulting an astrologer and acting according to his words. In every one of their houses there is sure to be a horoscope; but in many of them there is no copy of the Qur'ān. In the *Saḥīḥ* there is a Tradition that the Prophet being asked about the soothsayers said: They are nothing.—They said: O Messenger of God, at times they communicate something which turns out to be true.—The Prophet said: That is a word of truth which the Jinni snatches and cackles like a hen into the ear of his ally. But therewith they mingle more than a hundred falsehoods.³

In the *Saḥīḥ* of Muslim it is recorded that the Prophet said: For forty nights the prayer will not be accepted of a man who goes to a diviner and consults him.⁴

Abū Dāwūd records a Tradition of Abū Hurayrah according to which the Prophet said: Whoso goes to a soothsayer and believes what he says is alienated from what God has revealed to Muḥammad.⁵

A further matter wherein they proceed according to custom is their multiplicity

1 I am unable to illustrate this passage.

2. Presumably the rent for which he would let the house would be larger than what he paid for the hire; hence the result would not be very different from lending money on interest.

3. Muslim II. 191

4. *Ibid.*, 192.

5. Abū Dāwūd. Bombay ed., iv. 21.

of false oaths, most of which, though they are unaware of it, are equivalent to the formula of divorce¹; they constantly say in their oaths something "will be unlawful for me if I sell—". Among their customs is the wearing of silk, and gold rings; at times one of them abstains from wearing silk, only puts it on once in a way like the preacher on a Friday. Among their customs too is to refrain from censuring what should be censured; a man will even see his brother or neighbour drinking wine or wearing silk, and will neither censure him nor change his attitude, but associate with the culprit on friendly terms.

Among their customs is building a stone bench in front of one's door thereby narrowing the street for passengers. At times a man lets a quantity of rain-water accumulate by his front-door, which he ought to remove; he incurs guilt by causing annoyance to the Muslims. Another custom is to enter the public bath without drawers; some indeed enter with them on, and then let them fall on their thighs, so that the sides of the man's *séant* show, and when he gives himself over to the masseur the latter seen part of his nakedness and even touches it since the "nakedness" is all between the navel and the knee. These people then see men's nakedness and neither close their eyes nor make objection.

Another custom is to cease maintaining a wife's rights; often indeed they compel her to resign her marriage gift, the husband thinking that her resignation releases him from his obligation. At times two a man favours one of two wives, and divides his attentions unfairly between them; he does so without scruple, thinking that such conduct is well within his competence. Abû Hurayrah recorded how the Prophet said: A bigamist who favours one of his wives unduly shall come on Resurrection-day trailing one half of his body, either collapsing or leaning².

Another custom is for a man to declare himself indigent before the magistrate and, when officially declared to be so, to believe that he is thereby released from all dues; he may really be wealthy, but pays no due. Sometimes a man does not quit his shop on the plea of indigence till he has amassed wealth out of the property of his customers, and put it aside³ to spend during his retirement, supposing that such a proceeding is within his competence.

Another matter in which custom is followed is for a man to hire himself out to work the whole day, and then waste much of his time by dilatoriness or idleness or adjustment of tools, e.g., a carpenter in sharpening his hatchet or a sawyer his saw; such conduct is perfidious unless it be on a small scale such as is usual. Often such a workman misses his prayer, pleading that he is in the hire of another man, not knowing that the times of prayer are not included in contracts of hire. Disloyalty in their employment is also common.

Among customary practices too is burying the dead in coffins, which is to be disapproved. The graveclothes should not be ostentatiously extravagant but in moderation. They bury with the corpse a number of garments, which is unlawful, as being waste of substance. Then they hold lamentation over the dead. In the *Saḥīḥ* of Muslim it is recorded that the Prophet said: Unless the wailing woman

1. A frequent form of oath has divorce for its "sanction".

2. *Nasā'ī* II, 157

3. This seems to be the sense required, but the text is probably corrupt.

repent before her death she shall be raised on Resurrection-day with a tunic of pitch and a bodice of flame¹. It is their custom too—especially that of the women—to beat themselves and tear their garments to pieces. Yet in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* it is recorded that the Prophet said: He is not one of us who rends his garments or beats his cheeks, or utters the cries of paganism.² Sometimes when they see the bereaved person rending his clothes they find no fault with him, nay rather they find it with the omission of the practice, saying that the man is unaffected by the misfortune. Among their customs too is that of donning disreputable attire after a death, and continuing to wear it for a month or a year; some, too, will not sleep on a roof for this period. Another is to visit the cemeteries on the night of the middle of Sha'bān, light fires there and take dust from a revered tomb. Ibn'Uqayl says: When the ordinances of the Code are found hard by the ignorant and the vulgar, they turn from its ordinances to the observation of others which they have invented for themselves. These are easy for them, as they are not brought under the rule of others. In my opinion, he says, they earn the name of infidels by these ordinances, such as paying reverence and honour to tombs in ways forbidden by the Code, such as kindling fires, kissing them, perfuming them,³ addressing the dead with tablets, and writing slips containing the words "My lord, do unto me such and such a service", and taking the dust for luck. Further pouring out scent on the graves, travelling long distances to them⁴, and putting strips of stuff on trees, in imitation of the worshippers of al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā. You will not find one person among these who is conversant with any question about the Alms or asks about any rule to which he is subject. According to them woe to anyone who fails to kiss the Martyrium of the Cave,⁵ or to stroke a brick of the Ma'mūniyyah Mosque⁶ on a Wednesday, or over whose bier the bearers have not pronounced the name of Abū Bakr as-Ṣiddīq or Muḥammad and 'Alī, or whose funeral has been unaccompanied by lamentation, or who has failed to erect over his father a brick and stucco portico, or failed to rend his garment to the skirt, or to pour rose-water over the grave and bury his clothes with him.

Very many too are the delusions which the devil exercises over women. I have devoted a separate book to women, in which I have enumerated all the acts of devoutness etc. which particularly concern them. Here I will record some of the delusions which the devil exercises on them.

[The whole of this passage had best be studied in the original.]

1. Ibn Mājah I, 247 has the Tradition in this form; the word in Muslim I, 256 (in lieu of flame) seems to mean scab

2. Bukhārī I, 325.

3. Text emended

4. This is probably the meaning; but the words might signify "attaching camels to them"

5. Probably some building in Baghdād is meant. According to Ibn Baṭūṭah (I, 416) those who entered the Martyrium of 'Alī kissed the threshold.

6. I am unable to illustrate the practice mentioned here.

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES MANKIND IN
GENERAL WITH PROLONGATION OF HOPE

INTO the heart of many a Jew and Christian love of Islam has entered; but the devil continually holds them back, telling them not to hurry but to take their time over consideration, so that the man puts off conversion till he dies an unbeliever. Likewise does he make the sinner postpone repentance, bidding him make haste with the gratification of his lusts with the hope of reform in the future, as the poet says:

The sin thou desirest haste not to commit

While hoping next year to repent thee of it.

He has bidden many a man who has made an earnest resolution put it off, held back many a man who is proceeding to some virtuous goal. Oftentimes when a law student resolves to repeat his lesson, the devil bids him repose a little, and when the devotee awakes in the night to pray, the devil tells him there is time. He never ceases to encourage idleness, to postpone action, and to make hope for the future the mainstay. The prudent man should practise prudence, which consists in seizing the moment, avoiding delay, and neglecting hope, since there is no security against what is to be feared, and opportunity missed will not be again presented. Indeed the cause of every shortcoming in good deeds and ever inclination towards evil deeds is the protraction of hope. A man will be always thinking about abandoning evil and turning to good, but he only promises himself that he will do so: and doubtless one who hopes to have daylight all his way walks leisurely, and one who hopes to see morning works feebly in the night; whereas one who imagines death to be hastening is strenuous. The Prophet said: "Pray like one who is bidding farewell." One of the ancients said: I warn you against "presently"; it is the greatest of the devil's hosts. One who acts with prudence and one who sits still through protraction of hope may be compared to travellers who have entered a village. The prudent traveller goes and buys what is required for the completion of his journey, and then sits down to equip himself for a start; the negligent one says: I shall equip myself presently, for we may be staying here a month. Suddenly the trumpet sounds for the start; this is good news to the cautious one, but a deathblow to the negligent procrastinator. This is a parable of the people in the world. Among them there is the vigilant and prepared, who when the angel of death comes feels no regret; and the man who, being misled, has procrastinated, who experiences the bitterness of remorse when the time of his departure comes. And if love of sloth and protraction of hope be innate, and the devil comes and urges conformity with nature, resistance is hard. Only one who attends to himself is aware that he is in the battle line, that his enemy never slackens, and that, if outwardly he slackens, he is secretly plotting and preparing an ambush for him. We beseech God to save us from the enemy's plotting and Satan's seductions, and from the wickedness of men's souls and of the world. Verily He is near and answers. May God make us to be of those who believe.

PERSONALIA

CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO

ON July 25th died unexpectedly the foremost Arabic scholar which Italy has produced in the person of Professor Nallino. He was born in Turin on the 16th of February 1872. After completing his studies at the University of his native city he went to Cairo from 1893 to 1894, and was sent, on his return to Italy, by the Royal Observatory of Brera on a mission to the famous library of the Escorial to investigate mathematical and astronomical Arabic manuscripts, of which some of the most important are preserved in that library. From the same year till 1902 he was teacher of Arabic at the Oriental Institute at Naples. The following years till 1909 he was lecturer of Arabic literature at the University of Rome. From 1909 till 1912 he taught (in Arabic) at the University of Cairo Arabic astronomy and literature, while from 1927 till 1931 he was again invited by the Egyptian

University to give lectures (also in the Arabic language) on pre-Islamic history. The Italian Government entrusted him with many important scientific missions, and he was elected member of many learned societies and Vice-president of the *Accademia dei Lincei*, the oldest European learned society. His literary activity was very considerable. Outstanding is his edition, with Latin translation, of the astronomy of al-Battani; his last great work was a new edition of the *History of the Muslims in Sicily*, of which the last portion, the second half of the third volume, has so far not been published. As a man he combined great learning with a charming modesty, the very emblem of a great man. His untimely death is a great loss to Arabic studies—and not only in Italy, for the Academies of Damascus and Cairo have lost one of their foremost members. I personally have lost a loveable friend.

—F. Krenkow

ON THE MARGIN

THE NIZAMS AS MEN OF LETTERS

THE aristocracy of Islam were, in the heyday of their power, everywhere patrons of arts and literature, whether it was Damascus, Baghdad, Granada, Constantinople or Delhi. The Mughal Empire, unlike other Muslim empires, represented more or less in a synthetic form not merely the tendencies embodied in the achievements of the Muslim races which ruled here, but the cultures of Arabianised Iran and the fascinating, malleable culture of India as well. This Empire, enjoying for a fairly long span of years peace and prosperity, gave opportunities to the members of the ruling class to interest themselves in fine arts. Among them the Nizams of Hyderabad are worthy of special mention.

Poetry being very largely the vehicle of literary expression, we find among them poets with several *diwans* to their credit. The most prominent of these Nizams are Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, Nasir Jung, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, and Mir Osman Ali Khan, the present Nizam. Excepting the present Nizam and his illustrious father, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, the others mostly employed Persian, the language of polite society in their days, for the exhibition of their poetic talents.

Nizam-ul-Mulk is said to have known a number of languages, including Turkish; and he always delighted in speaking with his Turkish officers in their mother-tongue. He was a scholar of Persian, and his poetical compositions abound in that language. His pen-name was *Shakir*¹, which means "the Thankful". His *Diwan* was published by Mirza Nasrullah Khan Daulat Yar Jang *Fidai*. It is

interesting to note that Nizam-ul-Mulk attempted to write poetry in Urdu also, and it is the typical Deccani Urdu of the age.¹

Nasir Jung, the second son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was also a great Persian poet and has left his *Diwans*. Like his father, he also took pleasure in writing Urdu poetry as well.

The late Nizam, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, was a student of the well-known poet Dagh. His pen-name was *Asif*, and his work ranks among the best in Urdu literature. In addition to *ghazals* and other imaginary poems, his compositions deal with subjects like Education, Military science, Civics, Ethics, etc. A noteworthy feature of his taste for poetry is that many of his replies to public addresses were made in poetry.

Mir Osman Ali Khan, the present Nizam, is an accomplished scholar and possesses poetic talent of a high order. He writes in Arabic, Persian, Bhasha and Urdu, and many of his Persian *ghazals* bear the stamp of charming originality and high imaginative power. His love for poetic expression and the range and extent of his sentiments have earned for him a place in the foremost rank of modern Muslim poets.

Here is one of his earlier Persian *ghazals*, freely rendered into English verse by Sir Nizam Jung:

I'm in life a living legend
Of some sad heart's secret pain;
I'm of yearning hearts the minstrel
Of such hearts as yearn in vain!

1. Cf. two manuscripts of biographical accounts of poets, one written in 1175 AH by Lala Latchman Narayan Shafaq under the title of *Chamanistan-i-Shorai* and the other written in 1194 by Moosvi Khan, which are preserved in the Government Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

1. In his *Deccan me Urdu*, Naseeruddin Hashimi mentions it as *Asif*.

2. Gabrieli, G., (a) *Intorno alle fonti Orientali*

subject of Dante's sources and his relations with Oriental literature, the work of Professor Miguel Asín Palacios has proved the most important and his arguments the most convincing in regard to this controversial subject. Prof. Asín, who has for many years past occupied the chair of Arabic with great distinction in the University of Madrid and has made a life-long study of medieval Muslim philosophers and mystics and of the mutual relations and influences of Islam and Christianity during the Middle Ages, has almost conclusively proved, by a comparison of many passages of the *Divine Comedy* with the works of Islamic writers (Ibn al-'Arabi in particular), that Dante was indebted to Islamic sources not only for the general conception of his work, but also in matters of detail. The results of the learned professor's researches are embodied in a special monograph, entitled *La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, which appeared in Madrid in 1919 and at once raised a storm of controversy in the learned world in general and the circle of Romance scholars in particular. This work has been translated into English by Mr. Sunderland (London, 1926) and also into French (Paris, 1928). A full and authoritative summary of Prof. Asín's thesis has been given by his younger colleague, Prof. Gonzalez Palencia, in his excellent *Historia de la Literatura Arabigo-Espanola* (Barcelona, 1928), and it is here translated from the original Spanish (pp. 298—305) for the benefit of those readers who may be interested in the subject but have not the time to go through the larger works mentioned above.

—Sh. Inayatullah

AFTER several years of controversy and discussion in journals and magazines all over the world, the thesis concerning the sources of Dante, first enunciated by Prof. Miguel Asín Palacios of Madrid in 1919, is gradually making headway in the learned world. The thesis is that it is the Islamic literature that furnishes the key to the greater

part of the explained and the unexplained portion of the *Divine Comedy*, that is to say, of the portion which the students of Dante explained by the ideas of his Christian precursors, and of that which they found inexplicable and attributed to the creative genius of Dante.

Prof. Asín found that the first Islamic model, which could influence the conception of the *Divine Comedy*, was the legend of the nocturnal journey (*isrá'*) of Muḥammad and of his ascension to heaven (*mi'rāj*)—a legend, which was widely current in popular versions in Muslim countries since the ninth century at least, and had been enriched and poetized by theologians, mystics and literary men in successive centuries. In these legends, Muḥammad or an ordinary mortal is, like Dante in his poem, the principal character of the journey, who relates the events and describes the scenery. Both the journeys begin at night and on getting out of a deep sleep. A wolf and a lion bar the way of the Inferno against the Muslim traveller, just as Dante is held up by a panther, a he-wolf and a she-wolf. In a luxuriant garden, between Heaven and Hell, which is the abode of the spirits, the Muslim is met by the poet Khaytā'ūr, in the same way as Dante is conducted by the poet Virgil to the garden of Limbo, the abode of the heroes and spirits of antiquity. By the command of God, Virgil offers himself to Dante as a guide; Gabriel renders similar service to Muḥammad.

The torments are also similar in both the Hells. In the Islamic Hell, adulterers are seen driven before violent storms of fire; and its first floor is represented, like Satan's City of Distress in the Italian poem, as a fiery ocean, on whose shore are found tombs filled with fire. Users, like Dantean murderers, make useless efforts to gain the bank of a bloody lake. Like the tyrants and dishonest guardians in the Islamic Hell, the Dantean gluttons and robbers are tortured in different ways by terrible serpents. The mad thirst, from which forgers suffer in the *Divine Comedy*, serves as a punishment for drunkards in the Islamic legends; while the torment of other

della *Divina Commedia* (1919); (b) Dante e l'Oriente (1921)

tricksters, with swollen bellies, correspond to that of the userers in certain Muslim versions. Some persons, condemned by Dante, scratch with their own finger-nails the leprosy that covers them in the manner of Islamic calumniators; the impostors, hunted with harpoons in a lake of pitch, correspond to the prodigal sons, who supplicate for deliverance from the sea of fire, in which they are submerged; while the savage punishment of schismatics, eternally slashed by demons and resuscitated only to be slashed again, is that of the assassins in the Muslim inferno.

The spiritual features of the Dantean Paradise are, likewise, found in some versions of the Islamic legend. Colour, light and music are the sole descriptive elements, used by both the travellers in order to suggest the supernatural character of the Beatific Life. In each sphere, the heavenly splendour increases by degrees, until it dazzles the two travellers, who think that they have been blinded and instinctively raise their hands to the eyes. Their respective guides, Gabriel and Beatrice, comfort them, till they receive more light from God and can contemplate with ease the brilliance of the Heavenly splendour. Without this additional light, neither of the two could describe what he saw. Both ascend in space with the swiftness of the wind or the arrow, each conducted by a guide, who leads the comforts the pilgrim; satisfies his curiosity; instructs him; and invites him to show his gratitude. And if, on reaching the last stages of the Dantean ascension, Beatrice is substituted by St. Bernard, Gabriel, too, leaves Muhammad near the throne of God, to which he is raised through the ministry of a luminous garland.

The Dantean and Islamic ascensions coincide not only in their broad outlines but also in episodes of concrete vision. The gigantic eagle of Dante, in the sphere of Jupiter, which is formed by the combination of myriads of angels and which flaps its wings and sings biblical songs, is an adaptation of the gigantic angel in the form of a cock, which was seen by Muhammad flapping

its wings and chanting religious hymns. In both ascensions, the guides invite the two pilgrims to contemplate from the heights of heaven the world below, at the insignificance of which they greatly marvel. In both cases, the Beatific Vision is described in the same way: "God is a focus or point of the most vivid light, surrounded by nine concentric circles, which are formed by close files of innumerable angels that emit rays of light; the circle nearest the Focus is that of the cherubim; each circle encloses the immediately lower one, and all the nine revolve ceaselessly in a circular movement round about the Divine Focus." Twice does the pilgrim contemplate this grand spectacle, once from afar before reaching the end of his journey, and again before the throne of God. The effects produced by the Beatific Vision on their minds are also identical in the two ascensions. The beholder is, at first, so much dazzled by the brilliancy of the Divine Focus that he believes himself to be blinded thereby; but shortly afterwards his sight becomes acute and perfect, so that he succeeds in penetrating to the interior of the Focus and contemplating it with a fixed and continuous gaze. He finds himself unable to describe what he saw; he only recollects that he experienced a kind of spiritual ecstasy or trance, preceded by intense pleasure.

And even the spirit, the allegoricomoral meaning, of the *Divine Comedy* was not new. The sufis or Muslim mystics, especially Ibn al-'Arabi of Murcia (in Spain), use like Dante the dramatic journey of a man, Muhammad, across the ultramundane regions and his ascension to the heavens as symbols of the regeneration of soul by faith and theological virtues. Both Dante and Ibn al-'Arabi treat the journey as a symbol of human life, whose ultimate goal and supreme felicity consist in the Divine Vision, which cannot be obtained without the guidance of religious faith. Natural reason by itself can lead man only to the first stages of the journey, which are symbolic of intellectual and moral virtues, but not up to the sublime mansions of Paradise, which are symbo-

lic of religious virtues and are attainable only through illuminative grace. In some Muslim versions, the protagonist is not Muhammad, but an ordinary man, sinful and imperfect: so that the Islamic pilgrimage, like the poem of Dante, combines in itself two characters, the idealist allegory and the profoundly human realism, which are apparently opposed to each other.

A considerable number of scenes, descriptions, episodes and topographical details of the *Divine Comedy*, the prototypes of which do not appear in the various redactions of the Muhammadan *Mi'raj*, have their precedents and models in other documents of Islamic literature, viz., the Qur'an or the Traditions describing the final judgement and the next life or the doctrinal writings of Muslim theologians and philosophers, especially the mystics, who have systematized, interpreted and rationalized the documents of Islamic religion.

Surveying all the Muslim thinkers, Professor Asin Palacios points out the writings of the notable Muslim mystic, Ibn al-'Arabi (1164—1240 A.C.) as a possible model of the architecture of the Dantean Inferno. Dante, as well as Ibn al-'Arabi, prefers circular or spherical forms; the infernal storeys, the astronomical heavens, the circles of the mystic rose, the angelic choirs surrounding the Focus of the Divine Light, and the three circles symbolic of the Trinity are described by the Florentine poet in the same way as by the Muslim mystic; and it is marvellous how the sketches, drawn by Dantists many centuries after to represent graphically the poetic descriptions of the *Divine Comedy*, coincide exactly with those outlined in the *Futūḥāt* of Ibn al-'Arabi.

The identity of the plans establishes a definite relation between the model and the copy. It is impossible that this may have been a casual coincidence. Casuality is not the scientific explanation of historical facts. The historical fact before us is that Ibn al-'Arabi, in the thirteenth century, twenty-five years before the birth of the Florentine poet, had already given, in four successive volumes of his *Futūḥāt*, the designs of places beyond

the grave, all conceived in circular or spherical forms, which according to the *Masarrī* system of Ibn al-'Arabi represent the cosmos and its origin. Eighty years later, Dante gives us in marvellous verses a poetical description of those very places in the next world. The topographical features of this description are so minute and precise that they enable his commentators of the twentieth century to represent them graphically by geometrical plans, which prove to be essentially similar to those traced by the Mystic of Murcia before him. If we do not assume that the latter was imitated by Dante, the identity of the two descriptions remains an inexplicable enigma or a miracle of originality.

Professor Asin points out other similarities between the topography of the Dantean localities and those described by Ibn al-'Arabi. The Islamic *A'raf*, for instance, is the proto-type of the Limbo; the *Jahannam* (Gehenna) is the model of the Inferno; the *Sirāt* is the pattern of the Purgatory; the *Marj* or the meadow between Purgatory and Heaven is the model of the terrestrial Paradise; while the eight circular *jannāt* and the Tree of Felicity (*Tūbā*) are the models of the Dantean Paradise and the Mystic Rose. In both descriptions, Jerusalem is the pivot, on which the ultra-terrestrial world revolves. Beneath its ground is the Inferno, the lowest floor of which serves as the prison for Lucifer; while above the town in a vertical direction is situated Heaven, the abode of the Divinity. The mansions in the Inferno and Paradise are equal in number, and are sub-divided in such a way that each infernal locality is the antithesis of the corresponding celestial one.

Prof. Asin indicates many other analogies in episodes and scenes, which are sometimes identical to the very letter. Among these may be mentioned the classification of the inmates of the Limbo and their punishments, which are similar to those of the Islamic *A'raf*; the black storm of the adulterers, which corresponds to the Qur'anic wind of 'Ād; the burning rain that falls upon the sodomites who are obliged to march in a circle; the punishment of the diviners

who carry their heads turned to the back; the abettors of schisms and sects, slashed without dying, walking with their eviscerated bowels and amputated arms, and carrying their own heads hanging from their hands in front of them; giants whose large proportions are described minutely; traitors who suffer from frozen ice, which is the counterpart of the Islamic *Zamharir*; the picture of Lucifer embedded in ice is like that of Iblis in the Islamic legend; the double ablution in the rivers of terrestrial Paradise and the meeting of Dante with Beatrice, an episode by no means Christian, which is identical on the whole with the entrance of the soul in the Islamic Paradise after its ablution in rivers and meeting with its celestial betrothed. We may finally mention, in this connection, the spiritual description of the Beatific Vision, which produces intellectual clarity and ecstatic delight.

These images, symbols, descriptions and ideas similar to the Dantean, clearly suggest the fact of imitation. But the question here arises whether the eschatological literature of Islam was known to Dante.

The religious legends of the Muslims about the next world were well-known in Christian Spain. The Mozarabes of Cordova, including San Eulogio, the author of *Apologeticus Martyrum*, knew of a life of Muḥammad, which was a mixture of authentic and apocryphal traditions. Don Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada (1170—1247), the archbishop of Toledo, used Arabic sources in his *Historia Arabum*, in which he inserts an account of the *Mir'aj*. From him the legend passed to Rey Sabio, who wrote his *Cronica General* between 1260 and 1268. A few years later, we find it included in *Impunacion de la Secta de Mahoma*, a work written by the bishop of Jaen, San Pedro Pascual, during his captivity in Granada.

It is, therefore, not very improbable that this legend, which was so well-known in Spain, should have passed to

Italy and come to the knowledge of Dante, who finished the *Inferno* about 1306. It is not possible to point out the way, by which it actually reached him. Asin suggests as a possible intermediary the name of Brunetto Latini, the teacher of Dante, who visited Spain, where it is reasonable to suppose that his cultured and curious mind, passionately fond of knowledge, was attracted by the brilliant court of Toledo, which was then very much under the influence of Arabic culture. For we know that he had discussions with the translators of the School of Toledo and with the Christian and Muslim professors of the School of Seville, who also redacted his scientific and literary works, which included a translation of Don Rodrigo's *Historia Arabum*.

On the other hand, the mind of Dante, as revealed by his writings, shows itself open to all kinds of scientific and literary influences—a fact well recognized by Dantists. It is, therefore, inconceivable that he should have excluded from the sphere of his universal curiosity the Islamic culture, the influence of which was widespread in the Europe of the 13th century. Arab astronomers and philosophers, such as al-Bitrūjī, al-Fārābī, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd are cited in his *Convito* and *Vita Nuova*, and it is only because of his sympathy with things Islamic that one can understand the favourable judgement he passed on men like Saladin (Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn), Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) and Averroes (Ibn Rushd), whom he placed in the Limbo, in spite of the fact that they died without the bosom of the Catholic Church. And this same sympathy of Dante with Islamic science, especially with Averroes, explains the presence in his Paradise of Siger de Brabant, professor in the University of Paris, who was condemned as an Averroist heretic in 1277 and died in 1284, and whom Dante places in the abode of theologians along with St. Thomas Aquinas.

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